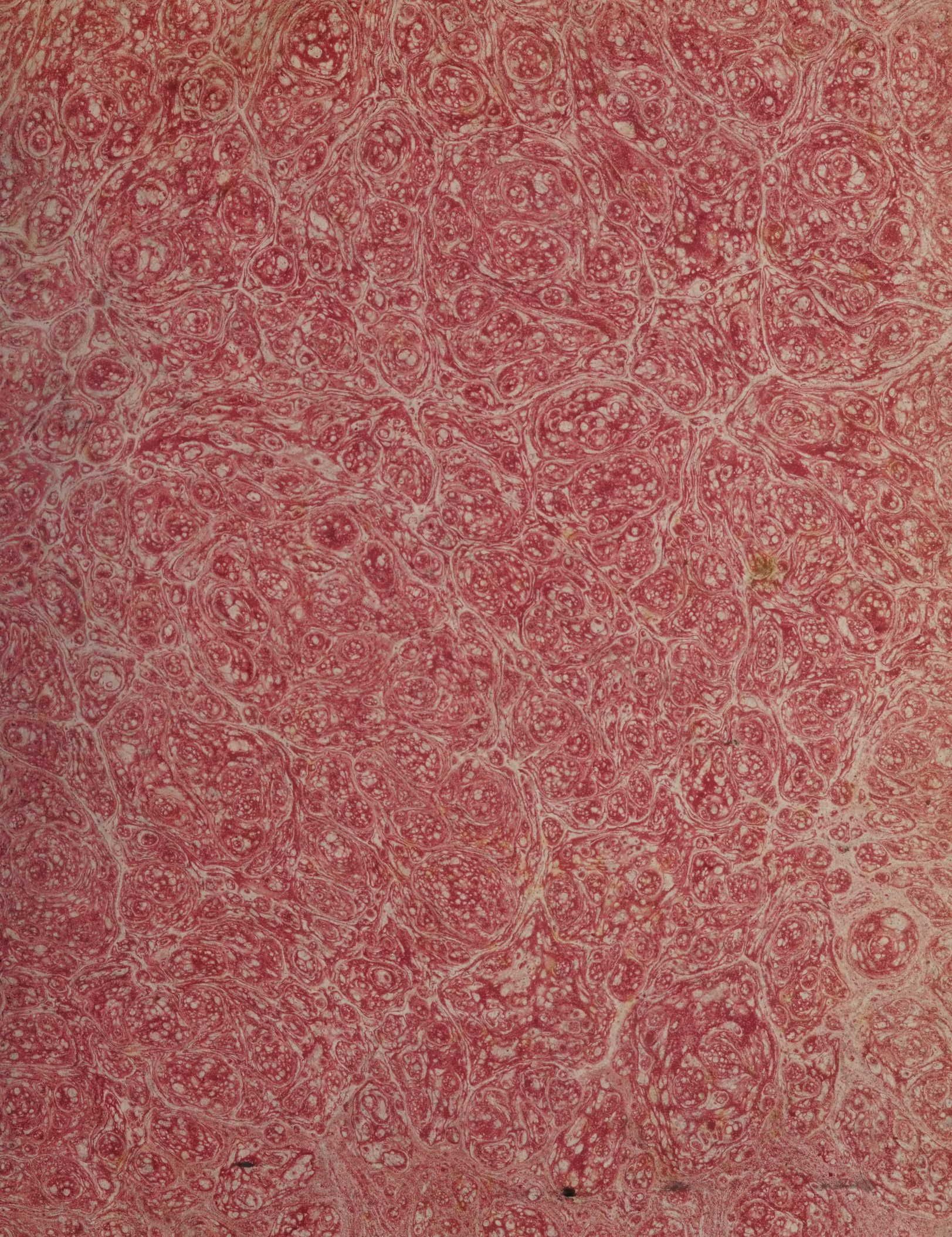




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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A
COLLECTION

OF
SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING
PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,
AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

SELECTED FROM THE
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INTERSPERSED WITH
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,

BY THE LATE
WILLIAM OLDYS, ESQ.

AND
SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY
THOMAS PARK, F. S. A.

VOL. V.

LONDON:

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1810.

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VENICE.

THE city of Venice hath sixty-two parish churches, and forty-one monasteries of friars and nuns. There are, in Venice, as many channels¹ as streets, over which there are eight-hundred open bridges to pass.

The city of Venice is, in circuit, eight Italian miles; and although it lies in the sea, yet, nevertheless, it is defended from the raging waves thereof, by a natural bank under the water, compassing the city round about, like unto a constant wall, which repels the storms of the sea, that they cannot assail the city: there are about the city twenty-five islands inhabited by spiritual persons.

When you come to Venice, enquire for the White-Lion, or Black-Cattle, or else for the Wletta, where (in my time being there) dwelt an host, named Signior Bongratz, which is the chiefest of the three. There you shall have one appointed to go with you; or else take a gondola, and row to the Arsenal, or House of Artillery.

THE HOUSE OF ARTILLERY.

Before you go to the Arsenal, or House of Artillery, you must crave licence to see the same, of certain particular gentlemen, deputed to have the custody thereof; and, as then, you must leave your weapons in the porter's lodge, until you come out again.

When you are within, there will be one appointed to go about with you; but my counsel is, that you provide yourself with single money, to bestow here and there, according to the custom. First, you go over a bridge, through which the ships and galleys do pass, which are to go to sea; over-against that, there is a house, wherein are two-hundred persons daily, who do nothing else but make corselets and harness, that are used in the ships and galleys.

* [Or canals.]

Another house, hard by that, wherein there are daily working two-hundred persons, making nothing but anchors, and other irons, for the galleys and great ships. A little farther, you shall be led into a cellar, wherein are sixty great vessels, filled with wine, which they give to the workmen, as much as they desire to drink, every day; and you also may drink as much as you please.

Moreover, there are six extraordinary great galleasses, which have been in the battle of Lepanto.

There are also forty-six galleasses, already furnished, save only two, laying the ordnance thereupon. Right over-against that, you shall be led into a gallery, about five-hundred paces long; therein are made the cables and ropes for the ships and galleys; hard by that, is another house, in which are forty kettles and ovens, to make salt-petre:—Bestow there to drink.

Then, a little back again, there is a great house, in which there are two rooms; in the first, is all manner of furniture to arm seventy-four thousand men into the field:—Here also give to drink. In the other room, there are long guns, pikes, and other armour, to furnish into the field one-hundred seventy-four thousand men:—Give to drink. Coming down again, you shall see, in another room, six-hundred pieces of great ordnance, lying on wheels; also, hard by, a mortar, that carries a bullet of six-hundred pounds weight.

Hard by that room, there is another, wherein do lie as many bullets and ordnance as will serve for two-hundred galleys, which are all ready to be used:—Drink-money more. There are bullets and ordnance to furnish thirty-six galleasses, there pertaining to every galleass forty-eight pieces of ordnance:—Drink-money.

A little further, there is another house, wherein are three-hundred pieces of ordnance, which were won from the Turks in the Armada, together with the colours, and twenty-four bells of the Low-countries:—Drink-money.

The galleasses are in length thirty-seven paces, and the galleys thirty.

When you have gone about, and seen the galleys, you shall come to the extraordinary brave ship, called ‘Bucentauro,’ which is painted within and without, and richly overgilded: therein are excellent fine benches made, on which may easily sit two-hundred persons. In that ship doth the duke² of Venice, together with the whole signiora, or council, go, in long crimson-velvet gowns, every year on the Ascension-day, in great triumph, and princely state, to the sea³, to a port near a strong fort called ‘Alio:’ and there the duke doth wed himself to the sea with a very rich and costly ring, for an established dominion⁴; the ring is given to a page of honour, who casteth it into the sea; and then the duke returns home again, and from the two strong forts, is rung a main peal of ordnance for joy. When a duke is chosen, no man can know to whom the election will fall, for it is done by lots; and, therefore, bootless for any covetous man to strive for it, by bribing or gifts.

As you go forward, you shall see a great house, under which are three rooms; therein may easily be made ready two-hundred ships and galleys with sails:—Drink-money.

Go up the stairs, and you shall come into a room, wherein are two-hundred old women, daily mending old sails; and sometimes, when need requires, there are seven-hundred daily working.

Further, there are three rooms, one above another; therein may be furnished and armed twenty-thousand men to sea, and there you shall see an admirable number of old harness, used in former times.

Then enquire for the great hall, called ‘Real,’ in which the lords, in times past, did use to sit in council; but now used for stately banquets and feasts, when some great potentate or prince comes thither.

In the said hall, you shall see flitz-bows, corselets, and broad rapiers, together with other

² [Or Doge.]

³ [*i. e.* the Adriatic.]

⁴ [Howell, in his Letters from Venice, remarked, that this ceremony had then been performed above five-hundred years, and (as the Venetians report) in the same vessel still; although not a foot of the timber was likely to remain, which it had when first launched, from having been so often planked and ribbed, &c.]

weapons, sufficient to arm two-hundred thousand men: and also, you shall see the colours, which were gotten from the common enemies of Christendom, the Turks.

Not far from thence is a house, wherein do lie so many oars, ready made, as will serve for eighty galleys.

Further, another house, wherein are oars, ready made, for above one-hundred galleys, which were used in the armada aforesaid: on every oar must row eight or nine persons. In the same house the signiora did sit in council, because the duke's palace was set on fire by lightning, or a thunder-bolt.

There are two-hundred good and sound galleys, all ready furnished; save only the ordnance to be laid therein, and so put out to sea: and also about two-hundred and fifty, which are daily repaired and made ready:—Drink-money.

In this house of artillery, are twelve great towers, upon which there is kept the watch every night; and, every hour, there goeth a gentleman (appointed by the lords) the round, with thirty-six sufficient armed men, about the house of artillery, to visit the sentinel. This house of artillery is compassed round about with walls, and other buildings, like unto a strong town.

In the same, there are four-hundred masters and servants, who continually do make great ships, and prepare them to be ready. There are belonging to this house of artillery eight-thousand persons, fit for all manner of trades. This house of artillery, in my opinion, is as big as the city Canterbury.

Now it will be time for you to go home to your lodgings, friendly taking leave at the gates; and, with thanks, bestowing some such reasonable reward, as to the company of gentlemen-travellers, who went in with you, may be found fitting. And thus much concerning the incomparable house of artillery in Venice.

Hereafter follows, what is chiefly to be seen within the City of VENICE.

Go forward from the house of artillery to the water, or channel; and there you shall see many brave and great ships of war.

Not far from thence, a great house, built only to make biscuits for the galleys. Therein are fifty ovens, and all Dutch bakers: there pertain to these ovens fifty bakers, but, if it be needful to set out galleys with bread, then there must be one-hundred of them.

Further you will see a new monastery, named *Santo Sepulchro*, which is naturally like to the holy grave in Jerusalem.

Then you shall come to the duke's palace: there take a gondola, and row over to St. George's monastery, which is built so pleasantly, and with such various cloisters and gardens (which remain winter and summer), as that you have not seen the like; especially the convent-hall, wherein the monks do dine and sup. This monastery hath as great a circuit about it, as a reasonable town.

Over-against that is yellow wax bleached, worthy the seeing:—Drink-money.

Then you shall go to the Capuchins monastery, which, in times past, was built in perpetual memory, at the charge of prince Nicholo di Ponte, ordered on the day of his death; upon which day, there is yearly made a great ship-bridge, that the people may not be troubled to go so far about thither in pilgrimage to offer.

Then row over the channel to St. Stephen's, where you shall see a great spacious place, and there all duels are fought; being a privileged place, where no serjeant or officer dare meddle with them: and also, hard by the church there is a stable, besides which there is not one stable more within the whole city of Venice.

After which, going homewards, you may ascend up to St. Mark's steeple, from whence you may very pleasantly behold the whole city. As the king of France⁵ came thither out of Poland, he rid up this steeple, with his horse, as high as the bells do hang. It was built *anno* 1146, at which time the Paduans and Venetians were at wars. The ships may be seen from this steeple thirty miles. After, go into the minting-house, which is hard

⁵ [Henry III. who wished that beside Paris and his parliament-towns, he had the arsenal in exchange for three of his chief towns. See Howell.]

4 *A true Description of what is most worthy to be seen in Italy, &c.*

thereby; as also the library, which you shall take great delight to see. Coming out thence, you will see two great pillars erected, which are cast; between those the malefactors are executed.

Also, just thereby is an extraordinary great house, wherein is kept in store double-baked biscuit, ready for any armada which is to be set out to sea; and hard by that house is the place, whereout are delivered all their billets, or passes, that intend to travel.

Then go to the duke's palace, and up the stairs you shall see two great statues, or pictures of Adam and Eve, of white marble-stone; and, when you come to the top, there is, on your left-hand, a quader-piece, over-gilded and fastened into the wall, on which is written or engraven the manner, day, and hour of the king of France's coming thither out of Poland. Go up higher the stairs, towards the great chamber, wherein is usually held a general council; which, being complete, consists of sixteen-hundred lords and counsellors, all from the most ancient nobility descended; where they sit in comely order, the duke sitting uppermost, and on each side of him twenty-four *clarissimi*, or lords, all in long red velvet gowns; out of which one is elected, when the duke dies, and they cast lots for the election.

The upper ceiling of this council-chamber is of wood most excellently carved, and richly gilded with pure Zechini gold; the histories and artificial pictures are wrought upon very costly linen, with oil colours. They do constantly affirm, that this chamber cost above four tons of gold; which, in English money, is above one hundred-thousand pounds sterling. Hard by the same is another chamber, almost like unto it, which sometimes is used for a council-chamber.

This palace of the duke's about thirty-two years past, was set on fire by a fiery squall, and burnt; it was covered with lead at that time, but now with copper; for furnishing of which, there were sent for many artificial masters out of Germany. They say, that the covering of this palace cost three hundred-thousand crowns.

When you come out of the palace, you shall see, on St. Mark's Place, two columns or pillars of marble-stone erected, which Emanuel, emperor of Greece, sent thither for a present: for, at such time as the Venetians made an agreement with the king of Sicily, and the said emperor was much displeased therewith; but afterwards, they having pacified his anger, he presented them with three columns or pillars, two of which stand on St. Mark's Place; the third miscarried, and fell into the water, which could never be recovered again. And, as concerning the other two, there was at that time no man to be found in all their dominions, that could set them up on end; wherefore they made proclamation, 'That, whosoever could erect them, he should be well rewarded for his pains.' Upon which, one came out of Lombardy, who told them, that he would venture his head, that he would set them up on end, if they would let him have such things as were necessary for that purpose; which he had, and did effect it accordingly. And, for his reward, he did desire, that it might be lawful for any man, that would, to play at dice between the said pillars, notwithstanding the dice were false; and also, that the Venetians would give him free dwelling amongst them, with a competent living; all which was granted unto him. If it chanceth, that any man in their jurisdiction doth raise a mutiny with the Turks, or doth attempt any treachery against the city; then there is a gilded pole laid overthwart the two pillars, and a gilded halter put about the offender's neck, and he hanged thereupon.

Here I will relate a strange kind of theft, which was done in former times at Venice. When Borsius, brother to the duke of Ferrara, came to Venice, and went to see the treasure at St. Mark's, there was a certain Candiot, named Sammatius Scarior, who being appointed to wait on the duke, went in also to see the treasure; and when he saw the riches thereof, he thought with himself by what means he might come secretly unto it, and for that purpose suffered himself to be locked in the treasury; and, making loose a marble stone in the wall, behind the altar of the Innocent Children, he carried the dust in his lap, and laid it behind a little pair of dark stairs in the church. By day he went always away, and came again towards evening, so long, until he had made a hole into the treasure-chamber; and, in the day-time, he fastened the stone so cunningly into the wall, that no

man could mark it. He carried out one rich jewel after another, six nights together, and at last was resolved to take away the duke's hat, esteemed at two millions of zechins, which make, in English money, more than seven-hundred thousand pounds. Now there was another Candiot, named Zacharias Cerio, to whom Sammatius opened his business, and shewed him the treasure, and admonished him in any case to keep it close, saying their lives stood upon it. Cerio being at the sight thereof sore astonished, Sammatius stabbed him; but before, he demanded of Cerio, "Why he was astonished in such a fearful manner?" Cerio answered, "That he was not able to speak, for joy." Sammatius said, "Make haste, then, and let us be gone: we have riches sufficient to serve our turns all the days of our lives." Cerio said, "I will presently prepare myself, and go to enquire after a ship to be gone." But he went and discovered it to the duke; whereupon Sammatius was apprehended. The next day, a pair of gallows over-gilded were set up between the two pillars, whereon he was hanged, with a gilded rope about his neck.

Over-against the same, at the one corner of the church, is a red porphyry-stone set up, on which there are cut the pictures of the two famous pirates which brought the said treasure to Venice. Hard by is a round marble-stone [whereon] they use to lay the heads of proscribed and banished persons.

Then go into the excellent temple or church of St. Mark's, which is underset very curiously with rich and great pillars of divers sorts of colours. The doors and gates of the church are of bell-metal, and about the great door do stand four great horses cast of bell-metal, all over-gilded with pure gold, which were ordered to be placed in memory of the emperor Barbarossa. When you come into the church, on your left-hand, you shall see a crucifix upon an altar, at which (as they say) on a time a certain gamester did throw a stone, whereupon it fell a-bleeding, and still every year, on that day, it doth bleed.

Further, upon the ground before the high altar there is a pavement with four-squared streams, of white marble-stone, like unto a natural water, (which was likewise so ordered for the aforesaid emperor's sake,) which is called a horse-pond. For, as the emperor laid siege to Venice, he made a solemn vow, that when he had got the city, he would make out of St. Mark's church a stable, and a horse-pond, and would make St. Mark's market-place a ground to sow corn on. In the mean time, it chanced, that the emperor's son was taken prisoner in a skirmish, and brought into Venice: then the Venetians sent and gave notice thereof to the emperor, and told him, "that unless he would presently raise his siege and be gone, they would shoot his son unto him out of a cannon. At which the emperor was sorely grieved, and desired of the Venetians, that for the safeguard of the vow which he had made, they would cause St. Mark's Place to be plastered like a corn-ground; and that the four horses might be set over the high door, to signify the stable; and also the ground before the high altar to be paved with white marble-stone streamed, to betoken the horse-pond; which was all done accordingly, as it is to be seen at this day: whereupon the emperor took his son, raised his siege, and departed.

There are right before the church standing three very high poles, on the top of which they hang three great standards or colours, upon the holy and feast days, signifying their three kingdoms, viz. Candy, Cyprus, and Venice.

If you desire to see the treasure, you must diligently solicit the duke's chamberlain; then you shall go into St. Mark's church, through four iron doors. So soon as you are gone through each one of them, they shut themselves locked, and you are within: they will shew you two unicorns' horns, of which the red is the male, and the yellow the female; then a great carbuncle-stone, which glitters like a candle; three crowns of the kingdoms of the Venetians; twelve *pettorali*, with oriental stones, amongst which is one standing in the midst, that hath a great sapphire and an emerald; two vessels of agate, the one of Chalcedoni, the other of a Turkish; a little granate; a great diamond king Henry the Third, of France, gave the duke of Venice; a great dish of gold, one ballasso that weighs seven ounces, certain vessels of agate and emeralds, which, in times past, were the emperor

Constantine's; besides many other rich jewels and precious stones, almost not possible to be written in particular, for it is an inestimable treasure: there are especially a precious oriental sapphire and an emerald, like unto which there are none to be found.

Further, you may desire to see the duke's private house of artillery, where are rich furniture of gold and silver to arm two-hundred men, a lanthorn all of crystal, certain apparel come from the New World, and brought thither by the Cyprinenses, and presented to the duke; then a little coffer, in the opening of which, two pieces, that lie therein, do discharge of themselves; besides divers other curious things.—Give something to drink.

The church of St. Mark is held to be more rich and stately, built with extraordinary costly pillars of porphyry and marble-stone, than is Santa Sophia at Constantinople; for there are five most great excellent chapels, or round heathenish towers, covered with copper. When you go from St. Mark's under the great dial, you will come into the *Merceria*, a long street, on both sides full of shops, furnished with all manner of exceeding rich wares, especially with silks: presently after, you shall come to the Dutch house, wherein do dwell Dutch merchants, who give weekly to the duchy one-hundred zechins.

From the Dutch house you will go over the bridge Rialto, whither all the merchants do resort mornings and evenings; there is also a little church, called *Santo Jacobo*, which is the ancientest in Venice, and there was the first house built, and the city was named at that time *Venetequa*, in English, 'Come hither:' for it was free for every man to build there; and, from that word *Venetequa*, it is now turned to *Venetia*.

Then go to Santa-Maria Formosa, upon which the Dutch nation are freely privileged to fight out any duel or quarrel.

You may go also to Santo Johanne et Paulo, which is a wonderful fair church and monastery, adorned with excellent fair epitaphs. When you enter in at the door, you shall see on your left-hand the picture of the Virgin Mary, very richly, with ancient histories, fastened into the wall four-square; and the cover over the same, all costly over-gilded.

Right without the church doth sit upon a horse cast of bell-metal, all over-gilded with pure ducat-gold, Bartholome Coglione of Bergen, captain-general to the Venetians; by whom Padua was taken in, for the seigniory of Venice. The said general afterwards, on his death-bed, did earnestly entreat the Venetian state, in any wise hereafter, to discover their secrets to none, as they had done to him, saying, "That, if he had been disposed, he could himself have overcome them." The seigniory, for his true service, did cause his statue to be erected there on a horse, as aforesaid.

In the famous city of Venice there are eight-thousand gondolas; and amongst eight-hundred bridges, there are but two of wood. There are also divers laudable companies, or fellowships, touching which it is not here necessary to write in particular: the principal ones are those, near a monastery called *Alti Servi*, and by *Al Ponte de More*.

Further, it is but a little way over to Murano⁶, where the purest crystal-glasses are made: so soon as you land on your left-hand, at a corner-house, you shall see a glass-maker that hath a whole castle of crystal, with ordnance on the bulwarks and bastions, as also towers of defence, which is to be sold for twelve-hundred crowns.

In Murano almost all the inhabitants are glass-makers, appertaining to the Venetians, who have their trading therewith. You shall also see very fair gardens with running water-works, and brave statues, especially one above the rest, belonging to a great gentleman named Emo, now dead; which is wrought so artificially, as is scarce to be believed, unless it be seen.

Then, in rowing home again, you will see a monastery on your left-hand, wondrous fairly built in the water by a Venetian *courtesana*, who did love a Venetian gentle *homo*,

⁶ [Murano is a little island (about as far from Venice as Lambeth from London) where they say, that although one should transplant a glass-furnace from thence to Venice itself, or to any of the little assembly of islands about her, or to any other part of the earth besides, and use the same materials, the same workmen, the same fuel, the self-same ingredients every way, yet they cannot make crystal-glass in that perfection for beauty and lustre as in Murano. See Howell.]

who lived together like a man and wife: he died before her, and left her all that he had, for which she promised him to build a chapel, in perpetual memory of them both, to have their funerals therein; which chapel cost more than sixty-thousand crowns the building; it is all of white marble-stone, and covered with copper. There are adjoining thereunto four towers of bell-metal; within, it is costly set forth with admirable pictures and histories, of white alabaster oriental; and without, are cut out of white marble-stone both their statues or pictures, according to the true proportion of their bodies. After that, she retired herself to a very strict and penitent kind of life; and, before her death, she made her will, having left behind her six-hundred crowns, all which she bestowed upon poor people in hospitals and spitals, and for maintenance of widows and orphans, and appointed a yearly revenue, to that monastery adjoining to the chapel, ever to endure, to the end there might be solemnized yearly vigils for the sake of both their souls.

Hereafter follows, what is to be seen between **VENICE** and **ANCONA**, from thence to **SANTA MARIA LORETTO**; and also how many Miles one Place is from the other.

You may take a gondola, or ship, and go to Chiozza, a very pleasant town of the Venetians; it lies also in the sea, built with very fair houses: from thence to Ornaci, an inn, eight miles; then to Coro, an inn, eighteen miles; there you may have horses to hire from Coro to Volani, an inn, eighteen miles; from thence to Magnanaca, an inn, nine miles; that is a very bare and simple lodging: from thence to Primara, an inn, fifteen miles; from thence to Ravenna, twenty miles. Ravenna is an ancient city, which lies on the sea, pertaining to the pope; from thence to Al Savio, an inn, ten miles; from thence to Cesanniro, a little town, ten miles; to Belaere, an inn, fifteen miles; there you may have horses to hire: so to Rimini, a town of the pope's, ten miles; so to Coriano, an inn, eight miles; to Cattolica, an inn, ten miles; to Pesaro, a town, ten miles; which town belongs to the duke of Urbino, built with very fair and large streets, walls and bastions, and an exceeding strong castle lying on the sea; it is well provided with all manner of victuals, especially with good wine; the duke hath there a very fair palace, and keeps his court therein; it is a very pleasant palace, wherein every thing is to be had at a reasonable rate. From Pesaro to Fano, a town, nine miles, belonging to the pope, through which no man must presume to pass, unless he will go on foot: it is a very ancient city. From thence to Sinigallia, nine miles; it is also the said duke's: a very strong castle on the sea-border, wherein the duke continually maintains a garrison; from thence to Casa Brusciata, an inn, nine miles; it lies upon the stream of the sea; we received there excellent good entertainment: from thence to Ancona, seventeen miles.

ANCONA.

WHEN you come to Ancona, which is a famous city, you shall see a *porta triumphal*, which the emperor Adrian caused to be built, for a memorial. This city hath a very fair haven of the sea, like unto which there are not any found; for there are brought together divers sorts of commodities from Sclavonia and the Levant; there are brought also brave Turkish horses, and all manner of wares. There is likewise a great traffick, and they do bring many Moors and Schiavons together, to be sold: and, above the rest, there are no want of Jews that travel to and fro, and also have their dwellings in that city.

In the aforesaid city, doth lie the body of Sant Ciriaci Advocati, buried in a little church on a high rock, which is commonly called Sant Ciriaco; and, when the weather is clear, you may discover from thence Schiavonia, and the ships upon the sea.

This city lies but three miles from Monte Alto, where pope Sixtus Quintus was born.

The famous city Ancona is adorned with excellent fair buildings and palaces, well provided of all manner of necessities, to be bought at a very cheap price; and it is well defended by great walls round about. In like manner there is a strong castle hard above the city, made so invincible with bastions and with ordnance thereupon planted, as that it is, in a manner, impossible to be assaulted or won: and, if in case it were, that the city

should be gotten, yet could it not be kept; for, from the castle, every thing therein would be destroyed. So soon as one pope dies, another is elected; the title of Ancona is written in his stile, for it belongs to the see of Rome.

SANTA MARIA LORETTO.

WHEN you go from Ancona towards Santa Maria Loretto, which is fifteen miles, you will see an extraordinary pilgrimage and devotion; especially note, when you come into a long straight street which reacheth up to the church, you shall see nothing but shops, wherein are made only *pater-noster* beads. When you come into the church, you shall see, on both sides, long tables standing, on which there are written directions and admonishments, after what part every body may prepare himself to the confession; on each table being written four several languages; to the end, no man may allege an excuse, that there is no priest to understand his language, for there is ordered to every table a priest that speaks the same language.

When you approach near the choir, or query, wherein is the chapel of our blessed Virgin, which (as they say) was carried thither by the angels from beyond the seas⁷; you shall see a rare building, over or above the said chapel, all of alabaster and marble-stone, with excellent histories raised⁸.

And when you are come into that chapel, you shall see, upon the great altar, the blessed Virgin, with the child Jesus in her arms, adorned with so many precious jewels and lamps of gold and silver burning, that a man can scarce see either the blessed Virgin, or the Child.

Then enquire for the Christia, whereon do lie the male robes; there you shall see, on your right-hand, the picture of the margrave of Baden: and there is written the day on which he came thither, with six persons *per* post, to his devotions, in the year 1584; because, he, having received a deadly wound by a bullet, in the wars of the Low-countries, did direct his prayers to the Virgin Mary, for her divine help for his recovery: after his prayers ended, he laid him down in bed. In the morning he felt nothing, but was whole and sound again; whereupon, he delayed no time, but posted in all haste to this place, and for a thanksgiving, presented the blessed Virgin Mary with twelve-thousand crowns; which is no fable.

Loretto is made very strong with many bastions and walls, with great ordnance, and store of ammunition; so that it is sure enough for the Turks coming thither to carry away their inestimable treasure, which (as they constantly affirm) is valued at above five-millions of gold, freely given and presented out of mere devotion.

Now that which is on the way, between Maria Loretto and Rome, is scarce worth the seeing. I will therefore only describe the ways from one place to another; and, in my opinion, you were better turn back again from Loretto, and take the nearest way to Ferrara, and from thence, the open highway to Rome; whereby, both charges and time may be saved.

The direct Way from LORETTO to ROME.

From Loretto to Recanata three miles, which is a fine pleasant town, built longwise, on a hill, with fair houses and stately vineyards, planted thereabouts; you need not go through the town, unless you please, but may go hard by the wall, from thence to Macerata, a little pretty town, wherein is an university, fourteen miles; then to Tollerentino, a little town, nine miles; then to Alla Mancina, a little town, seven miles; then to Piandignano, an inn, seven miles; thence to Varchiano and Samlet, nine miles; thence to Alla Passo de Spoleto, an inn, eight miles; thence to Spoleto, a fine city, lying on a hill, belonging to the pope, (it hath been, in times past, dangerous to travel thereabouts, but now not so,) ten miles; from thence to Stretura, an inn, eight miles; thence to Terni, a pleasant town, eight miles; thence to Harni, a strong town, (it lies high on the one side, and the river Harni runs hard by it,) seven miles; from thence to Ottricolo, a little town, eight miles: not far from this, you must set over the Tyber, nine miles; from thence to

⁷ [i. e. from Palestine.]

⁸ [Or sculptured.]

Rignano, a very good lodging ; here leave an old town, called Civita Castellana, on your left-hand, it is thither sixteen miles ; from thence to Castal-Nuovo, a little town, seven miles ; thence to Primo Yorto, an inn, seven miles ; from thence to the holy city, Rome, seven miles. This is the way from Loretto to Rome, if you please to go the same ; otherwise, you may take it in your return back again from Rome.

Hereafter follows the direct Way from FERRARA to MALTA, and what is to be seen between them.

FERRARA.

WHEN you are come to Ferrara, lodge at the Bell ; they will enquire of you in the gate, what things you carry about you ; but tell them, you are *scholari*, or students : and if you have cloke-bags, or mails, you must bring them into the weigh-house, where they open them.

If you desire to see the city, you must enquire for the Dutch guard ; there you shall have one appointed to go about you for a small reward.

First, you go to the duke's palace, or castle, that hath four fair towers, upon which do strike two clocks. The palace hath within a fine court four-square, which is very stately set out with the descents of the most famous emperors and dukes that have governed there ; as also it is adorned with excellent fair rooms, and pleasant gardens.

After, let him shew you the duke's garden of pleasure and art, called *Bel Vedere*, wherein you shall take great delight to see it, insomuch as you shall admire thereat, garnished with pleasant springs, that both winter and summer remain green ; all manner of birds, wild beasts, and an extraordinary house of pleasure. Further, the house of artillery adjoining to the duke's palace, wherein are many pieces of great ordnance, worthy to be seen.

The city is furnished with an excellent fair market-place, where all necessities sufficiently are to be had, especially all manner of costly fish.

There are also a great number of Jews, and extraordinary fair broad streets, very stately, set out with fair palaces, and excellent brave buildings ; and, above all the rest, the city is round about strengthened with strong walls and bastions.

Hereafter follows the Way from FERRARA to BOLOGNA.

From Ferrara to Poggio, an inn, nine miles ; from thence to Pietro in Casale, six miles ; thence to Fundi, a little town, nine miles ; from thence to Bologna, nine miles.

BOLOGNA.

BOLOGNA is an exceeding fair city. When you come thither, lodge at the Golden-Angel, where you may horse conveniently to Rome ; but there will be need of some policy, by reason that many times there are horses *de ritorno* ; so that you may have them for six or eight crowns a-piece, and also men with you, to bear the charges of the horse and yourself, till you come to Rome, without taking care of any thing, but only to eat and drink, to sit up and light ; and, in case your horse tires, they must immediately provide you another.

This great and famous city is built with very stately palaces and houses ; it hath wonderful fair streets ; when it is rainy weather, you may go under the houses, and not be wet at all.

Go towards the governor's palace, who is commonly a cardinal, appointed by the pope to govern ; it is an exceeding brave palace, with a large circumference.

The governor keeps continually two-hundred Switzers, and a cornet of spear-horsemen to guard his person ; they are duly paid their *salarium* every month.

Every day, about the time of meals, do come the musicians and trumpeters to sound and play, as if he were a temporal prince ; they stand without the palace in an open gallery, towards the market-place.

The trumpeters with a kettle-drum were, for a memorial, ordained thither by the em-

peror Charles the Fifth. The sackbuts and cornets, for a memorial, by pope Gregory the Thirteenth.

The Switzers and horsemen have their dwelling in the governor's palace, and, when he goes out to take the air, they must all attend him as if the pope were there himself.

Right against the market-place, on the outside of the palace, you shall see the statue of the said pope, together with the seat, all of bell-metal.

By the palace is the house of justice, or prison, where is given every morning to the offenders the *stroppa de corda*, in public view; and the malefactors are wound up exceeding high, their arms being wrung round about, very fearful to behold.

In this city are great merchandizing with silk wares, and silk-worms that spin; and they make their principal good damask; and, especially, there is an active and brave gentry.

There is also a very pleasant, fair, and great market-place, always provided with all manner of necessaries, at reasonable small rates, whatsoever a man desires.

You shall also see a number of fair and civil gentlewomen in this city, especially those that are nobly descended, who shew themselves very courteous towards strangers. There is continually going up and down with chariots and coaches, day and night. Go also towards the Asses-tower, and you shall see two towers together, which are not above four paces asunder; one of them is four-cornered, raised very high, all of brick, which six men may fathom about, but the height is one-hundred and thirty fathom: upon the same is continually the watch kept day and night; the other tower is built on purpose, as if it were falling down, and therefore they were forced to take a great deal of it down; the citizens that dwelt near thereunto, fearing the fall of the same, and to spoil their houses. It is yet forty fathom high.

This city is called the mother of learning, by reason of the famous university therein; but now, for six or eight years, it hath suffered shipwreck, because the governor, which pope Gregory the Thirteenth set to govern there, did cause a Dutch gentleman, of good rank, to be cast into prison in the night-time, (by reason of certain weapons which were found about him,) and commanded three *stroppa de corda* to be given him openly upon the market-place. Wherefore, all the Dutch nation departed presently from thence; for which the pope might rather have given many thousand crowns, than that it had been done, about which the governor fell into the pope's high displeasure.

There is not, in all Italy, to be seen such an excellent and fair college as is there, with fine pleasant rooms and pillars of marble stone, wherein no prince may think scorn to dwell, although at this time Padua hath the name; but I like Bologna much better, for every thing is to be had at a low rate.

Right over-against the college is the chiefest church, called St. Petronia, which is exceeding fair, but as yet not finished; neither, as is thought, will be in haste.

Further enquire for St. Dominico, a monastery of Dominican monks; go into it, and, when you come near the door, you shall see an altar wrought with such cunning and art, as that there is not the like to be seen in the universal world. Under that altar doth lie buried St. Dominick; and certainly the monastery is so extraordinary fair, that far and near is not the like. The Dutch nation have their burials therein.

Further, do not neglect to see St. Michael, a stately monastery lying on a hill near the city, most worthy to be noted; and, when it is clear weather, a man may see so far as Ferrara. Round about this monastery do grow cypress-trees, like unto a little wood, yielding so excellent a sweet smell, as that a faint heart may be quickened therewith; and there is a continual resort thither of men and women, as well for pleasure as devotion's sake, for, winter and summer, it remains green all alike.

Further, desire to see St. Salvator, which is a monastery of monks, and is the fairest built monastery in all Bologna.

Further, St. Francisco, in which there are monks of the Franciscan order, is also well worthy to be seen. And then, if you desire to see artificial and curious altars and pictures, you must go into St. Jacob's church; it is a monastery of the Augustines' order. There is in this city to be heard as excellent good musick, as almost in any other place in Italy, especially at St. Celestin's.

The city is wondrous fair, and there runs a fine river through it, called Reno, on which all manner of provision is conveyed into the city. The city is also great and spacious, and, nevertheless, all round about begirt with a marvellous fair wall.

It is credibly reported, that the pope hath every year out of this city three-hundred-thousand crowns income.

Hereafter follows the Way from **BOLOGNA** to **FLORENCE**.

From Bologna to Pianora, a hamlet, eight miles; from thence to Loiano, a hamlet, eight miles; thence to Pietra Mala, a little town, eight miles; thence to Rofreddo, a hamlet, seven.

There the ways do part by a bridge on the left-hand, to Pratolino, three miles from thence, on the right hand, the direct way to Florence; where the great-duke hath so pleasant a recreation, as is no-where else in all Italy to be seen.

PRATOLINO.

WHEN you come thither, enquire if the great-duke be there; then go to the gardener or keeper of the palace, and salute courteously, promising him something. First he will lead you above into the palace, which is built four-square; when you come into a room, you shall go right forwards into four rooms which have correspondence into four corners, which are six rooms, among which is one wherein the duke and his duchess do lie, on two beds, when they are there; but those beds are accounted the simplest amongst all the rest, and very low.

The other rooms are exceeding fairly furnished, and adorned with rich and costly arras, of clean gold and silver, wherewith the chambers are hung.

And, according as the hangings are in every chamber, so are likewise the beds hung and trimmed correspondently.

The chambers decked with extraordinary fair statues, pictures, and tables of alabaster and other rich stones.

Then go also up the stairs, and you shall come into the like rooms, where, in four-squares, are sixteen rooms, where beds do stand; the simplest amongst them did cost furnished ten-thousand crowns. Then you may bestow something upon the keeper's wife, or him that did lead you about.

Further, you must go from down a pair of stairs, where you shall see a fair grotto and vaults, richly set with coral, mother of pearl, and other rich stones, fastened into the wall so thick, that a man can scarce see any part of the wall; therein are also tables of marble-stone and alabaster, and also the benches very cunningly wrought, in inlaid work. If a man doth sit down at one of the tables, the water doth spout from below and above, and on every side, as if it rained mainly; and, when one thinks to rescue himself from the wet, then he comes just into the bath, all wringing wet: they spare no man, of what degree soever.

When you come out again, you shall see the garden right before you, like unto a broad street, on both sides, springs of water; the garden is made with all manner of young plants, that are green winter and summer. There is a great tree whereon the duke uses to dine and sup; from that tree, the duke can see both his palaces in the town; the one wherein he keeps his court, the other is called Pithi. Then go right over-against the palace, into a garden, and where is the duke's chapel, wherein mass is celebrated; it is round like a heathenish temple wainscoted within and without, with cypress-wood, and round about there grow cypress-trees.

Further, you shall see the statue of a water-god of white marble-stone, that hath, in length, four fathom; from him doth fall all the water, that comes into the artificial water-works.

About five miles from Pratolino, there hath been a very fair ground, all green meadows, but on each side, high hills, where the waters do come together; those grounds hath duke Cosmus the Second caused to be trenched about four miles in circuit, so that it is

now like unto a sea, from whence all the waters at Pratolino do spring: from Pratolino, are five miles to Florence.

FLORENCE.

WHEN you come within half a mile of Florence, and are many of you in a company, (for it is never otherwise,) send one before that is a *practicus*, to stay for you under the gate of the city, by the customers: then they will enquire of him the cause of his staying there; he may answer, that he stays there for certain students that are coming after on horseback, all wearied, not being used much to riding, (for they do look very narrowly, what things passengers do carry about them, whereby much time is lost;) but, because they may not be long in searching, put presently a piece of money, into one of their hands, without many words, speaking somewhat boldly to them, and, as then, they will let you pass: there are always many people looking very diligently to the business, and to espy if any thing be found amiss, whereby a man may judge, that much deceitful practice is there used.

When you come into the famous city of Florence, lodge at the Crown; there is also besides a Dutch hostery, called the Fusti, but there is continually used much excess in drinking.

Florence is a most excellent brave city; comparable to the same there is none, neither in Italy, nor elsewhere.

If there be none amongst yourselves that is acquainted with the custom of the city, then desire your host to help you to one; or you may have one of the Dutch guard to go with you.

Then go to the great-duke's palace: hard thereby is the Dutch guard; the duke maintains continually one-hundred of them to wait on his person; they dwell all together, and are drawn up to the watch every evening very bravely.

The palace is a famous building, where is a steeple so high, that one would say it is built in the air without foundation. Go into the palace up the stairs on your left-hand, and you shall see an extraordinary great hall, wherein the duke doth dine and sup openly; go after that out again, and on your right-hand, you shall see also a very great hall: there are every year presents given to the duke on St. John Baptist's day, who is patron to the Florentines. After which, is a fine act solemnized, where the duke sits in public state, and under a tabernacle do sit the states and country-townsmen in their order, and colours; the standards bowing themselves before him, with such ceremonies, as if they were to do homage. Then the duke goes to his palace to dinner; and afterwards the duke sets up a certain prize, about which the common people do dance, at which sport the duke beholds them.

You shall see in this hall very brave statues; and as you come out there is, on your right-hand, the duke's natural picture: right before the palace, as you go to the Dutch guard, you will see very fair statues, as artificially made as if they were living. There is also a very fair water-chest or fountain, with stately pictures of bell-metal, as also of marble-stone, continually spirting water; standing exceeding pleasantly upon the fair and great market-place. Then go up, over where the statues do stand, where the duke hath a very pleasant garden, and hath caused a water-work to be raised up on high, that it is a wonder, how it was possible for the water to be brought thither: when the duke is disposed to be merry, then he keeps his table there, by reason of the excellent cool air; from thence he hath but a little gallery to go into his palace. From thence go right forward, and you will come into a very long gallery, called Belvedere, which is adorned with most principal statues. On the side of the Belvedere, hath the duke Cosmus caused a chapel to be built (to which he can go secretly, and not seen, from and to his palace), which is set out with wondrous brave alabaster pictures, with a costly altar, and the said chapel round about ceiled with mother of pearl; under this gallery you shall see, in a prospective glass, an excellent fair room, underset with brave strong pillars, in which is the chancery or council kept: there is in all Italy not the like to be seen. Go also towards the old bridge, called Ponte Vecchio; on the same are built haberdashers' shops all over, and there runs a rich navigable

river underneath, called the Arno; when you come over that bridge, enquire for the palace, called Pithi, which is an exceeding fair building, all of square stone, very high and great, built four-cornered, with a court paved all over with square free-stone: there are in the same kingly rooms, and chambers, continually furnished wonderful richly. Thereupon is also a great and brave garden, and therein a little wood, all of cypress-trees, where do also grow all manner of meats, for the most costly birds and fowls. The duke hath oftentimes pleasant sport in the same: there grow also all manner of the delicatest fruits, which a man may imagine, and most part of the garden is continually green.

There are also stately fountains therein, with brave and costly statues, and the duke can go over a gallery from thence to his other palace, where he keeps his court, that no man can see him coming: then go back again to a bridge, called Ponte Novo, which is built all of white marble-stone, square pieces.

When you come over that, you shall see, on your left-hand, a very great stone pillar, on which sits an angel, with a pair of scales and a sword in his hands; which the great-duke Cosmus erected after he had got the victory of Siena from the lord Strozzi.

Then, when you go a little more forward, you shall come into the said Peter Strozzi's palace, whereby you will conceive the greatness of that man, and his power, in not fearing to set himself against the duke; intending to have made himself duke. He hath had also more like palaces in the city.

Further, go to the palace, called Cassina, where the duke doth maintain all manner of artists of all nations; for the duke taketh great pleasure therein; he himself having learned two or three of those artificial sciences, and doth oftentimes use to work amongst them.

Not far from thence you shall come to a house, wherein are kept certain tame leopards, lions, bears, and other beasts; all which you may see for a small matter bestowed.

NUNCIATA, called, 'Our Holy Mother.'—There you shall see a great devotion for pilgrimage, in which place there are so many miracles done and seen, as that it is impossible for me to write of them all; only you shall see the true signs and tokens, as they say, of the popes, emperors, kings, and princes, and other great persons, who (through their strange faiths, and devout prayers) have been helped and cured. This Nunciata hath also an excellent hospital, into which there are seldom taken any, but only such as have relation to the duke's court; which hospital is a most pleasant place, where the sick are attended with great diligence, and provided with very sweet and cleanly bedding.

Then go out from thence through the straight street, and you shall see the cathedral church, which is a rare building, all of red and white marble-stones; on which is a round steeple built so straight, that no man would believe it to be so exceeding high; and on the top is a golden globe, or ball, wherein myself, with eighteen persons more, have stood; and if they would fit themselves handsomely, there may well stand twenty-four: hard by the said church is another great tower, wherein is a clock; the same steeple or tower is built from the bottom to the top, with marble-stone, and gilt with divers colours; it doth not touch the church, but is built so, that one may go round about it. Right against the church is a round temple, called St. John, the Florentine patron; which temple hath three doors, or gates of bell-metal, with exceeding fair raised figures, and histories, and especially there is cast upon the same the whole Old Testament: they do confidently affirm that the same does come from Jerusalem.

Then, going towards your lodging, the Crown, there is not far off the church of St. Laurentio, wherein is buried queen Johanna of Austria, the emperor Maximilian's daughter, wife to the great-duke Cosmus, together with her children, where you shall see a wonderful fair epitaph. By reason of the death of this great princess, the poor people in the city were driven to an extreme lamentation, and sorrowful bewailing, for they lost a mother of her: she, having presented unto her, from the prince her husband yearly, twelve-thousand crowns for a new-year's gift, did not make use thereof, for any lust or pleasure; but did distribute the same altogether, for God's sake, to the said poor. In this church

are to be seen the epitaphs of the dukes of Florence and their predecessors, as also an excellent *bibliotheca* of four-thousand eight-hundred written books, in parchment very fairly bound.

This city is built with stately palaces and very fair houses; the streets are wondrous fair, and paved all with four-square stones, that no filth or uncleanness may abide thereon; and, though it rains much, within one quarter of an hour it is dry again. The city is also furnished with all manner of trades and merchandizes, and especially with silks, and costly rich cloth of gold and tissue, which are made there; comparable to which there are none in all Italy: there do also frequent a valiant sort of knights and gentry which are employed in service against the common enemies, the Turks; you shall also see there two very strange castles or forts; the one lies on a plain ground near the city-wall; the other on a high hill upon the city; wherein are in garrison all Spaniards, it being so ordered by Charles the First, emperor, that the duke Cosmus should maintain only Spaniards; which is observed to this day, and no other nation may be entertained therein.

Here followeth the Way to HIGH SIENA.

From Florence to Casciano, a little town, eight miles; from thence to Barbatino, four miles; from thence to Tavernelle, a little town, four miles; from thence to Poggioponzo, a little town, that lies under a fort named Poggis Imperiale, four miles; from thence to Staggia, a little town, four miles; from thence to High Siena city, six miles.

HIGH SIENA,

AN exceeding fair city, lying on a high ground, fastened in round about with strong walls: when you come into the city, lodge at the Golden Angel, where you will find good and stately entertainment; and if you desire horses to Rome, you may have them at return for a small matter, and those that will bear your charges, till you come to Rome: go to the market-place, which is wide and fair, and a water-chest, at the upper end; take a diligent view of that water-chest; as you go along out of the market-place, you shall perceive it like unto a Jacob's muscle, by reason of the red bricks wherewith the place is paved, and pieces of white marble-stone mingled amongst them, that it doth naturally resemble a muscle. Then go to the head and principal church called Domo or cathedral, which is so richly built, that in all Italy, is scarce the like; all of white and black marble-stone within and without, and a steeple like unto it; so that a man may say, the whole building is like a costly jewel, by reason of the pleasant and rich materials thereof. And therein you shall see all the popes lively pictured, and the church adorned with very fine altars; and against the church is an especial fine hospital, where the poor pilgrims and other strangers are harboured and entertained with good and wholesome meat and drink, sweet bedding, and other necessities, three days and three nights freely. There goes a great charge and expence thereupon, and in case the yearly income will not serve, then the city must give supply. The city is plentifully served with all manner of good victuals; partridges, pheasants, hares, and all sorts of fowl, are to be had for a small matter: especially, the students, where they board, are very excellently well served with all courteous and affable behaviour. There is also exceeding good wine and fine bread; the wine, in summer-time, being so cool, that a man can scarce drink it, when they first bring it out of the cellar, but it must stand awhile.

There is not, in all Italy, spoke the language more pure than in this city and thereabouts; the plain country-swain delivers it as elegantly, as the chiefest in the city. And, above other things, I may not forget to praise the exceeding beauty and well-favouredness of the women-kind in this place, being wondrous well fitted for kind and lovely conversation, graced with comely apparel, and, especially, they are in general skilful in riding, and do sit well on horseback. You shall also see a brave university, frequented by all nations; many noble persons living there, for their learning's sake, and more of the Dutch nation, than any other. There is also just on the city a marvellous strong castle, or fort, which the great-duke Cosmus caused to be built, as he had brought this city under his

power, and overthrown lord Peter Strozzi; which castle is sufficiently furnished with great ordnance and all manner of ammunition, against which, the citizens cannot lightly rebel: the garrison is all of Italian soldiers. And, let it rain never so fast or long, it is dry again, throughout the whole city, within the space of half an hour.

Hereafter follows the Way from HIGH SIENA TO ROME.

From Siena to Lucignano, a little town, six miles; thence to Buon Convent, a little town, five miles; thence to Vornieri, a little town, seven miles; from thence you may see the exceeding strong fort, called Monte Alcinoo, three miles; on the side, when you come to Tornieti, do not lodge at the sign of the Stars, but go a little further down to the Half-Moon, which is a better lodging. From thence to St. Quinco, eight miles; thence to Alla Paglia, an inn, four miles; thence to Ponte Cintino, a market-town, eight miles; when you ride from Alla Paglia, enquire if it hath not lately rained, before you pass over the water, for therein do lie hid great stones, the water oftentimes coming on a sudden with such force, that it carries both horse and man. From Ponte Cintino to Aquapendente, four miles; before you come thither, you must pass over a bridge of stone, which the pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built. In this town, you shall find most delicate, fresh, and cool drink-water, and excellent good wine and lodging: it is also the key of the pope's country. From Aquapendente to St. Laurence, five miles: it is a fine little town, where do grow marvellous pleasant wines, especially the red wine. From thence to Bolsina, a little town, four miles; where doth grow also exceeding good wine, and it lies on the sea-border. In this sea do lie two islands; on either is built a church, the one is called Santa Martana; the other, Versontina; wherein is interred the body of St. Christma. In this sea are taken very good fishes, pike, carp, and eels.—From thence to Montefiascon, five miles.

MONTEFIASCON.

THIS town lies upon a hill, formed like a flaggon, from whence the town is so called: there doth grow the best muscadine in all Italy; in which wine, a certain prelate drank himself to death, and lies there buried, on whose grave-stone are cut these words following:

Dominus meus mortuus est.

Which epitaph his servant made. He was sent always by his master before, when he travelled, for this end, to taste the wine in divers places; and, where he found this good muscadine, he, on the door wrote, *Est*, which was the token for his master to know that there was good wine; and so, *Est*, as he espied the same written on the doors, there he always lighted and renewed his drinking, whereby he lost his life.—From Montefiascon to Viterbo, a city, eight miles.

VITERBO.

THIS is an ancient city, pertaining to the cardinal Farnesio. It is adorned with very fair and artificial water-works, worthy the seeing: and, when you have taken sight of this place, my advice is, to take you away out as you came in; and then ride, on your right-hand hard by the town-wall, to the cardinal Gambara: thither you have three miles, where you shall, by the said cardinal, be courteously entertained: for myself, with sixteen other gentlemen, (certain years past,) went that way, and the cardinal, having notice thereof, caused our horses to be taken and set in his stables, and gave orders to shew us into princely chambers, to be lodged that night; and, at supper-time, we were all invited to a very rich feast, the banquet being served all in rich plate: on the morrow, the cardinal's cousin led us into the palace and garden, to see the same, which is adorned with wonderful rare water-works, statues, and growing things, that are green winter and summer. And, as we were minded to take horse and depart, we were then again earnestly entreated, and invited to a very costly dinner; the said cardinal himself using us very graciously, and merrily desiring of us, "That, at such time as we should arrive home again into our own countries, we would not omit to desire (in his behalf) any of our friends, that should have occasion to come that way, that they would not pass by his house without calling in, and then to accept of his poor entertainment."

Now, as we were ready to depart, we agreed to bestow twenty crowns on his servants, of which the cardinal got notice, and gave express charge, that upon pain of corporal punishment, they should not receive any thing of us.—From thence to Caprarola, which is a very excellent fair palace, pertaining to cardinal Farnesio; being from cardinal Gambara's palace, seven miles.

CAPRAROLA

Is a wondrous stately palace, thirty miles from Rome, and not above two miles out of the way; very fairly built, four-square; wherein are excellent brave statues, and pleasant gardens, with curious and artificial water-works. When you go up, you shall see princely lodgings, with all manner of rich hangings, and with beds and tables of precious stone: and, when a man goes into one chamber (the same being left open), he shall look into five others, and see in four corners twenty rooms, stately furnished; especially, the portraiture and signicator of the four winds, as artificial, as is possible to be made:—Give there somewhat to drink. From thence to Monte Rosa, a market-town, three miles; and, before you come to Monte Rosa you may go through the cardinal's park, wherein are many deer, and other strange beasts. From thence to Baccano, an inn, six miles. There hath been, in times past, dangerous travelling that way, when it was a wood, the banditti harbouring themselves therein: it pertains to the lord Paulo Jordan of Bracciaro; which wood he caused to be cut down, that so now there is safe travelling the place, being at this time a pretty market-town, and lies on a little sea, wherein are excellent fish. From thence to Alla Storta, a market-town, eight miles; from thence to Rome are seven miles.

ROME; which is called the Head City of the whole World.

WHEN you come to Rome, enquire for the Black-Bear, or Sword, both which are lodgings for strangers, where you shall have good entertainment, and be well used; but most commonly the chiefest persons lodge at the Sword on Monte Giardano, in Italian *Alla Spacta*. The host will order one or other to go with you to see the city; and my advice is, if you desire to see things worthy your notice, that you go first of all to the castle in a boat, or on foot: for a coach, you shall give not above a crown and an half for the whole day.

ANGEL CASTLE.

And first you crave licence of the colonel, who will appoint one to head about; you may bestow something on him, and he is commonly one of the soldiers in garrison. Then, leaving your weapons in the porter's lodge, he will bring you up to the first rampart, where are two houses of artillery, full of excellent armour, to arm about six-hundred horsemen with cuirasses, and one-thousand soldiers on foot. Then go through the three watch-towers upwards, where are very stately chambers and rooms, in which doth dwell the colonel; hard by, are two other rooms, with ammunition to arm twelve-hundred musqueteers. There desire to see the rope-ladder, with which the great Roman gentleman, called L. Cæsare Gaetano, did let down himself from the castle, and almost had clear escaped out of prison; the same ladder lies in a chest, standing in a certain room, where is a fall-trap; and when they intend to dispatch an offender (some great person) secretly, they bring him into the said room, where, stepping unawares aside, he doth suddenly fall down, most fearfully, upon sharp iron pricks and saws, that cut him all in pieces: you will wonder to see it. The foresaid L. Gaetano had almost released himself out of that prison, if the governor's boy (who helped him) had not sorely fallen, which made him cry aloud; which the sentinel no sooner heard, but presently raised the watch, who got him, and brought him in again, and gave notice thereof to the pope; whereupon, the pope gave order to cut off the nobleman's head at midnight following, and the boy was hung out over the city-walls. Let him also shew you the prison for great and noble persons, wherein is a pleasant bath; hard by which, is a secret trap, to let one fall upon sharp irons: over-against that is a fair chapel, wherein mass is celebrated; further, go upwards, where you shall see an angel, made of white marble-stone, presenting this signification: As, on a time, pope Gregory the First went in procession, having the picture of Sancta Maria Ara

Celi in his hands, and coming to this Angel Castle, he looked upwards, and saw an angel standing there, where this angel of marble-stone now standeth, with a naked sword in the one hand, and, in the other, the sheath; and when the angel put the sword into the sheath, the plague did presently cease, which had reigned a long time before in the city. Hard-by this angel of marble-stone, doth stand a wondrous great and high ship-mast, on which is hung a great flag of triumph, on a principal feast-day, when, also, is rung a thundering peal of great ordnance. Hard-by, do lie two pieces, that carry seven Italian miles. Then you go back again, through a narrow gallery, where, on your right-hand, is a door, that leadeth to the pope's house of victuals; and, a little beneath, another door of iron, that goes in where the pope's treasure is, and the whole city's of Rome. Then give the soldier, that went about with you, something to drink, that his other fellows may not see it; else, he must part it with them. Then you come again to the watch-gate, where the weapons are given you; contribute somewhat amongst you to bestow upon them to drink, and then the drummer strikes up lustily: and, when you come to the outmost watch-gate, where are the ancient, lieutenant, and other officers, bestow something on them, and so take your leave. This castle is, by nature, so strong; that, as yet, it was never gotten by any enemy. It was first built for a mausoleum to the emperor Adrian, a place of funeral; afterwards it was made a strong fort: there are, at this time, raised about it five great and main bastions, or ramparts; the city of Rome hath been seven times overcome, but the castle never. By the castle, is a church, called Sant Transpontina, wherein are two pillars, on which, as they say, St. Peter and Paul were scourged: go a little further to St. Peter's Place, near whereunto lies the emperor's ambassador, in a church called St. John; where is a table of white marble-stone, on which our Saviour Christ was circumcised, which was brought from Jerusalem to Rome: this stone should have been carried further, to another place (four horses drawing thereat), but, as it came to the place where it is now, the horses would draw no more, notwithstanding they were beaten so long, till they fell down and died; and, therefore, this church was built there, in perpetual honour and memory, and it was lifted up, and laid on an altar. Every year, on Good-Friday, are celebrated their solemn vigil, and there is made a fair sepulchre. Within the Angel Castle are exceeding fair palaces, wherein the cardinals do keep their courts: then go to St. Peter's palace, where you will see a marvellous great and high pyramid, erected upon the market-place, which pope Sixtus V. caused to be transported thither, at the charge of six-thousand crowns; and, besides, did give three-thousand crowns to the master that brought it thither, and erected it; and dubbed him a knight of the Golden Fleece, from which honour he receives a yearly stipend.

The said pyramids, in times past, did stand for Julius Cæsar Augustus Circo. And, in former times, when an emperor, or other great potentate, died, they used to burn their corpse to ashes, and put them in a great golden globe, and set that on the top of the same, or such like pyramid; but the foresaid pope did take down the globe that stood thereon, and, instead thereof, caused his own arms to be set upon the same, for an everlasting remembrance. Then go forward to the guard of the Switzers, where the pope maintains two-hundred for his guard, which are paid monthly; and if any of them gets a son, and the child is but eight days old, then he hath his duty-pay like his father.

SANTO PETRO, the Pope's Palace, and Church.

Hard-by the Switzers' guard, is the Pope's Palace: enquire first for the Bibliotheca, and, just as you come in, on your right-hand, dwelleth the gentleman that oversees the same; salute him, and he will appoint you one to go about, and open the rooms, which are seventy-one: then you shall see the most excellent books; the world not yielding the like, and are all written. In the first room, you shall see three books, which Virgil did write, and are sixteen-hundred years old; you shall also see, in certain chests, wonderful excellent books, especially one, written with clear Arabian gold; insomuch that, in those days, there would be scarce means found to write the like, in regard it is written, as if it were raised or cast upon the book.

There are worthy to be seen, also, the rolls, or the tables of Moses, on which are written the Ten Commandments, given from God: moreover, you shall see certain Indian books, written with barks of trees, but not with letters, only figures; you shall see likewise, lying in chests and settles, many books covered all with red velvet, and with gold and silver clasps; other books, that have been former popes' prayer-books. In another room, you shall see an infinite number of printed books. Then, friendly taking leave, bestow something to drink. Then go up into the palace, and you shall see, in three most fair galleries, whole Europe stately portrayed. And, in the uppermost gallery, is excellently represented the manner of pope Gregory the First's procession; in which the archangel, St. Michael, shewed himself to the pope, standing above in the castle St. Angelo. When you come down again, ask for the Belvedere, a marvellous fair gallery, five-hundred paces long; at the upper end of which, is an exceeding fair statue of Cleopatra, well fitted for an artificial springing water-work. Go a little further, and there are certain chests locked, wherein do lie such excellent and principal artificial statues, as the like cannot be seen in all Rome. Above the same, are other rooms, wherein did dwell the prince of Gelder's son, and also died there; but after what sort, or what death, I could never learn.

Then enquire for the pope's gardener, who will shew you wonderful stately things, and will direct you how to come to the pope's exceeding fair gallery:—Give him something to drink. Then go back again through the Belvedere, and, when you are out of that, enquire where the pope keeps his *consistorium*, or council, which is commonly every Monday and Friday, in the mornings; and courteously saluting the guard of Switzers, who are appointed there to attend, they will let you in, where you may see the pope, with all his cardinals, and how they kiss his feet. When you come out from thence, you shall see a wondrous fair chapel, into which the pope himself doth oftentimes resort; and, before the same, is a stately hall, in which you shall see, most curiously portrayed, the last Day of Judgment, wrought by that excellent artificial painter, called Michael Angelo Buonaretto, a Florentine, whose like was not to be found. Then you shall go out of the chapel, into the great hall, named *La Sala Beata*, wherein the pope gives audience to ambassadors or orators, which is always done publicly, that every man may hear, and is therefore called *Consistorium publicum*. Then you shall go from the hall, down a very stately pair of stairs; on the right-hand, there is a door, through which they go into the sacristy, a prelate having the custody thereof, who is called *sacristano*: you must ask leave of him to see the same. In this sacristy are kept the pope's robes, in which he useth to say mass, and are forty several pieces, each one worth thirty-thousand crowns; and, in particular, that which was presented by the king of Portugal, to pope Gregory the Thirteenth, which is valued at eighty-thousand crowns. Then go into the next room, on the right-hand, where is a wooden chest, in which is a golden cup, wherewith the pope celebrates mass, and many others, which I omit to write of: only that cup which the great-duke Cosmus gave to pope Gregory the Thirteenth, the weight of which is twelve ounces of gold, the cover set all over with diamonds and rubies; on the same is the name Jesus, set with diamonds, the length of a finger: that cup is of great value; and in the same is a golden spout, through which the pope communicates, when he celebrates mass. Further, you shall see certain chests full of silver candlesticks pertaining to the altars, twelve apostles in the height of a man, and perfuming-vessels, and other rich plate:—Bestow somewhat to drink. You may try to see the pope's chamber of treasure; but it is a very difficult thing to get leave; where are certain chests, in every of which, is kept the treasure that each pope did leave, shortly before their deaths: it is not possible to be described. I had the fortune to get in, with a princess great with child, whereby I had a sight thereof: you may courteously entreat the L. Guarda Rabba to help you in, which he may do if he pleases. After which you shall see the pope's wondrous fair gallery, which pope Gregory caused to be made; being adorned with incomparable stately works of painting of figures, pictures, and histories, all over-gilded. This gallery is three-hundred paces long, and more, where the pope does often recreate himself, walking up and down.

When you are out of this gallery, you shall come into the pope's first chamber, where there is an excellent, great, and fair looking-glass: afar off, a man shall see a stately palace or castle, and as you draw nearer unto it, you shall see therein the pope as naturally as if he were present; after which, go under the glass, and you shall see yourself, the pope vanishing away. Go further, into the pope's chambers, wherein he lies, all which are hung with red velvet, richly embroidered, golden ridges and tenter-hooks, and the ground covered all with red velvet. There is hard-by a little chapel, in which the mass is read when the pope is sickly. Then, taking leave, for honour's sake, offer some reward, but nothing will be received: then go down again to the great hall, and, if you will, go presently into St. Peter's church, turn on the left-hand, and then you shall see the place where St. Peter lay in prison.

The church of St. Peter, hard by the pope's palace, is one of the seven head-churches.

When you come into the church, there is, on your right-hand, a white walled gate, called *la Porta Sancta*, which every twenty-five years is beaten down by the pope with a golden hammer, and opened: then all the cardinals do take that hammer, and strike thereupon; at which time, many thousand people, that came thither from afar, do approach the said *porta*, or door, to get a piece thereof, which they carry home, and reserve the same most warily, esteeming the same for a sacred thing. Go forwards, and you shall see two gates of brass, which, as they say, were brought from Jerusalem. More inwards, there is, on your left-hand, an altar, on which is laid before the people, to behold, the head of St. Andrew the apostle. Over-against that, on your right-hand, is laid upon an altar the spear wherewith the side of our Blessed Saviour was pierced, and also the sponge wherewith they gave him to drink, and also the holy sweating-cloth of St. Veronica; all which are shewed the people on high feast-days. Further, on the midst of the church, on your left-hand, is an altar named *Sanctum Sanctorum*, at which (when they carry the pope down from his palace, into the chapel called *Capella Paulina*, where do lie buried half the bodies of both the Apostles, Peter and Paul) the pope is set down, and doeth his devotion, which continues half an hour.

Then go out into the building, where, on your right-hand, is a marvellous fair chapel, called *Gregoriana*, which pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built, shortly before his death, which cost five-hundred-thousand crowns and more, as they affirm; and therein lies buried the body of St. Gregory the First, whom pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be transported thither out of another church: and, afterwards, Gregory the Thirteenth was buried by him.

Right before this chapel stands a pillar, about which is made an iron grate, where are done many miracles; for they do say, for a certain truth, that our Saviour Christ did use to lean on that pillar at Jerusalem, when he preached in the Temple. Against the same, you shall see an exceeding rich tomb, in which pope Farnesius the Third is buried, all of bell-metal naturally. Right before the old church, named *Capella Paulina*, are certain marble-stone pillars, which were brought from Jerusalem. At the altar in that chapel, doth the pope himself celebrate mass on high feast-days, if he be not indisposed; and, under the same pillar, lies the other half part of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Moreover, in the new building are four chapels, one of which pope Gregory caused to be finished before his death: the other three should have been finished by the emperor, the king of Spain, and the king of France; but, hitherto, there is not one of them finished. This pope is resolved, as they say, to accomplish the same, together with the new building of St. Peter's; which is so incomparable a building, that in the universal world cannot be found the like. Before you depart from St. Peter's church, desire to see the pope's stable, wherein are thirty snow-white nags or hackneys, and a milk-white ass, on which the pope uses to ride; and, for a small reward, they will make ready one of the same, trimmed and furnished, as if the pope were ready to ride thereon, wonderful stately.

Every year, on St. Peter's day, doth the king of Spain's orator present the pope with such a white nag; and when, on that day, the pope is carried from his palace to the

church, there stands his said Majesty's orator ready with the nag before the church-door, until his Holiness is near: then they stand still with the pope, who gives his blessing, and presently the white nag falls down on both his fore-knees before the pope; and then they carry his Holiness into the church, and the said orator delivers the nag to the pope's steward, with a red velvet purse, which it carries about its neck, wherein are twelve-thousand crowns for a yearly tribute.

Then go from St. Peter's to Campo Santo, where the Dutch nation have their church, and you shall see a ground encompassed with a little wall four-square; which ground, as they credibly affirm, was brought from Jerusalem in the four pillars of bell-metal, which stand before the altar at St. John Lateran. They say, if a pilgrim be buried in that church-yard, being a Roman, he cannot consume or decay; but any other nation, in twenty-four hours, are quite consumed; which is daily to be seen, and much wondered at. This Campo Santo is an hospital, ordained by queen Anne of Austria, where are fed, every dinner-time, thirteen pilgrims, of which a great number do assemble themselves every morning, standing ring-wise; out of them the priest selects thirteen, and brings them into a fair room, and places one of them (as resembling our Saviour) in the midst; and on each side, six others; who are excellently well served at a long table, signifying the twelve Apostles.

The whole dinner-time, a priest doth read out of the Holy Writ, at the table; two other ministers attending, to fill wine, and to set meat in order; and, when they are satisfied, hand-water is given them, and those that desire bread to carry with them, do receive it; and then, with thanks, they take their leave. Then go further, if you be inclined to go to Santo Spirito, an hospital; and enquire for cardinal Cesius's palace, which hath wonderful fair rooms, richly furnished, and adorned with brave statues.

SANTO SPIRITO, an Hospital, made by the Pope.

When you come in, you shall see right out before, on both sides, three-hundred beds standing, all hung with very fair curtains, the bedsteads carved, night-gowns, pantables, and other necessities in order placed by every bed. So soon as a sick body comes thither, (for none are refused,) he is set on a bench, until the doctors and surgeons are brought to him, with the apothecaries, by whom the sick are visited; he is presently accepted, his bedding appointed, and immediately a clean sweet shirt is given him; his clothes are laid up, till he recovers, or dies; and, as soon as the sick person is any whit amended, they give him another lodging, where he is well attended fourteen days, and more, until he be well recovered. In this hospital are thirty persons always maintained, only to give diligent attendance on the sick that resort thither.

In the midst you shall see as many beds, as in the room you came in at; and there is an altar and tabernacle, where mass is read to the sick, every morning: both sides are hung with arras in winter-time, in summer with gilded leather, from the ground to the top. There are continually found, in this hospital, above three-thousand persons, as children, nurses, widows, and other poor people, that are there maintained. This hospital, as is credibly reported, hath had every year, income, more than two-hundred thousand crowns; but the popes of late have taken it away; so that the yearly revenue now is one-million seven-hundred-thousand crowns. Then go further to see the fair spital, which is a very pleasant building, adorned with stately pillars; in which building an emperor may not be ashamed to keep his court. It is as big as a reasonable town.

Now, having seen the whole castle, I would advise you to hire a coach, and so, in order, to take a view of the most principal things in the churches, as followeth:

When you go out of the gate Sant Spiritus, look behind you on the left-hand, and you shall see that wonderful swift river, the Tiber, which runs through the city, and also the Vestigia, on which the bridge Trionfal did stand, as the Romish emperor went from the Vatican in all state and pomp over the same; and from thence to Campo Doglio, where doth stand the Senato Romano, or council-house. Further, you will see, from the Porta Santo Spirito, towards the Angel-castle, an excellent fair street; go through the same,

and on your right-hand, at the foot of a hill, called Monte Johan Nicolo (where the emperor Julius Cesar had his Circus, and the Pyramis, which is on St. Peter's Place), where at that time was a monastery, named Honofro, pertaining to the cardinal Madrazi.

Go forwards through the gate, and on the right-hand you shall see, right-against the hill, a monastery, named St. Petri Montorio, where is built a chapel, like a round temple, very pleasant to behold: go down from thence, and there is an altar, and two pillars of marble-stone, between which (as they certainly affirm) St. Peter the Apostle was martyred and crucified: from thence you may plainly behold the whole city of Rome. Then go back to St. Maria Trastevere, where are wondrous brave columns, and an ancient church. Under the great altar is a place, where was a spring of very costly oil at the time when our Saviour Christ was born; after whose birth the spring did lose itself, and ceased; and therefore the church was built on that place. Further, go towards the two bridges; one of which, named *Insula*, is fastened in with clear white marble-stone, naturally resembling a great ship, wherein doth stand in the midst a Pyramis, named *Ponte de quatro Capi*: go over the bridge towards the Jews' town, and you shall see on your left-hand an Antiquater, which was, in times past, *Theatrum Marcelli*; it is, on the one side, as yet unruinated. Then enquire for Santa Maria del Portino, wherein you shall see, behind the great altar, a pillar that shines and lights like a torch day and night, which should have been transferred to St. Peter's; but this being so ancient a church, the pope, without breaking the orders, may not take it away. Not far from thence is Pontius Pilate's palace, built of red bricks, being, in those days, a curious fine work; it is almost altogether ruinated, and no man can safely dwell therein, by reason of continual hurly-burlies, or terrible appearances. Over-against the same, you shall see two ancient temples, the one long-wise, called the Temple of the Sun; the other round, the Temple of the Moon; built in time past in honour of the planets: they are much decayed, by reason of bad weather and long standing.

Go further, and see the mighty great hill, Monte Palatino, which is one of the seven hills of Rome; underneath, hard-by a church, you shall see a great marble-stone, round like a mill-stone, having two eyes, a nose, and a wide mouth, named *La Bocca della Verita*, in English, 'The Mouth of Truth;' for, in those days, the people used to run thither to enquire after unknown things, as, complaining of adultery, or such like; the party suspected, putting his finger into that mouth, did swear his innocence; and he or she that did swear falsely, the mouth did bite off his finger:—*Credat qui volet*.

The church, on which this stone doth lean, is very ancient, and in which St. Augustine kept school. Go also further, and you may look into the Tiber, where, in time past, did stand the bridge, named *Pons Supplicum*, upon which that valiant Roman, Horatio Cocles, did fight, and alone withstood the Tuscans so long, till the bridge fell down behind him; whereby the city of Rome was preserved; he himself, with his horse, leaping over the bridge into the river, was saved, having thereby manfully overcome the enemy.

Go towards St. Paul, on your right-hand, and you shall see a great hill, raised up only with potsherds, and other strange earth; for, as, on a time, the emperor would tax the world, he did desire that from every part thereof each one should bring him for a tribute a pot full of earth to that place; and so the hill was made, as aforesaid. In the time of pope Pius the Fourth, they did use now and then to set up pales and rails on that ground, and gave some rich prize to be won; then brought wild buffaloes and bulls, on which they hung powder and squibs, setting them on fire, when they would run amongst other buffaloes, making them furious; and then the Romans would take each of them a pale, and he, that should overcome and kill one of those buffaloes, did receive a prize.

Then go to St. Paolo alla Porta, where doth stand an ancient pyramid, half part of which is built within the city, and half without. In the wall is a tomb twelve-hundred years old; and they say, that the first pope of Rome lies buried there. Go further towards the gate through a long street, and you shall see by the way a little church by which St. Peter shewed himself, as St. Paul was led out to suffer and to die, and there St. Peter took his leave of him; you may read on the wall of the church, in what most

pitiful manner the two Apostles departed, insomuch as whoso doth read it, can scarce forbear weeping.

ST. PAUL'S

Is a mighty great church, built by the emperor Constantine, in honour of St. Paul's head, which was found there at that time: without the church are four holy gates, which every twenty-five years are once opened. When you come into the church, on your right-hand, is an altar, which was a well when St. Paul was beheaded, and before the church was built, into which well those that had compassion of Paul did cast his head, which being found, the church was there built. Take a view of the church, which is adorned with forty-eight mighty great marble-stone pillars, of all manner of colours, curiously wrought, so great and high, that the like are not to be seen in all Rome.

In the midst of the church, you shall see a chapel, wherein queen Bridget of Sweden did use to do her devotion. Right against that chapel stands a crucifix, and queen Bridget had a little window in the chapel, through which she might see the crucifix, where she did her devotion with such fervency, that the crucifix turned, and looked towards the window, and stands so to this day; and there are great indulgences and pardons for sins, to be obtained every year, by such as do heartily and unfeignedly desire the same. Above the great altar do lie buried three innocent children, which were slain by Herod's command. There are also seven altars privileged; so that, if any person be loth to go as far as St. Peter's, they may here have as many indulgences and pardons for their sins, as they can have at St. Peter's. Then enquire for the sacristan, and he will lead you into the sacristy, and shew you the relicks upon the altar; he will shew you the arm of St. Anna, our dear loving mother, with skin and bone, through a window of crystal; the arm is fastened in with silver, which I myself have touched. Further, you shall see the chain in which St. Paul was bound in prison; which chain, if any man puts it about his neck, he shall never, all the days of his life, be fettered in iron chains, nor imprisoned, as they say. There are also many other relicks, as, the water wherewith Christ was baptized; certain stones wherewith St. Stephen was stoned; and also half the corpses of Peter and Paul.

At that time, when Charles the Fifth, emperor, was at Rome, he desired the pope to grant him a request which he would ask; promising, that he would desire neither land, nor money, nor any thing that was worth money. The pope demanding what it was, the emperor said, he did only crave one of the links of St. Paul's chain; but the pope gave him no more than half a link, as is this day to be seen, the other half part remaining yet on the chain. Bestow something then to drink. Afterwards go towards the three fountains. There was St. Paul beheaded, whose head being struck off, it leaped three times, as they say, and at every leap it called 'Jesus;' and presently after there sprung up three springs, which are now compassed about very pleasantly; and by each one doth hang a copper little pan, out of which the people use to drink: there stands a table by the same, on which is written, 'Whoso drinks out of those springs, shall attain everlasting salvation.' The Romans do run thither barefoot in the morning early to drink. Before you come to the three wells, you shall see a hill, on which there have been slain, by the tyrannical emperor's command, one-hundred-seventy-four-thousand martyrs; then go from the three fountains towards Sebastian's, which is one of the seven principal churches.

ST. SEBASTIAN'S.

This church stands on the way-side without Rome, called Appia, whither is a continual resort of a wonderful number of pilgrims, especially in the time of Lent: hard-by a place called *Catumba*, is a well wherein did lie secretly hid the bodies of St. Peter and Paul, as they say, two-hundred and fifty years before any body could know what was become of them; on the same is built an altar with especial privileges, at which intercession is made for the afflicted souls, that, as yet, are detained in purgatory.

Then desire a priest to go with you that hath a torch lighted, lest you lose yourselves in the grotto or vault, under which lies buried Calixtus, with one-hundred eighty-six thousand martyrs. And in your going out, you shall see an altar under which Sebastian lies buried. The priest will let you see divers other relicks; as, the measure and form, the length and bigness of our Saviour's feet, which he left on the hill at his holy ascension. Then go towards the city again by the way of Appia, where you shall come to a chapel, by which two ways do part: and there did St. Peter meet our Saviour, and said, "Whither wilt thou go?" Our Saviour answered, "I am come for thy sake, and to be crucified again." Presently after our Saviour vanished away, and St. Peter went into the city of Rome; where he was very shortly after cast into prison, and put to death.

THERMÆ ANTONINÆ.

These Thermæ have been baths which the emperor Constantine caused to be built at an infinite cost, and admirable curiosity; the water being led unto them twenty-seven Italian miles.

ST. STEFFAN REDONDO.

This was in times past a heathenish temple, pertaining to the Hungarian nation, but since costly built by pope Gregory the Thirteenth, wherein are most excellently drawn and portrayed the death and tortures of all such martyrs as have suffered since the birth and passion of our Blessed Saviour, and under what tyrants they were persecuted.

This temple, in former times, was named *Pantheum*, by reason all the gods were presented and honoured there; now there are many reformed Jews baptized therein, as you may see oftentimes. Then go towards John de Lateran, where heretofore the popes have had their residence.

JOHN LATERAN,

One of the seven capital churches. When you go towards the church, you shall see on your right-hand a little court, where doth stand a stone pillar of Perfidio, on which the cock did stand and crow thrice, before Peter denied our Saviour Christ. There is also a temple, wherein are very stately pillars, and, in the midst, is a little chest, made over a stone kettle, out of which the emperor Constantine was christened, who was the first Christian emperor. Then go forwards, and enquire for the sacristan of St. John: he will go before you with two burning torches, and shew you a chapel underneath the church, which is never opened but on great holidays; if you salute him courteously, he will open it for you. Therein is a table, at which our Saviour Christ did sit with his Apostles, at the institution of the holy sacrament; it is of wood four-square: you shall see also the staff with which Moses parted the Red Sea, and led the children of Israel through it; also the staff of Aaron, wherewith he governed the episcopal state: then go out of the church, and you shall see a chair of stone; and they say, when a pope is to be chosen, they set him on the same (being hollow) to see, whether he be fitted as a man: hard-by the same is a holy gate, which is opened once in twenty-five years. The ceiling of this church is overgilded with pure gold. By the great altar are four pillars of bell-metal, exceeding fair, which were brought from Jerusalem, filled with holy earth; for they are hollow and most curiously wrought. There are also shewed to the people, on great holidays, the heads of St. Peter and Paul, laid upon the altar: they are yet fresh to behold with skin and hair, as if they were living. In this church are many other relicks and holy things, of which I omit to write. It was built by the emperor Constantine, and is very stately, and is adorned with pillars of marble-stone, of all sorts of colours.

Then go into the cloisters, where doth stand a table of stone upon four pillars, under which every man or woman, that comes thither, do measure themselves; but there was never any person yet found, that was just of that height: it was, as they say, the exact stature of our Saviour Christ. Further, there are three open doors and gates, which have stood in Herod's palace at Jerusalem, through which our Blessed Saviour went, as he was condemned to die. Moreover, above, in the gallery, over two fair half-pillars, doth lie a beam, whereon is written, *Et petra scissæ sunt*, as in the text is mentioned, 'The stones clave

‘ in sunder, and the vail did rend;’ from whence the two half-pillars of marble-stone are cloven so neatly asunder, that it is not possible, by the art and diligence of man, to do it more cleanly; they are also very curiously wrought. Over-against that, is a little window, wherein the blessed Virgin Mary did sit, as the angel Gabriel brought her the salutation from God; hard by, are a pair of stairs; and it is forbidden, under punishment of losing body and goods, that no man must presume to go up and down the same on his feet, but on his knees. There are thirty-two stairs, over which our Saviour Christ went with Simon, as he was led to be martyred; and, upon those stairs, did drop bloody sweat, as a man may see perfectly to this day. Hard by the same, are other stairs; and, when you are half the way up, go on your left-hand, and you shall come to a chapel, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where, upon the great altar, is the face of our Saviour Christ, which St. Luke pictured. In this chapel, is a piece of wood fastened into the wall, being a piece of Noah’s ark, which was brought thither. Then go to the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, as they call it, which is one of the seven churches, and governed by cardinal Caraffa.

HOLY CROSS.

When you come into this church, ask for the sacristan, who will shew you a little glass, wherein is kept, as they say, the milk of the mother of God; besides many other relicks. Also the cardinal hath the key to a nail, that was struck through a foot of our Saviour Christ; also three thorns of the crown, that pierced his holy head; likewise the *title*, which Pilate writ on the holy cross, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. There you shall go down, under the altar, where the cardinal hath the custody of many holy relicks.

Then go to St. Laurence, lying without the city-walls, which is one of the seven churches.

ST. LAURENCE.

St. Laurence’s church doth stand a mile from the place where his corpse was buried. The stone, on which he was broiled, is yet to be seen bloody and fatty, as it did drop upon the same, and no man can wipe it out. There is also a piece of the gridiron, upon which he was broiled: and here lies St. Stephen buried, and certain stones are there to be seen, wherewith he was stoned, and there is a great *indulgentia*.

ST. MARIA MAGGIOR, one of the Seven Churches.

When you go to this most fair excellent church; on the outside about, you will wonder to see the admirable costly entry, built by pope Gregory the Thirteenth. You shall also see one of the seven holy gates, which is but once opened in twenty-five years. Then go from thence, to John Lateran, which church is adorned with fair tombs; on the stile, where the chapel doth stand, there are also very stately columns, and the roof thereof is very richly painted, and over-gilt. There is, on the right side, by the great altar, a very fair chapel, built by pope Gregory the Thirteenth; and, just thereby, is a mighty pyramid erected, which is like to that at St. Peter’s. This chapel is also like to that where pope Gregory lies buried, which he caused to be built; but this did Sixtus the Fifth build, who lies there buried. The said pyramid, in former time, did lie a long while in the street St. Rocha, parted in three parts; and pope Sixtus caused them to be conveyed into his chapel. There have been two of these pyramids, which were erected in the Mausoleum of Augustus Cæsar, hard-by his tomb; but, as Rome was devastated, they were ruined. The Mausoleum yet is very delightful to behold; wherein doth dwell a Roman, by whom, a man may learn the particulars thereof. In the church* Maria Maggior, you shall see the manger, wherein our Blessed Saviour did lie at Bethlehem; together with many other relicks, which the sacristan may shew you: otherwise, they are to be seen only on great holidays. In the choir, is a fair epitaph and tomb of pope Nicholas the Fourth, which is wondrous stately and admirable, richly adorned. Before the choir, on the left-hand, is an altar, under which St. Jerome lies buried. When you go out of the church, on the right-hand, you shall see an altar, on which is written the original cause of the building of the church; namely, there were two married persons, that had no children, and were so rich, that they knew not what to do therewith; in the twelfth night, in the month of

August, they dreamed, that they should arise before day, and go up towards that hill, where it had snowed, and there they should build a temple; which they did accordingly, and began to dig, with their own hands; and the pope came, just at that instant, with his servants, with intent, as he had also dreamed, to build a temple there: and, therefore, it is yet the custom, every year, on the twelfth of August, for a memorial, to solemnize a great feast; and, from the top of the church, they let fall certain things, seeming as if it did snow. When you will go back again through the church, towards the holy gate, you shall see another church, named Santa Potentiana; therein is half a pillar of green marble-stone to be seen through a grate, on which our Blessed Saviour, Christ Jesus, was whipped. In this church are two wells, wherein the two sisters, St. Praxedis and Potentiana, did use to drop the blood of the martyrs, which they took up with a sponge. Then go back again, through St. Maria Maggior, and as you go down the hill on your right-hand, there the pope did visit, on a time, the seven churches. As he came by cardinal de Monte Alto's garden, he enquired whose fair and pleasant palace that was? Answer was made, 'the cardinal de Monte Alto's.' After which, pope Gregory the Thirteenth did weaken his revenue, *per annum*, by four-thousand crowns; which cardinal was afterwards pope, and named Sixtus Quintus. Over-against the same, you shall see an ancient church, called Pancratio; where, on a time, a priest did say mass, and did doubt, that it was no sacrament, and that our Saviour Christ was not in Ostia; and it chanced, as they say, that it fell out of his hand, on a point of the corner of the altar, being a white marble-stone, on which the Ostia left the print thereof; just as big, as it was from the corner, it fell upon a stair, on which likewise it left the print thereof, and the form very naturally, only the print did change itself into a blood-red colour.

Then go further to St. Maria de Monte, where is as frequent a pilgrimage, as at Maria Loretto; in the place where this church doth stand, there stood, in former time, a barn, and it was intended to have built a house there; and, as they began to dig, there was heard a mighty oracle, and therefore they digged more softly, where then was found the picture of the Virgin Mary; which being made known to the pope, he went and fetched the same with a solemn procession, and it is kept still in honour of the Blessed Virgin; wherefore, pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused, on the place, a church to be built at his own charges. This church is built all of marble-stone, most cunningly; and, in especial, the great altar, where the picture, that was found, is most richly adorned. In the said church, do hang divers tables, wherein is noted the miracles which, in former times, have been done there, and yet daily are done; those, therefore, that go in pilgrimage thither, and do pray with a strong and certain hope, are heard, and their suits obtained; as you yourselves may thereby be truly assured. There are daily *indulgentia plenaria* and remission of sins.—Then go to St. Peter in Vinculo.

ST. PETER IN VINCULO.

In this church you shall see an excellent epitaph and tomb of pope Leo the Second, which is an incomparable piece of work, and all of white marble-stone, and alabaster; there is a statue of Moses, the height of two men, of one entire piece, and also other fair statues; the monks can shew you many holy relicks, together with the chain with which St. Peter was fettered in prison. Without in the cloisters, it is very pleasant winter and summer, being planted with orange-trees, and in the midst, a mighty date-tree, like to which there are none found, neither in Rome, nor in all Italy: the monastery is also situated wondrous pleasant, being a building so well fitted, that the pope might conveniently keep his court therein.

Over-against that, is the palace of the lord George Cæsarini Ursini, which is so rare and excellent a building as is wonderful to behold.

THE PALACE OF LORD GEORGE URSINI; together with the Garden.

The overseer of the same was in my time a Low-country-man; he will shew you such exceeding fair rooms, and chambers, as the like are scarce to be seen any where else,

adorned with stately arras all of cloth of gold, and tissue; tables of precious stone, and beds richly furnished beyond comparison; statues and pictures portrayed so naturally, as that the beholders are enticed to embrace them in their arms, falling in love with them, they seeming laughing and living creatures. Desire to see the hindmost room, where the nobleman hath the oldest pieces of work made three or four hundred years since, and other rare things whereof I omit to write; there is also pictured the tower of Babylon on a square piece, which cost above ten-thousand crowns. This nobleman is of the ancient Roman race; his lady is the daughter of cardinal Farnesius, so beautiful that, in Rome, she may not be compared; you shall see two very excellent fair gardens, graced with admirable pictures, and statues:—Bestow a little to drink. Go from thence as if you would go towards your lodging, and enquire for the cardinal of Florence's house, where you shall see a most excellent fair palace, but little. It is wholly to be compared to a fair jewel: you must entreat the keeper thereof, not to withhold any thing from your sight, promising him a reward, and then he will shew you orderly one thing after another; as rooms, chambers, and gardens, set forth and adorned with arras of gold and tissue, wondrous fair statues, and tables of precious stone: in sum, every particular as rich and costly as may be devised. Also, in the garden, a cage wherein all kinds of birds making sweet harmony, divers rare water-works, and plentifully planted with cypress-trees; yielding a savour so admirable sweet, as the body therewith may be ravished. There are also mighty great vaults under ground, wherein they used to dine and sup in summer-time, by reason of the extraordinary heat, which are adorned with rare pictures, statues, and histories; the place in former time being a waste and ruined ground, and decayed wall, fallen from the temple of Peace; which stands just behind the same, being of a great antiquity, built by the old Roman emperors, after Jerusalem was destroyed; thereby to signify that they had no need to maintain wars, for they thought there was no nation in the world, that durst war against them: the building is so strong a work, that it was intended, it should remain as long as the world stood; but as our Saviour Christ was born, the said temple fell, and yet, every Christmas-night, there falls a great piece from the same.

COLUMNA TRAJANA.

When you desire to go up to this mighty great pillar, you must call to the stone-cutter, that dwells over-against the same, who hath the key thereto: but he will have something to drink, before he openeth the same.

They say, that this pillar was built by the emperor Trajan, after he had won Jerusalem, in memory of his victory, all of white marble-stone, wherein are engraved orderly all the battles and victories, which he hath had. A man may ascend up to the top of this pillar in the inside one-hundred and eighty-six stairs high, the stone-work being so orderly laid upon the other, that one would verily think the whole pillar was but one entire stone. I will give you warning of one thing, when you come up: Sit and rest, before you look up to the top of the pillar, or before you go round about it on the outside, for I myself, unawares, was almost dizzied and ready to fall: from this column you may see over the whole city; then you may go towards the other pillar, called, *Columna Antoniniana*.

COLUMNA ANTONINIANA.

This pillar is like unto the other, built by the emperor Antoninus, after his obtained victories, in perpetual memory. Part of this pillar fell down, by reason whereof no man could go up these many years; but the pope, that was last, hath caused the same to be well repaired, and now they go up thereunto. Then go presently to the street, named, *de Popolo*, where the cardinal Ferdinando de Medicis (he that is now great-duke of Florence) hath an exceeding fair and stately palace, and garden of pleasure. This palace lies on an hill, named *Monte Trinitatis*. First shall be shewn you the hall, wherein you shall see mighty square pieces of stone; and, by the window, is a water-spout erected so high, that a man may wash his hands, standing in the gallery above; and from thence also you may look over the city of Rome. Then go from the hall into the sixteen chambers,

or rooms, where you shall always look out of them into the others, if the doors stand open ; which rooms are so richly adorned and furnished with arras of wrought gold and silver, as no emperor, or pope, hath the like ; and, as the walls are hung, so are the beds dressed accordingly. The rooms are graced with rare tables of precious stone, and oriental pearl set therein, and also with brave statues and pictures. You shall see on a table a little temple, and when a man puts his head into it, he shall think it were a church of a mile in compass, having certain hundred pillars ; the prospective looking-glass therein causing the same. You shall see, in one of the rooms, a very fair sphere, fitted for astrology, which the great-duke Cosmus did use : then go up the stairs, where are also exceeding stately rooms, adorned with mighty statues, costly arras and tables, and excellent rare pictures. There is a looking-glass, in which (standing a little space from it) you shall see plainly the city of High Siena, together with the manner of the besieging it ; and, when you draw nearer unto it, you shall see the great-duke naturally as if living ; but when you come just to it, you behold yourself only and alone : then going out of the palace, on your left-hand, you shall see two lions, an eagle, a leopard, and other strange beasts : when you go a little further, you shall see a tower standing at the end of the garden, on the old city-wall, where a man may go out of, and into the city, when he pleases ; such a privilege hath never any man had in Rome, but only this cardinal : for, as he was resolved to build a palace there, he shewed his grievance to the senators of the city, namely, that the place being altogether a hill, it would be an infinite charge to bring it into a plain ; neither did he know whither all that earth should be conveyed, that would be taken from the hill ; and, therefore, he obtained leave of the pope to break a hole through the city-wall to carry the earth conveniently away, and to make a door to open and shut, at pleasure : they thought he should have enjoyed the conveniency of that door, no longer than the time of his building ; but he was too crafty for them, the door remaining there to this day. Go a little further, and there is a stone-pit, where are very rare statues made and repaired ; for what antiquity soever the cardinal can have for money, that he buyeth to adorn and furnish the said palace. Not far from thence, the cardinal caused a hill to be made, and one-hundred and fifty stairs to go up ; on the top, is built an excellent pleasant summer-house, with many rare green and fruitful trees, compassing the same, in which house he uses to dine and sup, when the weather is hot ; there is, hard-by the table, a fresh-water chest to cool his wine in : from that place you may overlook the whole city of Rome. The hill is overgrown from the bottom to the top with cypress-trees, which is as pleasant a prospect as man can imagine. The garden is adorned with such and so many artificial and rare water-works, plants, and statues, as would drive a man to admire ; and, in truth, the like is in all Rome not to be seen. The cardinal, on a time, invited certain noblemen to a supper in that garden, the drink only to which supper did cost sixty-thousand crowns ; judge then what the whole feast did cost. The compass of the garden is two Italian miles, and very broad. Then do not neglect to go to the garden of a certain knight, named Nero ; where is built a little palace, but wondrous stately, and a room made all of crystal glass. Then go out of the gate Del Popolo, about half a mile from Rome, where is the rare and pleasant garden of pope Julius the Second, wherein are excellent artificial water-works ; and there is a palace gloriously adorned with rare antiquities and statues, of the oldest and best in all Rome.

PALATIO FARNESIO.

If this palace had been finished, it were the biggest, fairest, and strongest of all others in Rome, with wonderful high rooms, which the pope, Paulus Farnesius, caused to be built. Go in on the right-hand under the vault, and there dwells the overseer that hath the key ; he will shew you every thing in order :—Bestow something upon him to drink. And, first, you shall see a mighty great hall, the sight of which will make you wonder, by reason of the great height, the ceiling being cunningly raised beyond comparison, all of cypress wood. In this hall is a long table of oriental marble-stone and alabaster, set with pearl, lapis lazuli, and other costly stones, which the cardinal would not part with for

eighty-thousand crowns. Then go into the other rooms, which are all royally furnished: and in the first room are the ancientest emperors naturally portrayed; therein is also an idol, which the Romans (heathenish opiniated) did adore. In this room are three great tables of oriental alabaster, set with divers other precious stones, glistening like a burning torch; before this room on the right-hand is a little chapel, and upon the altar a wonderful fair square, painted by that famous artisan Michael Angelo, a Florentine; and thereon, the Last Day of Judgment, so exquisitely and cunningly, that no-where the like may be found:—Bestow to drink. Go then down again into the court-yard, where you shall see six mighty statues, made by two perfect cunning masters, for a great wager, namely, two *Commodi Imperatores*, two *Dea Floras*, and two *Hercoli*, worthy of each experienced beholder, which of them are made most cunningly. Not far from thence you shall come into another court, and there is a mighty ox, and three statues; a dog, a shepherd, and a concubine; nigh as if they were alive there present. These said pieces are made of one whole entire white marble-stone, which is an admirable piece of work, touching the particulars whereof there were much to be written; but the histories will largely declare the same, which are to be found in the emperor Antoninus's Thermæ; having stood there also on a time, which pope Paulus Farnesius caused to be brought into this place aforesaid. A little further, you shall see two mighty great kettles of stone, which did stand also in the said Thermæ. Go over-against that place, and take a view of a bishop's palace, wherein are wondrous fair statues.

The PALACE of the BISHOPS of VALENCIA in Spain.

There, in the first room above, stands a mighty fair statue, named Apollo, exceeding old, and yet no whit at all decayed, of oriental alabaster: the said bishop was offered, by the cardinal de Medicis, twenty-four thousand crowns for the same; but the bishop would not take it. Then go over Campo de Fiore, where cardinal Farnesius dwells.

PALATIUM FARNESII.

This is an extraordinary fair building, four-square below and above, with mighty columns and pillars; the like are not in all Rome; and also wonderful fair galleries four-square about. And, when you go up the stairs, there stand two mighty *Dea Floras*, of marble-stone, at which you will much wonder: whoso can carry them away, may keep them. In this palace is a fair church, which many people pass by unknown, and without seeing it; for it is built like to the palace: therein is an arm of the saint from whom the church is named. Take a sight of the cardinal's stable, wherein are, most commonly, above an hundred and fifty brave horses.

The JESUITS' CHURCH, which the Cardinal built at his own charge.

This is a marvellous stately temple, covered all over with copper, exceeding high, great, and wide. In the choir stands an altar, which, together with the tabernacle, did cost about thirty-thousand crowns, with very fair and stately pillars of marble-stone. Also, the cardinal caused, for forty-thousand crowns, gold coin or pence to be made, and also some of silver and brass, on which were stamped his picture. The same he laid, with his own hands, for a foundation; and afterwards such of his friends, as he had heretofore invited, did the like, for an everlasting memory. The building of this temple continued five years, all upon the cardinal's cost and charges. They affirm, that this temple cost a certain ton of gold the building: one ton of gold is reckoned at twenty-thousand pounds sterling.

Then go right out through the straight street, and you shall come to the Campodoglio.

CAMPODOGLIO, or the Romans' Council-house.

In this Campodoglio, or Capitolium, did the Romans use to sit in council; it was afterwards made a strong castle, being in the time of war devastated, but repaired again by pope Gregory the Thirteenth, and adorned with a fair clock-tower. Go into the court, and up an exceeding stately pair of stairs, before which are two great horses of marble-

stone; and another above, in the court, of bell-metal, on which sits the emperor Adrian, all over-gilded with pure ducat-gold. Go into another court, and there lies a head on the ground, which is made very perfectly; it pertains to the head named Campodoglingo; it was in times past a statue, standing there for an ornament, and it shall be erected again in like manner as it hath been. Many have laid wagers, that the face is not a man's length, but, being measured, it is longer; whereby one may guess how great the whole body hath been, and how much the erecting thereof cost. Go further, and you shall behold wonderful excellent histories and statues; then go beyond, where they sit in council, where are stately statues and glorious pictures, and in what manner the Roman emperors in triumph have gone through the gate, when they returned home with laudable victories. You shall see also rare antiquities. Bestow something to drink. Then go right over-against the Campodoglio, into the church, named *Maria Ara Cæli*.

SANTA MARIA ARA CÆLI.

This is a very ancient church, over-against which are stairs an hundred and forty-two steps high, on which you may overlook all Rome: when you come into the church, you shall see the ceiling all over-gilded with pure ducat-gold; there are wonderful brave and stately great pillars, all of marble-stone; there is an altar hard by the choir, where you shall see, upon a white marble-stone, two prints of feet, left by the angel Michael, in the Angel-castle, when he put up the naked sword, and presently vanished. Not far from thence, before the church was built, did St. Hieronymus (as they say) shew unto the emperor Constantine the Virgin Mary, with the child Jesus in her arms; which was there also seen in the air; whereby the emperor came to the acknowledgment of the Christian faith, and from whence the church was named, and built by the said emperor Constantine. Go afterwards out of that church down the stairs; there is a place, called Capo Vacchino, where was made a bridge, in times past, from the Campodoglio, over to the palace Maggior, where do stand three marble-stone pillars, one by another, over which the bridge was made. By the said three pillars, Marcus Curtius, with his horse, did leap down.

MARCUS CURTIUS.

They do constantly affirm, that by these three columns, in former times, was a mighty and ugly hole, which, for the space of a long time, did yield a very noisome smoke and stink; and, whosoever did smell the same, he fell suddenly down, and died. And although they did oftentimes attempt, by casting into the hole many things, to choak it up, yet nothing did help, nor hinder the filthy savour thereof. But, on a time, there was heard a voice, that came out of that hole, saying, The hole would not be shut up, nor the noisome scent be assuaged, unless a Roman did leap thereinto with a horse.

Now, as Marcus Curtius (being a Roman of noble parentage and spirit) did understand the same, he made offer to the senate of the city, that (since the welfare of the city, and his native country, depended thereon) he would venture his life for the common good, and with his horse leap down, provided that one suit might be first granted unto him; namely, that, for the space of one whole year, he might have free liberty to accomplish his lust, and desire, with fair and beautiful women, and virgins, and that none, whom he should take liking of, might be denied him; which request was granted him by the Roman senate; so after the year was ended, wherein he enjoyed what his heart could wish, he mounted on horseback, and leaped into that hellish fiery pit, which instantly did close of its own accord, and thereby that mischief was ceased. Right over-against the same, did stand the house of Cicero, where, as yet, you may see the old walls thereof: when you go from the Campodoglio, you shall see a port of triumph, which the Roman senate caused to be made for Vespasian the emperor, as he came from Jerusalem to Rome, through which he rid in most magnificent state.

Over-against the same, you shall see the temples of the Planets near together.

The TEMPLES of the PLANETS.

There are seven of those temples built by Pontius Pilate's house, in honour of the Planets, but now they are devastated. And not far from them, there is built another temple, called *De la Pace*, or Temple of Peace, which fell in as Vespasian came from Jerusalem, and every Christmas since the birth of Christ, there hath fallen, and yet (as they say) a great piece doth yearly fall from the same. Then go towards the Amphitheatrum Vespasiani: you must pass through a triumph-port; before the same without, there is an old decayed wall, where formerly the people did use to see the spectacles in the Circus, and out of which wall did always run wine, of which the spectators did drink as much as they listed. This Amphitheatrum was built by the emperor Vespasian, in which may sit conveniently and well accommodated 50,000 persons, to behold the rare spectacles. The emperor himself, in this place, did overcome, and slew in fight, with his own hands, one-hundred wild and furious beasts, in one afternoon: but he fought only with one at once, and one after another.

Right before the same, you shall see a wondrous fair gate of triumph, which the emperor caused to be built, through which he went in magnificent pomp. Then go to the *Thermæ Dioclesiani*, where are the seven halls; coming into which you shall see on each side seven halls, where, in former time, the emperor Adrian had his palace, and dwelt there: it is somewhat dangerous to venture into the said halls, being under ground, for some have perished therein; then go the next way, to the *Thermæ*.

THERMÆ DIOCLESIANI.

These were built by the emperor only for baths. They do write that no emperor, since, hath been of ability to build the like, containing so great a circuit, and adorned with so many columns and pillars of brass. The baths being furnished with most stately and rich beds, and all other necessities beyond all comparison. Pope Gregory the Thirteenth hath transferred this building to an hospital; in which do stand eight mighty pillars of marble-stone, each one so big, that men can scarce fathom it about; in height they are ninety feet; over-against the same, is a sweet and pleasant garden, wherein are divers memorable things to be seen. Then go to Monte Cavallo, where is the marvellous fair palace, and garden of the cardinal Carpi, now the pope's: if you desire to see the same, address yourself to the gardener, who will shew you every particular in order; the palace being set out with admirable fair rooms and chambers, richly adorned with tables of precious stone, and hangings of wrought gold and silver; in the garden are many strange antiquities, most delightful to behold.

The palace and garden are situated on a high hill, and yet have water plentifully:—Give something to drink.

The POPE'S PALACE and GARDEN, which was formerly the Cardinals of ESTE.

You shall first see the garden, which is marvellous spacious, three Italian miles; the same is full of rare and costly fruits, like to which are none in all Italy, besides many antiquities therein to be seen; in this garden doth the pope oftentimes dine and sup: let them shew you the rare fountain, which has admirable and pleasant spring-water. Then go to the grotto Sibylla, which is an incomparable pleasant place, adorned with mighty fair statues, giving water from them: just over this vault or grotto, the pope hath his chambers and dwelling. This palace was built by pope Gregory the Thirteenth much larger, and the rooms more richly adorned; intending to have the *consistorium* kept therein, and not to go always so far as St. Peter's; but he lived not so long as to finish it: the next pope did accomplish it with water-works, in such sort, as it is to be admired how it was possible to lead the water up so high. In the garden, a man may take a most pleasant view of the whole city.

MONTÉ CAVALLO.

There you shall see two mighty horses of white marble-stone, made of one entire stone,

as natural, as if they were living; insomuch, that in all Europe, may not be found the like. These horses did stand in the *Therma Dioclesiani*, on which two famous masters, that made them, did strive to shew their skill; a particular, worthy to be noted. Not far from thence is a smelting-house, and hard-by, a horse cast of bell-metal, wonderful artificially, with the king of France sitting thereon, named Henry, most naturally; and were he living, the same should have been sent into France.—The city is built round about with strong walls, and mighty towers, standing near one another. The city of Rome is in compass about, above five Dutch miles.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen without Rome.

TIVOLI; a Palace and Garden, three Dutch miles from Rome.

THIS is a marvellous stately palace. The keeper of it is a gardener: you shall see therein admirable rich furnished rooms, hung with cloth of gold and silver, and the beds adorned correspondently. Therein are also excellent fair statues, and tables of precious stone set with oriental pearl. In the great hall is an artificial water-chest: when the cardinal, in summer-time, doth dine in the same, the whole is made pleasing cold, by the spirting of water out of the said water-chest; from whence also, the wine standing on the table is quickened. The particular situation of the whole city of Rome, and the pleasant prospect thereof, doth present itself fully to the spectators in this great hall. Then you may go down from the palace into the garden, where you shall be led into a vault, or grotto, where you shall see a terrible downfall of water, from whence all the other artificial water-works have their motions. Then you shall be led to a place, where you shall hear the organs play melodiously, as if an artificial master did play thereon; but the motion is derived from the water-spouts, continually spirting as long as the organs do sound; the water being spouted higher than the tops of the spouts, at least the height of six tall men. Go a little further, and you shall see a dragon with four heads, spouting water the height of six men, with so great a noise, as if many musquets were continually discharged; the water being of so black a colour, that it resembleth an ugly smoke, fearful to behold. Then you shall see the grotto, named Sibylla, full of admirable antiquities and statues. The grotto, both above on the ceiling, and all over on the sides, is richly adorned with oriental coral, and mother-of-pearl. A little further you shall see the temples of the Seven Planets, naturally resembling those which formerly stood in Rome; they are not very big, but standing exceeding pleasant, the one hard-by the other. Not far from thence is an artificial water-work, which being let go, the birds do sing, sitting upon twigs, so naturally, as one would verily think they were all quick and living birds, which is occasioned by the water; and, when they are in the midst of their best singing, then comes an owl flying; and the birds suddenly, all at once, are still: then go a little further, and you shall see twenty-four square stones, like chests, having on each side spouts, spirting water one against another; and, when the sun doth shine thereinto, the spouts and water do give a natural rainbow, notwithstanding the weather be clear; which is a very great wonder, and, whoso doth see it, would swear it were a natural rainbow indeed. Hard-by are two excellent fine labyrinths, remaining green winter and summer:—Bestow something to drink, and then return to Rome again.

Hereafter follows the Way from ROME to NAPLES.

From Rome to Torre á Mezavia, an inn, six miles; from thence to Marina, a little town, six miles; from thence to Velletri, a pleasant town, where is made much boiled wine (take heed of it), eight miles; thence to Cisterna, a little town, pertaining to the Cardinal Sermoneta, six miles; from thence to Sermoneta (lying very pleasant on a hill, a fine town, and strong fort, from whence they ring a brave peal of ordnance, when they understand that some person of note passes by; you must travel hard-by the same; the emperor Charles the First did write with his own hand, and on the altar, the year and day.

of his being there, but none of his soldiers were suffered to go up), seven miles; from Sermoneta to Casa Nova, a good inn, eight miles; thence to Ala Badia, an inn, eight miles; thence to Terracina, a town of the pope's, (and there ends the pope's jurisdiction,) nine miles; thence to Fordi, a little town, (but, before you come thither, there is, by the way, a strong watch kept, being Neapolitans, who will make search what each traveller carries with him,) it is named Alla Portella, six miles; when they search you, take that course which is usual at the places of custom, or at the gates, *viz.* grease one of them in the hand with a bribe, and they will presently dismiss you. From Fondi to Molla, a great market-town, lying hard-by the sea, where is exceeding good wine, and admirable cool fresh water: you may, in summer-time, dine and sup in a garden, under citron and orange trees; you may pluck of them as many as you please: there are excellent good fish also, free for every man to take.

Then go right over-against that, and enquire for the mighty strong fort, named Gaeta: it is about half a mile thither.

GAETA, a CASTLE.

THIS is the key of the kingdom of Naples; in the same do lie Spaniards in garrison, and hard thereby, lies a little town just on the sea-side; when you go into the fort, carry yourself courteously towards the watch, promising a reward: there you shall see a fort so strong, as is not sufficiently to be expressed. In the same, are the fairest women by nature, that are in all Italy, being of a most courteous and friendly behaviour. From Molla to Corgliano, an inn, where you must pass over a great water, nine miles; from thence to Alla Bagni, or to the gates, an inn, eight miles; thence to Castella, a little town, nine miles; from thence to Pozzuolo, a little town on the sea-coast, (if you will go into it, you must leave your swords with the porter in the gate,) then to an inn, eighteen miles from Castella.

POZZUOLO, where have been the BATHS.

POZZUOLO is a very ancient town, and, in former times, it hath been a mighty and famous city, but devastated; you may there enquire for one to go with you into the grotto, with a torch, where you shall see the *Cento Camerelle*; in English, 'the Hundred Chambers;' wherein the prophetess Sibylla did dwell, and had her command: the same are overgrown with a hill. When you go a little further, there is a warm water, (you must take heed you go not far one from another, lest you lose yourselves,) you must bow yourselves in going, by reason of the great heat and damps of the baths: under the same grotto have been most excellent baths, fitted for to cure all manner of diseases, and by each one was set a bill, signifying the virtue thereof; according to which, every person knew how to rule himself, and bathe therein.

But on a time, (by reason that the sick and diseased persons had no need of the physicians' help, but did all of them resort to these baths,) certain doctors of Salerno, physicians, that dwelt thirty miles from Naples, consulted together how to remove the cause that took away their gain and profit; and they went together, and in secret-wise, did take away the bills that were written and set on the baths, insomuch that now no man knows the right virtue of them, or what diseases they are good for; and, as the said physicians returned home again, a great tempest on the sea overwhelmed the ships, and they were all drowned. Then go also without, up the hill, where you shall hear a roaring and tumbling very fearful to be heard, and there runs the water out so warm, that one may seethe eggs therein; hard-by, you shall see the fire and smoke come out of the hill, very fearful to behold, much resembling hell itself, as may be imagined: there is also a mine of brimstone, and hard-by the same, two terrible stinking holes, which are called Muffletti, from whence arises poisoned air; and, therefore, no man dare venture to go near thereunto, unless he will endanger his life: if a man doth lay a dog, or other beast therein, it dies immediately; but cast it presently into the water, hard-by the same, and it revives in a moment; which is every day tried by strangers, and found true. Then go towards Naples, and you shall come by the way to Virgil's grotto, through which you must go, half a mile long; and

when you are out, look upwards, and you shall see a mighty grave-stone, fastened into the wall, in which lies Virgil buried; the common saying is, that he built that grotto in one night, through the hill, by the help of his familiar ghosts.

NAPLES.

WHEN you come into this famous city, enquire for the Black-Eagle; the host is a Dutchman, who will appoint one to go about, and shew you what is to be seen. First, go to the palace of the viceroy, which is a very fair building: without, before the same, do watch, day and night, a company of Spanish soldiers; every evening, they march up and down with flying colours. Then go into the palace, and up the stairs, and you shall see the Dutch guard-watch; they are one-hundred, suited all alike, and are maintained by the viceroy. Then go up into the hall on your left-hand, where you shall see a very fair chapel: in this hall, the viceroy doth give audience every Thursday. There are wondrous fair rooms in this palace, and a most pleasant garden, and therein a fair tennis-court; out of this garden, the viceroy can go secretly into the palace; by reason of which, the strangers are not permitted to go into it. Not far from the palace, is an exceeding well-armed house of artillery, wherein two-hundred galleys and galleasses have room more than sufficient, and may be made in the same. This city ordinarily doth maintain, at their own proper costs and charges only, to attend the approach of the enemy, two-hundred galleys.

Then go to Monte Pizze Falcon, a hill on which there is a fair palace, with a delicate pleasant garden; right over-against which is the strong castle and fort, named Ovo: it is also built on a rock where the palace doth stand; but it is cut off from the same, so that the sea surrounds the fort, and lies now in the water like an island. Then go towards the water-work before the city, named Porro Real, from whence all the conduits in the city have their original; it is also led into the wells, a thing most worthy to be seen and noted. Then go back again towards the Porta Capuan, where is a mighty fair palace, which in former times, was the city's fort, but now the city-council is kept therein. Therein is also the prison, in which are most commonly eight-thousand persons; this palace is called the Vicary. Go over-against the same, into the church, called Johan Carbonar; there the French kings have had their funerals, who, in times past, did govern and reign in that kingdom; you shall see exceeding fine epitaphs and tombs, adorned with rich stone, and other curious works, so stately as you have not seen the like; also with statues and pictures.

HOSPITAL NUNCIATA.

This is a wondrous fair hospital, wherein are continually a great number of sick attended. Every nation is there entertained and accepted; each one has a clean bed, with all necessaries and attendance, as if he were at home in his own house, until he recovers; all *gratis*, which is at Rome in St. Spirito. So soon as one is received, he must presently make his confession, and then take the communion. Thereby, is a very fair church and steeple, appertaining to the hospital. Then go towards the church St. Clara, built by the French kings. Therein, are many excellent fair altars and tombs. A little further, you shall see a very fair monastery, named Monte Oliveto, wherein are wondrous rich epitaphs; all the monks therein are of noble descent, of the order of Carthusians.

The principal PALACES in NAPLES are these following.

The palace of the prince of Layena; palace of the prince of Calabria; palace of the prince of Scala Siciliano; palace of the prince of Salerno; the palace of the prince of Bisignano: this excepted, all the rest are there always resident.

CASTLE-NOVO.

This castle is a wondrous fort, built first by the French kings, lying hard-by the sea, provided and furnished with mighty great towers, bastions, and very fair ordnance, and

there lie in garrison two-hundred Spanish soldiers; therein are very fair habitations, inhabited with all manner of tradesmen.

When you come into the fort, you shall see, right over-against the court, lying a great iron bullet, under an iron gate, which was shut at that time, as they refused to yield to the emperor Charles the Fifth; for, although the Spaniards had almost got in the fort, yet, nevertheless, the French defended themselves valiantly. When you come into the court, you shall see on your left-hand, certain stairs, under which is erected a statue of marble-stone, of a Frenchman, who, on the said stairs, with his two-handed sword, killed forty Spaniards (as is confirmed) before they could get up. By this castle is a tower, standing in the sea, as in an island, wherein, at that time, Frenchmen lay; and, after the Spaniards had got the fort, they could not overcome this tower, until they had granted, that the French, with bag and baggage, might in safety depart. This fort hath fine mighty towers, strong walls, and deep ditches.

Then go towards the castle Ovo.

Ovo, a Castle.

This was also built by the French, and hath the name derived from the rock whereon it stands, which is like an egg: which rock is cut off from the other, that lies against it, *Monte Pizze Falcon*. This is a mighty strong fort, and a great defence to the city, furnished with brave ordnance and ammunition; there lie sixty Spanish soldiers, that continually dwell therein. Then go over-against the same, up the hill, where is a mighty strong fort, named *St. Helmo*: how the same was built, and from whence it hath the original, you shall read as followeth.

ST. HELMO, a Castle.

This hath the original, as touching the building thereof, from the emperor Charles the Fifth; for, as he rid on a morning to take the air, he came through the street, named *Capuana*, where the mayor and aldermen have a place railed about, and do therein assemble themselves, and, in public, hold council, named *Sedia Capuana*. Now, as the emperor came thereinto, and saw the arms of the city pictured, and two white horses thereby, without bits and bridles, as it were flying, and freely ranging about, the emperor demanded what they signified? Answer was made, 'That, as free and unbridled, as the horse, were they also in the city.' Whereupon, the emperor immediately contrived to build this mighty strong fort on the hill, thereby to lay both bit and bridle in the horses' mouths, that they should not run whither they listed: for, by reason of this fort, the Neapolitans are bridled, that they dare not rise in rebellion. This strong fort is so well provided and furnished with ammunition and great ordnance, and situated, that it is almost invincible, unless treachery be amongst themselves. There is not one palace in the city, that hath not a piece of ordnance aimed thereat from the fort; and if any in the same do but begin to mutiny, it is, in the twinkling of an eye, battered down. In this fort, are two-hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, which do watch and have their dwelling therein. And although the city should be gotten and won, yet no enemy could remain therein, by reason of this fort, from whence each living creature would be destroyed.

There is not, in all Italy, a greater pomp in riding, nor fairer horses, than in Naples; and no-where so many princes, marquisses, earls, barons, and gentlemen, riding up and down the streets, in brave attire, almost the whole day, attended with many servants, in fair liveries and suits; also an excellent haven on the sea, where the great ships and galleys do lie. This city is also provided with all sorts of merchandises, especially silk wares; and there is daily such great dealing, as, in other places, in the time of fairs. This famous city is also very great and spacious, always stored with the best and costliest wines, and all other necessities plentifully are to be had. There is one street, named *Lagrudecia*; therein are above five-hundred shops, furnished with nothing but new and old apparel, to be sold. Lastly, this city is strengthened about with mighty walls and ramparts.

Hereafter follows, the Way from NAPLES to MALTA, by Water and Land; but I would advise you, rather to travel by water: nevertheless, I will describe both ways.

From Naples to Terre del Grecho, six miles; thence to Barbarona village, seven miles; thence to Salerno city, nine miles; thence to Taberna Pinta inn, ten miles; thence to Benola village, eight miles; thence to Duchesta inn, nine miles; thence to Coletta, a little town, ten miles; thence to Salla village, seven miles; thence to Casal Nuova village, nine miles; thence to Rovero Negro village, ten miles; thence to Castelluchia, a little town, nine miles; thence to Valle Santo Martino village, six miles; thence to Castoro Villore, a village, nine miles; from thence to Csaro village, seven miles; thence to Regina inn, ten miles; thence to Consenza, a town of great traffick, especially for rough silk, twelve miles; thence to Capofreddo, a village, seven miles; thence to Martorano, a great hamlet, six miles; thence to St. Biasto, a market-town, six miles; thence to Alaque Fiche inn, seven miles; thence to Monte Leone, a little town, nine miles; thence to Sala Petra, a market-town, eight miles; thence to Rossa village, seven miles; thence to Santa Anna village, nine miles; thence to Fonego, a market-town, nine miles; thence to Fiumara de Mori, ten miles; thence to the famous city Messina.

MESSINA.

THIS illustrious city hath an exceeding great and safe haven, or port, of the sea, where may ride more than four-hundred great ships; the like is scarce to be seen. There is an incomparable traffick by all nations. It is a great city, adorned with wondrous fair palaces and buildings: principally this city is strong, round about, with great and mighty walls and ramparts. It hath excellent good wine, and all manner of provision throughout. The readiest way is to go by water, from thence to Naples, with the first opportunity, and then you may go to Malta, in three days. There go, oftentimes, ships to Palermo, which is a wondrous fair and great city, worthy the seeing.

PALERMO.

THIS city lies hard by the sea, strengthened with substantial walls, and hath an excellent haven for ships. It was, a few years past, very fairly built and adorned: when you come into the city, you shall see a very long street, called *il Cassare*, or *la Strada d'Austria*; at the uppe rend of which, is the viceroy's palace, in which he keeps his court: it is a very stately building, adorned with most excellent fair rooms and gardens. In this palace do lie Spaniards in garrison, as also a guard of Switzers. There is also great trading and merchandizing, with all sorts of wares transported thither from beyond the seas.

Then you may go from thence directly to Malta.

MALTA.

THIS is a principal and famous fort, of great strength, and the key of all Christendom.

The principal fort is named St. Helmo; as soon as you come near thereunto, certain of the knights will meet and receive you, and invite you to dinner or supper, and, according to the number of your fellow-travellers, you shall be well and courteously entertained; when the weather is fair and clear, you may see from thence the signal of the common enemy. The knights have eight galleys, to be always prepared and in readiness. And at such time, as from the fort, a sign is given of the approach of any Turkish galleys, then must always the galleys of Malta go out to meet them, and one galley must always fight against four Turkish galleys. For the galleys of Malta are exceeding well and strongly prepared and armed; and are, for the most part, all knights therein, for service fitted: none are spared, when need requires. The fort St. Helmo is so well fortified, and provided with all manner of ammunition, that it is impossible, by the art of man, to be overcome. There are also two other forts, St. Angelo and St. Michael. The island Malta is, in circuit, not above seven miles, but a great number of villages are built thereupon; the husbandmen do all dwell along the sea-coast, and must, every foot, keep a strong watch,

to prevent a sudden invasion of the common enemy of Christendom, as oftentimes falls out; and many of them spoiled, and their houses set on fire. As concerning victuals, and other necessities, fit for man's subsistence, there is no want at all, for there is always sufficient transported thither.

Now I would advise you to return back again with the galleys to Naples: but you must go the right way, as from thence to Italy, Luca, Genoa, Milan, and Venice; lest you come twice to see one place, and thereby other memorable things be neglected. When (by God's help) you are arrived again at Naples, then you go the nearest way to Capua, an ancient city, plentifully provided with all manner of necessities for man; it is also of a good length, with a very fair and high stone bridge, like to which I have seen none. It lies from Naples sixteen miles; from thence to Carigliano, an inn, (here you must go over the water,) nine miles; and now you are on the former highways again, until you come to Rome, and High Siena. At Siena you may have horses to Pisa, which is thirty miles; a way to travel so pleasant, that one can judge no otherwise, but the whole way to be a most pleasant and delightful garden, all full of excellent, fine, fruitful trees, goodly villages, fair castles, and comely towns. *In summa*, it is a paradise.

PISA.

WHEN you come to this city, you shall be searched under the gate, to see what you carry with you. Say nothing, but only that you are students; and put a piece of money into one of their hands secretly, and they will let you pass.

This is a famous city, and an exceeding strong fort, which was yielded to the great-duke, in the Seneser wars; but before, it was a free state of itself, and a *republica*: also Siena was, but afterwards, being overcome by Cosmus, great-duke of Florence, and brought under his yoke, the fort was built to keep them in subjection. There runs also a great river through the city, called the Arno, which runs also through Florence; and, not far from Pisa, it falls into the sea. There is also a wonderful fair temple (a cathedral) built all of marble-stone.

On the side, is built an exceeding fair cloister of curious work. They say it is very like to that built by the temple of Jerusalem. There is also a marvellous fair steeple hard-by the temple, up to the top of which a man may ride on the outside, the stairs winding about the steeple to the top, as a snake on a tree. The stairs are adorned with rich marble-stone pillars, of all manner of colours, even to the very top. This steeple is built by mere art, hanging or leaning to the one side, as if it would fall at every twinkling of an eye; but, when one is above, he cannot then discern the same. This steeple is held to be one of the seven wonders of the world, being built all of white marble-stone, like to which is none seen in the universal world. On the outside of the church is a round temple, covered with copper, and the doors with bell-metal.

This city is graced with many fair palaces and houses, especially the palace of the noble knights, in which they have their government. The knights do wear, for their order, the red cross of St. Stephen, which the duke of Florence observes. This is provided with all manner of good victuals plentifully, especially excellent good wine.

Hereafter follows the way to LUCA.

From Pisa to Luca seven miles. When you are gone half way, you shall come to a hill, from whence, on the one side, you may see Luca, on the other side Pisa; a wonderful pleasant prospect.

LUCA.

This is a very excellent and fair little city, and situated in the midst of the great-duke of Florence's country; which city, if the duke could bring under his jurisdiction, he would then style himself king of Tuscany. There is in this city a great trade with silken wares, the like to which is not in all Italy. The Pallavicini are the chiefest dealers therein, as the Fuggeri are in Augusta. Therein are most exceeding fair palaces and houses, and the streets paved all with fair square stones; there are many fair churches, as St. Martino,

and an excellent market, where a man may have what his heart can wish for, at a reasonable price. There is most excellent wine. It is a very strong city, with mighty walls and ramparts, and the ordnance lying round about the same; and under the gates are kept a continual strong watch. This city is subject to none, and is the only free imperial city in all Italy. Then you may go to Livorno, which is an excellent haven-town, pertaining to the great-duke of Florence; it is twenty miles from Luca.

Here follows the Way from **LUCA** to **CENONA**, and what is to be seen by the Way.

From Luca to Mazzarosa, a little town, eight miles; from thence to Pietra Santa, a little town, eight miles; thence to Massacle Corara, a pleasant town with a castle, seven miles; thence to Sarsano, a very pleasant town, and there, in two strong forts, lying in garrison five-hundred Dutch soldiers, (for it lies just on the border of Cenona, pertaining thereunto,) eight miles; thence to Laris, where you must pass over water, four miles.

LARIS, a Port.

THIS is a very fine little town; the wine is very good and cheap, and also bread. On the top of the hill is a very strong fort, and the ordnance thereupon carries over to the other side, to Porto Venere, which is a full Dutch mile; and, also, an exceeding strong fort.—Go over also thither.

PORTO VENERE.

THIS is also a fair town, and on the hill is a strong fort, and the ordnance carries over to the other fort, so that both these forts do assist each other; not far off this, is a town called Spessa, pertaining to Genoa: when they send soldiers into Spain, they do assemble themselves there. Between Spezza and Laris, is a very strong fort, pertaining to Genoa, called Santa Maria del Suorte, about two Italian miles from Porto Venere, wherein do lie Dutch soldiers, who, if you desire, will let you in, and shew you the fort: it is worthy the seeing, and built but of late years. Now I would advise the traveller to go from Laris by water to Genoa, being one day's journey; but, if you go by land, the way is described as followeth:

From Porto Venere to Remedio, a market-town, seven miles; thence to Porgetto, eight miles; thence to Martarana-inn, six miles; thence to Bracco, a market-town, six miles; thence to Rapullo, six miles; thence to Recco, six miles; thence to Bogliasco, all market-towns, six miles; thence to Genoa, six miles.

GENOA.

THIS is a fair and famous city and republick, where is a duke, but elected by the senate of the city. When one dies, they choose in another, like as they at Venice do choose a duke out of forty-eight Clarissimi, and do cast lots for the election.

This wondrous mighty city is older than the city of Rome, as the historians do deliver. It is inhabited with brave nobles and gentry, and sumptuously built; you shall see a number of brave mighty ships excellently furnished with all manner of ammunition and provision: they lie here only to attend the approach of the common enemy.

When you come to the gate of the city, the customers will make search, to see what you carry: tell them that you are students; and enquire for a lodging, called Santa Maria, where you shall be excellently dieted. Enquire for Strada Nova, in which street are twelve most excellent fair palaces, built all of square pieces, being white and black marble-stone, richly adorned, with pleasant gardens; and certain of them have houses of artillery well furnished, and stately antiquities and statues. Go first into the duke's palace, which is an excellent rare building, in which do watch continually five-hundred Dutch soldiers, and have all their dwelling in the palace. When you go from your lodging towards the gate, out of which they go to Savona, hard-by the same you shall see the palace of prince Andrea Doria, general of the dukedom of Genoa, where you shall see wonderful rare things, besides excellent pleasant gardens, artificial water-works, and brave

statues; and, principally, a wondrous well-furnished house of artillery. You shall not find, in any city in all Italy, so many velvet-weavers, as in Genoa; they say, there are at least eight-thousand: but not any one of them is able to gain to themselves one piece of velvet in a whole year's space, so narrowly are they looked unto by the merchants.

CHURCHES in GENOA.

Within the city-walls are thirty parish-churches, and the city hath seven miles in circuit. There are two principal churches amongst the rest; the one named St. Laurence, in which is a little chapel, where are kept the ashes of John Badall in a silver chest; and they affirm, that when there arises a great tempest on the sea, they carry that chest to the sea-shore, and immediately the tempest ceaseth. There are done also many miracles (as they say) in the thirty churches, by virtue of the holy relicks which are kept there. In the said church of St. Laurence, you shall see the dish of Semiraldo, and other precious stones, which our Saviour Jesus Christ made out of earth, in which, with his disciples, he did eat the Easter-lamb, which was gotten, as Cæsarea was overcome; as is clearly noted in the chronicles.

The other church is named St. Bartholomew, without the gate St. Catharina, where is kept the *sudarium*, or the sweating-cloth of our Blessed Saviour; as evidently it is found to be one of the three made by St. Veronica: by the same are done also many miracles. There is also without the city a very fair steeple, on the top of which they hang a lanthorn with lights, in the night-time, that directeth the ships safely to the port or haven.

Genoa is as famous a principality and as fruitful a soil as is in all Italy: there is the best wine of all others; and all sorts of excellent fruit. Now, if you desire to see Savona, take a boat; it lies but thirty miles from Genoa.

SAVONA.

THIS is a very fair city, lying on the sea wondrous pleasant; it is built exceeding well and richly, and they have great trading with wines, and other costly wares, into Corsica and Sardagna. There is also a mighty fort, built very strongly, with main walls and ramparts; so well furnished with ordnance, and other ammunition, that it is almost invincible. Therein do lie one-hundred Dutch soldiers, and other forces; for the Turks oftentimes use to make inroads there, with forty or fifty galleys at a time, attempting to get the fort; but it hath always failed them; there being continually kept a strong and diligent watch, which is also very needful. Then you may go back again to Genoa, and from thence to Milan and Venice.

Here follows the Way from GENOA to MILAN.

From Genoa to Ponte Decino seven miles; thence to Buzzala seven miles; thence to Al Botho del Formari seven miles; thence to Al Isola seven miles; thence to Argua seven miles; thence to Saravalla, a little pretty town, where you may buy excellent good blades, rapiers, and swords, five miles; thence to Bettola, an inn, six miles; from thence to Tortona, a strong fort, eight miles; thence to Ponte Curon five miles; thence to Pancarina eight miles; thence to Cava, there set over the river Po, six miles; thence to Pavia city three miles.

PAVIA.

THIS city hath an excellent navigable water, which flows hard-by, named Ticino. The city is very well adorned with fair houses, and churches, and hath a very large and fair market-place. There is also a famous university, and an Inquisition of late years erected; there are many Jesuits. The city is marvellous well strengthened, with great and thick walls and ramparts; there is also a strong castle or fort, wherein are continually Spanish soldiers. It belongs to the principality of Milan.

When you go from thence towards Milan, you shall see by the way a monastery named Carthausa, and also the park, about an Italian mile from Pavia; before which the famous

battle was fought by the emperor Charles the Fifth, against the French and Switzers, and thereby Pavia overcome. The park, as you may well discern, hath yet part of the walls standing which were at that time.

CHARTHAUSE.

Do not omit to go in and see this famous monastery, for there is not the like in all Italy; richly built, and hath a mighty revenue; the church is built all of white marble-stone, adorned sumptuously with statues and pictures of oriental alabaster.

The cells of the monks are covered all with copper: there are besides, things to be seen whereat you will wonder. Then go from thence to Binasco, a little town, eight miles thence; Milan is ten miles.

MILAN.

THIS is the chief city in Lombardy, belonging to the king of Spain. It is a principality, and round about strengthened with mighty walls and ramparts; it hath also great trading with all nations. When you come thither, I would wish you lodged at the Three Kings, or at the Falcon, where you shall be exceeding well entertained. Go first to the palace, wherein the viceroy or duke keeps his court, which is a very great building. Hard-by the same have the Dutch guard their dwellings, and are eighty of them attending the duke, all suited in one colour: without this palace is the riding-place, being marvellous spacious.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

This temple is built within and without all of white marble-stone, comparable to which in greatness, and fairness, there is none found neither in Italy, nor elsewhere; every ounce of this marble-stone wrought, doth cost two quartrins, and five quartrins do make a penny English. In this famous building are organs of clear silver.

Go from this church to cardinal Borromeo's palace, which is a most stately building, adorned with main columns and pillars of marble-stone; there is also, by the cardinal, made a gallery under ground, through which he can go, not seen, into the church. Then enquire for the place where formerly malefactors were executed; there did stand a house of good fellowship or bawdy-house, but the cardinal caused it to be pulled down, and in the place a great prison to be built. Then enquire for Santa Maria, which is an admirable fair building; thither are many great pilgrimages accomplished with great devotion, and *indulgentia plenaria* the whole year throughout. When you go towards your lodging, you shall see an antiquity in St. Laurence-street, where do stand twenty mighty great pillars of white marble-stone, in height sixty feet. They say for certain, that the devil, with his accomplices, did erect and build that temple in one night; but it had, as it seems, no good foundation, for it fell down again shortly after. The whole city is paved throughout with fair four-square stone. It hath brave broad streets. This city hath twenty-two gates, and doth write itself strong: at every gate are twelve-thousand well-armed men, besides those that are no citizens, and yet inhabitants, which make in one sum two-hundred forty-two thousand. Then go to the Citta della Capello, or Castle.

CASTLE.

This castle or fort may well be said invincible, and may by no force, or man's policy, be gotten or overcome, but only by mere treachery; for there are two several forts in one, but so surrounded and fastened in and about with water-ditches, that thereout may well be made three several forts. It hath also two great, mighty, and high towers, of four-square free-stone, and upon each one are planted three double cannons, and upon the walls of the forts are mounted on wheels five-hundred great ordnance, of bell-metal, continually charged. There lie in garrison seven-hundred Spaniards, with forty Dutch, all attending the command of the Castellano, or governor; there are also divers other people within the fort, so that there are continually therein at least one-thousand persons.

This fort is always provided with an overplus of all manner of provision and ammunition. It cannot be undermined; for a navigable water, that runs by the city, doth flow into the ditches, and in the same are fresh veins of well-water continually springing up.

Also is this fort of late years better strengthened, by the building of five mighty ramparts; so that it is a fort strong beyond imagination: in fine, I cannot sufficiently express the strength thereof.

Here follows the Way from MILAN to VENICE; and what is to be seen by the Way.

From Milan to Margiano, ten miles; thence to Lodia, a pleasant town, ten miles; thence to Zorlesco, a village, ten miles; thence to Pizzighiton, two miles; thence to Cremona, a great city, twelve miles.

CREMONA.

THIS is a famous and pleasant city, adorned with fair and strong towers round about. It hath very fair and large streets, and brave buildings, and excellent good wine.

From Cremona, to Alla Casa della buona Voglio inn, ten miles; thence to St. Jacob Alopio inn, nine miles; thence to Mercari, a little town, twelve miles; thence to Castelhio, eight miles; thence to Mantua city, ten miles.

MANTUA.

THIS is a marvellous fine city, and principality, wherein the duke of Mantua keeps his court; it is excellently well built, all in morass or quagmires: when you come thither, lodge at the Black-Moor, where you shall have one to shew you what is to be seen.

Go first into the duke's palace, but you must leave your weapons with the watch, under the gate; if the duke be not there, you shall see the great hall, and other rooms that are most worthy the noting, and also a most pleasant, adorned garden, in which is a great spacious hall, wherein the duke doth dine and sup in summer-time. This hall is made so artificially that, when two, standing in the midst of the hall, do talk one with another, they themselves do not understand their own words, but they that stand far from them, at the end of the hall, do hear and understand, plainly, every word, which is a thing to be much wondered at. One that knows not of this, may perchance talk with another, thinking in secret, what is heard of others, perhaps, to his great prejudice. This hall lies encompassed round about with quagmires, so that it is not easily to be overcome by any siege, unless it were for want of victuals. The city is adorned with an exceeding well-furnished house of artillery, and great ordnance.

Here follows the Way from MANTUA to PADUA.

From Mantua, to Alla Stella inn, fifteen miles; thence to Sangneto, a village, twelve miles; thence to Montagnano, six miles; from thence to Padua, a great city, thirty-eight miles.

PADUA.

THIS is a far-spread famous city, by reason of the great frequency and assembling of all nations thereunto, it being an university. There is an overplus of all manner of provision for man's use at a very cheap rate; there are excellent good wine, bread, fish, flesh, fowl, and fruit. When you come thither, lodge at *Alla Stella*, the Star; and there you shall see a brave garden, wherein the students do exercise themselves in the knowledge of herbs, especially, such as study physick: upon the steeple, you may see Venice, if the weather be clear. Then go into the governor's palace; and into the chancery; you have not seen the like in all Italy, for it is a place indeed of antiquities.

ST. ANTHONY, a Monastery.

This is a wondrous fair monastery, of the Barefoot order; within it, is a great temple, where St. Anthohy lies buried, in so rich a tomb of marble-stone and alabaster, as the like is seldom to be seen.

ST. JUSTINA, a Monastery.

This is a mighty great monastery, of St. Benedict's order, which was built presently after the battle was fought and won against the common enemy, and the building begun on St. Justina's day; it hath a great revenue, and every week is distributed, to all poor that come, a great proportion of alms, as wine and bread, &c.

ST. DOMINICO, a Monastery.

This is adorned with exceeding fair tombs, and epitaphs: it hath also a stately income, and much is given in alms to the poor every week once. In this city are to be seen many excellent fair palaces and buildings, brave statues, and curious rooms, and pleasant gardens. The city belongs to the Venetian state, and is inclosed round about with very strong walls and ramparts.

An honourable Speech made in the Parliament of Scotland, by the Earl¹ of Argyle (being now Competitor with Earl Morton for the Chancellorship), the Thirtieth of September, 1641; touching the Prevention of National Dissension, and Perpetuating the happy Peace and Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, by the frequent Holding of Parliaments.

London, printed by A. N. for J. M. at the George in Fleet-street, Anno 1641.

[Quarto; containing six pages.]

My Lords,

WHAT was more to be wished on earth, than the great happiness this day we enjoy? *viz.* to see his Royal Majesty our native Sovereign, and his loyal subjects of both his kingdoms, so really united, that his Majesty is piously pleased to grant unto us, his subjects, our lawful demands, concerning religion and liberties, and we his subjects of both nations, cheerfully rendering to his Majesty that duty, affection, and assistance, which he has just cause to expect from good people, and each nation concurring in brotherly amity, unity, and concord, one towards the other.

Oh! what tongue is able to express the honour and praise due to that great and good God, who in these late commotions, suffered not the counsels of either kingdom to despair of the safety of either commonwealth, but through his blessing to their painful and prudent endeavours hath wrought such an happiness for us; that now, after the great toil and trouble which we have on both sides so long endured, we may each man with his wife, children, and friends, 'under his own vine and fig-tree,' and all under his Majesty's protection, refresh himself, with the sweet fruits of peace! Which I beseech the Lord of Peace, to make perpetual to both nations.

And, to that end, my earnest desires are, that all our best studies and endeavours may be employed, for some time, in contriving and establishing such wholesome laws in both kingdoms, whereby, as much as in us lies, the opportunity and occasion of producing the like calamities, as lately threatened both nations, may, for the future, be prevented; if, in any age hereafter, such miscreants shall go again to attempt it.

It is, my Lords, notorious, that the late incendiaries, that occasioned the great differences betwixt his Majesty and his subjects, took much advantage and courage by the too long intermission of the happy constitution of parliaments, in the vacancy of which they, by false informations, incensed his Majesty against his loyal subjects; and by their wily insinuations extorted from his Highness proclamations, for to yield obedience to their innovations in the kirk, and patents for projects, whereby the poor subject was both polled

¹ [Afterwards marquiss; who suffered decapitation in 1685. Dr. Campbell, who wrote his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, does not seem to have known of this speech, nor is it recorded in lord Orford's *Noble Authors*.]

and oppressed in his estate, and enthralled in his conscience; and thus, by their wicked practices, his Majesty was distasted, and his subjects generally discontented; insomuch that, had not the great mercy of God prevented them, they had made an obstruction betwixt his Majesty, and his liege people, and had broken those mutual and indissoluble bonds of protection and allegiance, whereby, I hope, his Royal Majesty, and his loyal and dutiful subjects of all his three kingdoms, will be ever bound together. To which let all good subjects say, Amen.

My Lords, the distaste of his Majesty, nor discontents of his subjects, could never have come to that height they did, nor consequently have produced such effects, had not there been such an interposition, by these innovators and projectors, betwixt his Majesty our glorious sun, and us his loyal subjects, that his goodness appeared not, for the time, to us, nor our loyalty and obedience to him. For no sooner was that happy constellation, the parliament in England, raised; and thereby those vaporous clouds dissipated; but his Majesty's goodness, his good subjects' loyalty, and their treachery, evidently appeared.

Our brethren of England, my Lords, finding the intermission of parliaments to be prejudicial and dangerous to the state, have taken care, and made provision for the frequent holding of them; whose prudent example my motion is, may be our pattern forthwith to obtain his Majesty's royal assent, for doing the like here in this kingdom. By which means, his Majesty may in due time hear, and redress the grievances of his subjects; and his subjects, as need shall require, cheerfully aid and assist his Majesty; and not only the domestic peace and quiet of each kingdom be preserved, but likewise all national differences, if any happen, may be, by the wisdom of the assemblies of both kingdoms, from time to time composed and reconciled, to the perpetuating of the happy peace and union betwixt both nations.

Copies of two Papers written by the late King Charles the Second, of blessed Memory¹.

[Folio; containing four pages.]

The First Paper.

THE discourse we had the other day, I hope satisfied you in the main, that Christ can have but one church here upon earth; and I believe, that it is as visible, as that the Scripture is in print, that none can be that church, but that which is called the Roman-catholic church. I think you need not trouble yourself with entering into that ocean of particular disputes, when the main and, in truth, the only question is, 'Where that church is, which we profess to believe, in the two creeds?' We declare there to believe one

¹ [James II, in his ardour for extending the Catholic religion, was imprudent enough to direct these papers to be published and circulated, immediately after the death of his brother; and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of those, who had been the greatest enemies to the late king's measures, and afforded to the world a specimen of his own bigotry. See Hume.]

They were answered by the learned Dr. Stillingfleet, and occasioned a sharp controversy between him and Dryden, who took part in a defence published 'by command.' This dispute, which was not conducted with remarkable candour on either side, may be found amply detailed in Mr. W. Scott's late edition of that poet's works, vols. x. and xvii.]

Catholic and Apostolic church; and it is not left to every fantastical man's head to believe as he pleases, but to the church, to whom Christ left the power, upon earth, to govern us in matters of faith, who made these creeds for our directions. It were a very irrational thing to make laws for a country, and leave it to the inhabitants to be the interpreters and judges of those laws; for then every man will be his own judge, and, by consequence, no such thing, as either right or wrong. Can we therefore suppose, that God Almighty would leave us at those uncertainties, as to give us a rule to go by, and leave every man to be his own judge? I do ask any ingenuous man, whether it be not the same thing to follow our own fancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any man shew me, where the power of deciding matters of faith is given to every particular man. Christ left his power to his church, even to forgive sins in heaven; and left his Spirit with them, which they exercised after his resurrection: first, by his Apostles in these creeds, and many years after by the council at Nice, where that creed was made, that is called by that name; and by the power which they had received from Christ, they were the judges even of the Scripture itself, many years after the Apostles; which books were canonical, and which were not. And if they had this power then, I desire to know how they came to lose it, and by what authority men separate themselves from that church. The only pretence I ever heard of, was, Because the church has failed, in wresting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true sense and meaning of it: and that they have imposed articles of faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's word. I do desire to know who is to be judge of that: whether the whole church, the succession whereof has continued to this day without interruption; or particular men, who have raised schisms for their own advantage.

' This is a true copy of a letter, I found in the King my brother's strong-box, written
' in his own hand. JAMES R.'

The Second Paper.

IT is a sad thing to consider what a world of heresies are crept into this nation: every man thinks himself as competent a judge of the Scriptures, as the very Apostles themselves; and it is no wonder that it should be so, since that part of the nation, which looks most like a church, dares not bring the true arguments against the other sects, for fear they should be turned against themselves, and confuted by their own arguments. The Church of England, as it is called, would fain have it thought, that they are the judges in matters spiritual, and yet dare not say positively, that there is no appeal from them; for either they must say, that they are infallible (which they cannot pretend to), or confess, that what they decide, in matters of conscience, is no further to be followed, than it agrees with every man's private judgment. If Christ did leave a church here upon earth, and we were all once of that church; how, and by what authority, did we separate from that church? If the power of interpreting of Scripture be in every man's brain; what need have we of a church, or church-men? To what purpose, then, did our Saviour, after he had given his Apostles power to bind and loose in heaven and earth, add to it, ' That he ' would be with them, even unto the end of the world?' These words were not spoken parabolically, or by way of figure; Christ was then ascending into his glory, and left his power with his church, even unto the end of the world. We have had, these hundred years past, the sad effects of denying to the church that power, in matters spiritual, without an appeal. What country can subsist in peace or quiet, where there is not a supreme judge, from whence there can be no appeal? Can there be any justice done, where the offenders are their own judges, and equal interpreters of the law with those that are appointed to administer justice? This is our case here in England, in matters spiritual: for the Protestants are not of the church of England, as it is the true church, from whence there can be no appeal; but because the discipline of that church is conformable at that

present to their fancies, which as soon as it shall contradict, or vary from, they are ready to embrace, or join with the next congregation of people, whose discipline and worship agree with their opinion at that time: so that, according to this doctrine, there is no other church, nor interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every man's giddy brain. I desire to know, therefore, of every serious considerer of these things, whether the great work of our Salvation ought to depend upon such a sandy foundation, as this? Did Christ ever say to the civil magistrate, (much less to the people,) that he would be with them to the end of the world? Or, did he give them the power to forgive sins? St. Paul tells the Corinthians, 'Ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building; we are labourers with God.'

This shews who are the labourers, and who are the husbandry and building: and in this whole chapter, and in the preceding one, St. Paul takes great pains to set forth, that they, the clergy, have the Spirit of God, without which no man searcheth the deep things of God: and he concludeth the chapter with this verse; 'For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.' Now, if we do but consider, in human probability and reason, the powers Christ leaves to his church in the Gospel, and St. Paul explains so distinctly afterwards; we cannot think, that our Saviour said all these things to no purpose: and, pray, consider, on the other side, that those who resist the truth, and will not submit to this church, draw their arguments from implications and far-fetched interpretations, at the same time that they deny plain and positive words; which is so great a disingenuity, that it is not almost to be thought, that they can believe themselves. Is there any other foundation of the Protestant church, but that, if the civil magistrate please, he may call such of the clergy, as he thinks fit for his turn at that time; and turn the church either to presbytery, independency, or indeed what he pleases? This was the way of our pretended reformation here in England; and, by the same rule and authority, it may be altered into as many more shapes and forms, as there are fancies in men's heads.

'This is a true copy of a paper, written by the late King my brother, in his own hand,
'which I found in his closet. JAMES R.'

A Copy of a Paper, written by the late Duchess of York¹.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

IT is so reasonable to expect, that a person always bred up in the church of England, and as well instructed in the doctrine of it, as the best divines and her capacity could make her, should be liable to many censures, for leaving that, and making herself a member of the Roman-catholic church, to which, I confess, I was one of the greatest enemies it ever had; that I chose rather to endeavour to satisfy my friends, by reading this paper, than to have the trouble, to answer all the questions that may daily be asked me. And first, I do protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that no person, man or woman, directly nor indirectly, ever said any thing to me, since I came into England, or used the least endeavour to make me change my religion. It is a blessing I wholly

¹ [Ann Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon; who was more troubled with this avowal of her religious defection, says Burnet, than at all his own misfortunes. The earl wrote two letters in reply, which may be found in Vol. III. of this Work.]

owe to Almighty God, and I hope the hearing of a prayer I daily made him, ever since I was in France and Flanders; where seeing much of the devotion of the catholicks, though I had very little myself, I made it my continual request to Almighty God, that if I were not, I might, before I died, be in the true religion. I did not in the least doubt, but that I was so, and never had any manner of scruple till November last; when, reading a book, called, 'the History of the Reformation,' by Dr. Heylin,² which I had heard very much commended, and had been told, if ever I had any doubt in my religion, that would settle me; instead of which, I found it the description of the horridest sacrileges in the world; and could find no reason, why we left the church, but for three the most abominable ones, that were ever heard of among Christians: first, Henry the Eighth renounces the pope's authority, because he would not give him leave to part with his wife, and marry another, in her life-time: secondly, Edward the Sixth was a child, and governed by his uncle, who made his estate out of church-lands.

And then queen Elizabeth, who, being no lawful heiress to the crown, could have no way to keep it, but by renouncing a church that could never suffer so unlawful a thing to be done by one of her children. I confess, I cannot think the Holy Ghost could ever be in such councils; and it is very strange, that if the bishops had no design, but as they say, the restoring us to the doctrine of the primitive church, they should never think upon it, till Henry the Eighth made a breach upon so unlawful a pretence. These scruples being raised, I began to consider of the difference between the catholicks and us; and examined them, as well as I could, by the holy Scripture, which, though I do not pretend to be able to understand, yet there are some things I found so easy, that I cannot but wonder I had been so long without finding them out: as, the real presence in the blessed sacrament, the infallibility of the church, confession, and praying for the dead. After this, I spoke severally to two of the best bishops³ we have in England, who both told me, there were many things in the Roman church, which, it were very much to be wished, we had kept; as confession, which was, no doubt, commanded by God: that praying for the dead was one of the ancient things in Christianity: that, for their parts, they did it daily, though they would not own it. And, afterwards, pressing one of them⁴ very much upon the other points, he told me, that if he had been bred a catholick, he would not change his religion; but, that being of another church, wherein, he was sure, were all things necessary to salvation, he thought it very ill, to give that scandal, as to leave that church, wherein he had received his baptism.

All these discourses did but add more to the desire I had to be a catholick, and gave me the most terrible agonies in the world, within myself. For all this, fearing to be rash in a matter of that weight, I did all I could to satisfy myself; made it my daily prayer to God, to settle me in the right; and so went on Christmas-day to receive in the king's chapel; after which, I was more troubled than ever, and could never be in quiet, till I had told my desire to be a catholick, who brought a priest to me, and that was the first I ever did converse with, upon my word. The more I spoke to him, the more I was confirmed in my design; and as it is impossible for me to doubt of the words of our Blessed Saviour, who says, 'the holy sacrament is his body and blood;' so I cannot believe, that he who is the Author of all truth, and who has promised to be with his church to the end of the world, would permit them to give that holy mystery to the laity but in one kind, if it were not lawful so to do.

I am not able, or, if I were, would I enter into disputes with any body; I only, in short, say this, for the changing of my religion; which I take God to witness, I would

² [Published in 1661, under the title of 'Ecclesia Restaurata.' Stillingfleet observes, that it "was none of the best advices given to such a person to read *Dr. Heylin's History* for her satisfaction:" for Heylin's extreme animosity against the puritans, hurries him into the opposite extreme of favouring the catholicks. Vide Nicolson's Historical Library, and Burnet's Preface to the History of the Reformation, for a character of Heylin's History.]

³ [Dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Blanford, bishop of Worcester.]

⁴ Dr. Blanford. [He had been chaplain to lord Clarendon, who procured his preferment.]

never have done, if I had thought it possible to save my soul otherwise. I think I need not say, it is any interest in this world leads me to it. It will be plain enough to every body, that I must lose all the friends, and credit I have here, by it; and have very well weighed, which I could best part with, my share in this world, or the next. I thank God, I found no difficulty in the choice.

My only prayer is, that the poor catholicks of this nation may not suffer for my being of their religion; that God would but give me patience to bear them; and then, send me any afflictions in this world, so I may enjoy a blessed eternity hereafter.

St. James's, Aug. 20, 1670.

The Earl of Strafford Characterised¹, in a Letter sent to a Friend in the Country.

Printed in 1641.

[Octavo; containing eight pages.]

Noble Sir,

I AM enforced to complain of your impetuous commands, and the tax you impose me, above all the rest of your vassals, but especially of this of my Lord of Strafford's; as though I alone were inspired with an illumination, beyond the wisdom of the Parliament, which on so long consultation hath not yet determined the articulate point of your question: yet thus much I shall positively deliver as a part of my belief; that, howsoever my Lord of Strafford be cried up for a most incomparable and accomplished instrument of state, yet he is human, and subject to such infirmities as were incident to our first progenitors; and this is a particular of my faith, not of my opinion.

But if it may satisfy your curiosity, to be informed of the general conceptions, I shall then present you, with as various a collection of votes and censures, as there are fancies in the several factions, daily raised by the work of art and time; which qualifyeth poison, mollifieth flints, and changeth the face of all things from their first beings and appearances; which have much befriended my Lord of Strafford.

But, whether his Lordship be guilty of high-treason, I cannot determine.

Sure it is, many foul things stick upon him by manifest proofs, which neither his fineness of wit, nor all the fig-leaves in Paradise can cover.

True it is, the House of Commons stand stiff, to make good their first charges, which are now enforced and prosecuted to the last article, this very day; which should it not prove treason, on joint rehearsal of the House, and so adjudged by the Lords; it would then seem to me to be a strain of popular fury, rather than the legitimate issue of a court of parliament.

True it is, that before the quarter-part of the accusations were charged upon him, he was by way of prejudication acquitted by many of both sexes, - and favoured not of a few of both Houses, and some of his Majesty's council, and the papistical party, his friends, and followers; and generally by ladies.

The first reasons are best known unto themselves.

¹ [See Vol. IV. p. 527.]

By the second, for respects due to their patron.

By the third, for interests and obligations of dependency.

By the fourth, if well considered, for many feminine and affected considerations:—As the natural pity and consideration of women sympathizing with his afflictions, with the sadness of his aspect, their facility with his complacences, their lenity with his pathetic oratory.

On the other side, there is a rigid, strong, and inflexible party, that say, if he be not found a traitor, the Parliament must make him so, for the interest of the publick.

And so I shall present you with the inclinations of another party, and of no despicable number of account, which pretend to have more solidity of judgment than to be carried away with private interest, partial respects, which seem to be touched with the king's, and the commons' safety, and to be sensible of the commons' sufferance.

And these commonly rip up his life and conversation together, with the progress of his estate and fortunes, and all concluding for his descent and family to be of the noblest and highest rank of gentry, under the degree of baronage; his patrimony so plentiful, as that it equalizes most of the barons of the land; his education noble, and to these of his own acquisition of strong and able natural parts.

And, if the adage be true, that *multa ex vultu dignoscuntur*; and though they mark him for a wise and promising face, yet they unhappily observe in him a dark and promiscuous countenance, clouded, unlovely, and presaging an envious and cruel disposition. And this general query is made of him:

What was that, which he would have had, who, suspicion excepted, might have been a king at home, had not restless ambition, habituated in his nature, interrupted the course of his repose, and disordered the many helps he had to have lived in plenty, and died in felicity?

But disquieted, as all ambition is turbulent, in his cogitations; and in his first exposition, agitated by the blasts of his own aspirings; it is said of him that in his own country he was transported by the violence of his will to carry all before him, and (come what would of it) to overthrow all that withstood him.

Of such predominant a pitch he was in his own constellation and propension, which could not rest there, but must break out into a wider extent, for his thoughts soared so high, as men who knew him well affirmed, that he held himself injured by the state, that he came no sooner to the helm.

Whither to come, he journeyed through a wilderness of popular acclamations, and affected the dangerous name of fame, of being sovereign-protector of the common-wealth.

For which he so much pretended, that in all parliaments he became another Jacques de Ortinel. And they aver it for truth, that in those times, his intimate friends and associates thought it wisdom to shun his conversation; so forward he was in taxing the motions of the king and state.

And, as it is said, not without a malignant humour and a repugnant spirit, always withstood the king's profit, and stinted the parliamentary contributions, at his own will and pleasure; crossing the designs of state, and infusing, by his stubborn example, a spirit of contradiction in the assemblies of these times; which how fatal they have been to ours, I leave to your judgment, and which hath ever since bred an aversion in his majesty towards his people and his parliaments.

An office wherein they say he did far more mischief, than in this for which he stands now arraigned for his life.

And this is the description or abstract of the first part of his life, as he was the minion of the people, which, they say, he esteems as the folly of his youth.

May you now be pleased to receive something of his second act, as he was a minister of the king's, into whose service, as they say, and I think not untruly, he was purchased and bought from the affections of the people, at a higher price than all the privadoes of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second. For that this only man hath cost, and

lost, the king and kingdom, more treasure and loyalty than Pierce, Gaveston, and the two Spencers, and the Marquis of Dublin, did ever cost; their being all put together.

And sure I am, it is the common opinion of the kingdoms, that should he be taken out of the hands of justice, and the revenge of the publick made frustrate, and the expectations of the three kingdoms disappointed, who hath invaded the whole, by the power of his counsels, and the parties, by the grievous oppressions of his majesty's good people, wheresoever he had to do; they say, that his majesty's dominions stand in greater danger and hazard, than ever; and, as it may fall out, to be of a more lamentable consequence than is fit to be expressed.

How fatal may one man's ambition be, and his exorbitant humour, work towards the distraction of a state, which they do thus demonstrate by way of suspicion:

First, admitting the king's affections, may be disposed, together with the great party, which he hath in the Upper House, to acquit him and others.

And that, thereby the House of Commons should hold themselves bound by the interest committed unto them by their countries to make protestations against the Lords.

What then may become of a divided body?

Secondly, it is questioned, Whether any future subsidies will be granted, customs and impositions be paid the king, without any insurrection?

Thirdly, Whether the Scots will depart the kingdom; and if they should, whether on good cause, they may not return, when they shall see a division tend to a fatal confusion, both in the heart of the state, and in the body of the kingdom, rather than they will give opportunity to the papists and libertines to come in for a share?

Wherefore, it is generally concluded by the best and most impartial judgments, that there is no proportion between the riddance of a few monstrous and exorbitant members, and the general safety of the king and his kingdoms.

That there is a necessitated policy, that my Lord of Strafford, the Bishop, and some others, should be given up as a just sacrifice², to appease the people; and to make a compensation for the injury done to them and the publick.

And thus have you the second act of the great Viceroy's progress, with the opinion of all and the best judgments here about the town; which I find to be suitable to yours in the country.

² [Among the King's pamphlets in the British Museum, is "A declaration shewing the necessity of the Earl of Strafford's suffering," 1641, 4to.; and a copy of verses in the Somers' tracts, termed "The Lieutenants' Legend," thus concludes:

"Strafford such a day and yeare did dye,
"For no high-treason, but to satisfie."]

The Jacobite's Hopes frustrated; Or, the History of the Calamities attending the French Conquest¹. Licensed, November 29, 1690. J. Fraser.

London, printed for Jeremiah Wilkins, near the Green-Dragon Tavern, in Fleet-street, 1690.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

IT is strange to see so many men dissatisfied at their Majesties' proceedings, which have no other tendency than towards the common safety of their subjects, that is exposed to as great dangers as any country in Europe; and there are some sort of people who are so mad, as to wish success to the professed enemy of their country, out of a vain hope, that they should fare better than the rest of their neighbours, in case any public alteration should happen in the government: nay, the madness of these men carry them yet further, as to believe themselves able to build their fortunes upon the ruin of their country. I doubt not, if their wishes did prevail, but these very men would find themselves very much deceived in their expectations, and should have as much cause, as the rest of their fellow-subjects to bemoan the common calamity of their enslaved country.

We do not as yet understand the doctrine of bombs and carcasses, contributions and military executions; our neighbours to their sorrows know, that there is something more in these words than a bare sound; so many ruined countries, so many defaced cities, towns, and villages, are lasting monuments of the truth of it.

The murmuring of these people is to be attributed rather to their ignorance than their malice: they do not know the calamities that attend war. We have lived so long in peace, that the greatest part of us have no other knowledge of it, than by report; for, if we had partaken in the sufferings of the neighbouring nations, we should be more unanimous in contributing our assistance to stop that torrent which threatens the overflowing of all Christendom: if we were but sensible of the dreadful consequences which a foreign conquest brings along with it, we should think it a very good bargain to part with more than half what we have, to save the whole; and to prevent that slavery which may overwhelm us and our posterity.—In order to open our eyes that we may see our danger, and to unite us against the common enemy, in a cause wherein the interest of every individual person is so deeply concerned, I shall briefly give an account of those miseries which our forefathers felt under the Norman conquest, and afterwards what usage we are to expect from Lewis the Fourteenth, in case it should be our hard fortune to fall into his power, whose very mercies are cruelties; as it evidently appears by his practices as well towards his own subjects, as others, whom his treachery, or his arms, have reduced under his dominion.

As to the Norman conquest, it will not be impertinent to shew something of the state of this kingdom before that mighty revolution happened, that we may the better see the greatness of the alteration which this foreign conquest produced in our ancestors' days; and, to that purpose, I shall only consider the condition of affairs under the happy reign of that pious king, Edward the Confessor. In his time the ancient laws of the kingdom flourished, the government was administered by an equal distribution of justice to the poor as well as rich, every man enjoyed his liberty and property with great security, peace and

¹ [This tract appears to have been written on the rumour of a French invasion under Lewis XIV. which some disaffected persons were disposed to welcome; and to these the author represents in impressive terms the miserable exchange they were likely to make.]

plenty appeared in all the parts of the kingdom; but Providence had decreed, that those halcyon-days should determine with the life of that king, who died without issue on the fourth of January, 1066. The kingdom should have descended to Edgar Atheling, being next of blood, and heir at law to the deceased king; but prince Edgar being young, the interest and greatness of Harold, eldest son of Goodwin earl of Kent, prevailed with the nobility to reject Edgar's pretensions to the crown, and to advance Harold to the throne, who took upon him the administration of the government; and all the nobility swore allegiance to him.

Toftus, one of the earl of Kent's sons, envying the prosperity and advancement of his brother, entered into a confederacy with Harold, king of Norway, to invade England both by sea and land: Harold, king of England, having intelligence of their design, made all the preparations he could, to withstand them. In the mean while, William duke of Normandy, resolving to make his advantage of these distractions, raised a great army, and prepared a numerous fleet, which consisted of eight-hundred and ninety-six ships, in order to make a descent into England. He soon after hoised sail, and his whole army landed at Pemsey², near Hastings in Sussex, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1066. Being landed, he caused all his ships to be set on fire, that his men might see, that there was no way left, but either to conquer, or to perish in the attempt: he intrenched himself, and afterwards marched, with a considerable body of men, to Hastings, where he built a fort: he published very strict orders, that none of his soldiers should plunder any of the inhabitants, and kept himself so quietly, for the space of fifteen days, as if there was no hostility intended at all: he pretended a title to the crown, by virtue of a gift from Edward the Confessor, as also by some agreement or consent, made betwixt him and king Harold. But, whatsoever he pretended, it is certain, that he confessed, on his death-bed, that he possessed himself of the kingdom by no other title, than by conquest; and his deportment towards the English made it evident, that he never intended otherwise.

The king, having given battle to his brother, and the king of Norway's forces, and defeated them (but with the loss of a considerable number of men), received the news of the duke of Normandy's landing in England. Being flushed with his former victory, he immediately directed his march towards Hastings, though his army had been much weakened and lessened in the late fight. His chief commanders would have dissuaded him from engaging with the enemy upon a sudden, lest the ill circumstances, his army was then in, might prove the occasion of his overthrow; but all the arguments they could use, were of no force to prevent his destiny.

The duke of Normandy, being advertised of the king's approach, sent a monk to him, in the quality of his ambassador, with instructions to offer these propositions to him: 'That either he should resign the kingdom to the duke upon certain conditions, or hold it tributary of him; or else that they two, in the sight of both armies, should determine the matter by a single combat:' and, in case of refusal, the duke offered to refer it to the see of Rome.

But king Harold, being resolutely bent to fight his enemy, whatever it should cost him, dismissed the ambassador, telling him, 'That God only should be the judge betwixt the duke and him.' All thoughts of an accommodation being laid aside, the generals on both sides drew up their armies into order of battle: the king himself stood on foot by his standard, together with his two brothers, Girthe and Leofwine; to the end that, in the common danger, no man should entertain the least thought of saving himself by flight. Both armies, being engaged early in the morning, fought with various success all that day, till, towards the evening, the king was killed by the shot of an arrow, which pierced his brains; whereupon, the Englishmen quitted the field, and left the duke an entire victory. In this battle fell the king's two brothers, and most of the nobility of the kingdom. John Taylor, in his History of Normandy, relates, that there were slain, on the English side, sixty-seven thousand nine-hundred seventy-four; some other historians say but forty-seven

² [Or Pevensey.]

tnousand nine-hundred forty-four: of the Normans were killed six-thousand and thirteen, besides such as were drowned at sea before his landing.

The king's death being known, Edwin and Morcar, two brothers, the one earl of Mercia, the other earl of Northumberland, having escaped from the battle, came with their retinue to London; they would have persuaded the citizens to make one of them king; in order, if it were possible, to retrieve the misfortune of the late fight; but their proposals would not be hearkened to: so the two brothers went to Northumberland, in hopes to secure themselves there, believing that the duke would hardly come thither, being a place so remote from London.

The two brothers being rejected, the nobility and the citizens would have made choice of Edgar, the nephew of Edmund Ironside, to be their king; and did promise, that under his conduct, they would once more try the fortune of the kingdom, in a new battle against the duke; but, by reason of the danger that was so near at hand, and the discord which was amongst them, they did neither: so that the Englishmen, if they had unanimously agreed, might have repaired the loss, which they had sustained in the battle at Hastings; but, whilst they would have none of their own country to be their king, they made way for a stranger to come and tyrannize over them.

While the Londoners were trifling away their time in fruitless debates, the duke, though he determined to come to London, yet would not come the direct way, which led thither, but marched up and down through Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire, wasting the country till he came to Wallingford³, where he rested his army for some time: afterwards, passing the river of Thames, he continued his march through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire; having burned all the towns, and killed all the inhabitants, they could meet with, in their way from Hastings, till he came to Berkhamstead, where he made a halt. Thither came to him Aldred archbishop of York, Wolstone bishop of Worcester, Wilfire bishop of Hereford, Clito Edgar, and all the noblemen about London, with many others, who all together submitted themselves, and swore fealty to him, and delivered pledges for their fidelity; with whom also the duke made a certain league, or agreement: but, notwithstanding the said submission and agreement, he permitted his men still to burn towns, destroy the natives, and to ravage all that stood in their way, as they had done before.

A little before Christmas, he marched with his whole army towards London, having his scouts before him to observe the manners and behaviour of the people; who, upon the arrival of the scouts, were assembled in the streets, and fully determined to oppose the duke's entry; who being come to London, and finding the inhabitants in that posture, made a great and merciless slaughter of them; who, when they saw they were not in a condition to make any farther resistance, submitted themselves to the conqueror, and gave him pledges for their future good behaviour.

The duke, having possessed himself of the capital city of the kingdom, was there, both by the Normans and Englishmen, chosen and proclaimed king on Christmas-day, and on the same day, was crowned by the archbishop of York.

Before I proceed any further in this tragical story, it will not be amiss to give some short account how the Kentish-men came to save their country, lives, laws, and liberties, in the midst of these devastations, which overspread all the rest of the kingdom; that our imprudent malecontents may see what effects an unanimous resistance is capable of producing, in such cases of extremity.

The king, soon after his coronation, took a journey to reduce Dover-castle, and the rest of the county of Kent; the archbishop of Canterbury, and Eglesine, abbot of the Augustines, (being chief lords of that country,) understanding the king's design, caused all the people of Kent to assemble at Canterbury, where they declared to them, 'That before the late revolution, there were no bondmen in England, and, that now, as well the noble-

³ [In Berks.]

‘men, as the common people, were made subjects to the perpetual bondage of the Normans; and persuaded them to provide for their safety, from the miserable example of an infinite number of their countrymen, who groaned under the yoke of foreign slavery: they likewise encouraged them to defend, manfully, their lives, liberties, and the laws of their country; and that they both, after the example of the Maccabees, would be their captains.’

At a day appointed, all the Kentish-men at Swanescombe, two miles westward from Gravesend, hid themselves in a wood, where they lay in wait for the king's coming; and it was agreed, that all, as well horsemen as footmen, should carry boughs in their hands: the next day, the king came near Swanescombe, where he was mightily surprized to see himself, on a sudden, inclosed round about by a moving wood. When the Kentish-men had hemmed him in, they threw down their boughs, sounded their trumpets, and drew their swords, &c. and shewed themselves in a readiness to give the king battle: the amazed king could not tell what to do in this streight, to which he was reduced. Whereupon, the archbishop and the abbot advanced towards him, and acquainted him with their desires; and, in case of refusal, that they were all ready to die in the defence of their country. The king, who could do no otherwise, granted them every thing they asked; and by this means it was, that Kent preserved its laws and customs inviolable.

Having gone thus far in his conquest, he received homage, fealty, and pledges, from all the noblemen, who submitted themselves to him: he thought this might be a sufficient security for the present, until he could find an opportunity (as he afterwards did by degrees) to extinguish them all.

It is the usual policy of conquerors, to bring as many strangers as they can, into the conquered country, that they may be the better able to crush the natives, and put it out of their power to make any insurrection, let their sufferings be never so great: to this end, he brought, from Roan in Normandy, a great number of Jews (who were a griping usurious sort of people), whom he knew, that, by their covetous artifice, would omit no ways to make their markets of the poor oppressed natives.

The Conqueror had heard how all the Danes had formerly been massacred, in one night, by the English; and, for fear his Normans might be served in the same manner, and also to prevent any nocturnal meetings and cabals, he commanded, ‘That, in every town and village, a bell should be rung every night, at eight o'clock, and that all people should then put out their fire and candles, and go to bed;’ which order was punctually observed, during his whole reign.

In the next place, his favourites and soldiers, who had served him in this expedition, must be rewarded for the toil and hazards they had undergone in his service, to whom he shares the greatest part of the land of the kingdom. Taylor, in his History, reckons six-hundred and thirty families, who had the foundation of their fortunes grounded upon the ruins of the English nation.

Normandy, in his absence, was inclined to revolt from him. Being informed of it, he hastened thither, and carried along with him all the prime noblemen of England, whom he suspected might raise any disturbance in the kingdom, while he was out of it: having quieted Normandy, he returns, and lays an insupportable tribute upon the Englishmen. It is observable, that the English, by these sort of extravagant impositions, defrayed the greatest part of these frequent wars, which he maintained beyond sea, during his reign over England. As a conqueror, he well knew, that to impoverish them was the effectual means, not only to lessen their fortunes, but also to debase their courage: vast numbers of the inhabitants (whereof many were of the royal family) were forced to fly into foreign countries, to avoid the cruelty of the Normans. Scotland was so replenished with these fugitives, that there was no parish, town, or village, in that kingdom, but had several of them, whom the Scots employed in all their servile drudgery.

Those of them, who could not make their escapes, were reduced to that degree of necessity, that, rather than starve, they were contented to become slaves to those, who at that

time, first had power of life and death over them. The services, which they performed to their masters, were the most vile offices, that could be imposed upon mankind: this was the original of bondmen in England.

Before the Conquest, there were few or no inland castles in this kingdom; and, wherever inland castles are in use, they are designed, for the most part, rather to enslave the natives, than protect them from foreign invasions. The Conqueror was resolved to curb the English, and to enslave them to that degree, that there should be no possibility left them, of recovering their lost liberties: to that end, he caused a castle to be built at Nottingham, two at York, and another at Lincoln, and a great many more in other places, which were all garrisoned with Normans, who treated the English inhabitants with all the insolencies and barbarities imaginable. This was the reason of building so many castles, in so few years after the Conquest; that, about the reign of king Stephen, and Henry the Fifth⁴, about eleven-hundred of these castles were demolished by public authority; in regard that, by that time, they were become a most insupportable grievance to the nation.

The Conqueror practised all the ways he could imagine, to extinguish as well as impoverish the English; and, in pursuance of that design, it was his usual policy to employ them always in his most desperate service. He likewise made use of every opportunity to engage the English in the destruction of one another; and the circumstances of affairs afforded him an occasion for it. Many of the English nation, being fled into Denmark and Ireland, made war upon England several times, in conjunction with these two nations. The Conqueror always made use of English armies, under English leaders, to oppose them; and though fortune commonly declared herself, in most of those battles, in favour of the Norman conqueror; yet the victory was seldom obtained without great slaughter of the English on both sides; neither did he care how many of them perished, provided the consequence was not destructive to his interest.

When he came to be well fixed in the possession of his new conquest, he degraded the few noblemen that were left, and conferred their titles and estates upon his own countrymen; to the intent, that no Englishman, of any quality or interest, should be left in the nation. He would often glory in this piece of policy, and as often deride the imprudence of that good-natured king, Canutus the Dane, who, having subdued England, restored the English to their former possessions; whereby it came to pass, that, after his death, they easily expelled the Danes out of the kingdom, and reinstated the Saxon line upon the throne. It is commonly a conqueror's policy, to abolish all that was in use amongst the conquered people: neither was he wanting in that respect, for he altered most of the laws and customs of the country. Their very speech was so much abhorred, that the laws were pleaded in the French tongue; and the children, in schools, were taught their letters, and rudiments of grammar, in the French language.

He charged upon the nation threescore-thousand knights-fees, which provided him so many horsemen, well accoutred, whenever he had occasion to make use of them. The possessions of the clergy were not exempted from this service, which, in all former ages, had been privileged from all temporal incumbrances.

The king had given the earldom of Northumberland to one Robert, surnamed Cummin; who marched thither, with a considerable body of men, to take possession of his earldom; the Northern people, hearing of his coming, prepared to resist him, and, at Durham, they destroy him, and rout his party. The king comes with an army to the North, to revenge the death of the earl: in his march, he killed and plundered all he met with; and, when he arrived in the North, he committed such a general devastation, that the next year, there was so great a dearth throughout all England, and especially in Northumberland, and the countries next adjoining, that men were forced to eat horse-flesh, cats, dogs, and man's flesh. And all the land, betwixt Durham and York, lay waste, without inhabitants to till the ground, for the space of nine years following.

He plundered all the monasteries and abbeys in England, of all their gold and silver,

⁴ [Should we not rather read—'in the first year of the reign of Henry the Third?']

not sparing even the chalices and shrines; in these places he found vast sums of money, which were hid there, by other people, for fear of the Normans.

Having ruined the laity, he was resolved the clergy should fare no better: he hindered all the English from being preferred to any vacant churches, and to rid his hands of those that were in possession, by the consent of the pope, he summoned a great council, to be held at Winchester; where the archbishop of Canterbury, and several other bishops, abbots, and others, were deprived of their livings, to make room for the greedy Normans.

He oppressed the English nobility and gentry so intolerably, with a design to force them to rebel against him, that from thence he might have a more colourable pretence to destroy them and their families.

What I have in particular said of this conquest, is not the twentieth part of the people's sufferings, neither will my intended brevity permit me to enlarge upon this subject; for, if all the burnings of towns, slaughters of people, the several torments which were inflicted upon the inhabitants, and the oppressions of all sorts, which they endured, were mentioned, it would afford matter enough for a volume: but what I have declared, is sufficient to let us see what miseries our forefathers underwent, as also to oblige as many of us, as have a grain of sense or courage left, to exert our utmost abilities, to prevent the like destruction from falling upon these populous and flourishing kingdoms.

Our malecontents are very much mistaken, if they expect any better usage from a French conqueror, at this day, than their ancestors did meet, in former times, from the taskmasters of the same country. For let them assure themselves, that Lewis the Fourteenth is as well versed in the methods of villainy and cruelty, as ever the Norman was, or could pretend himself to be; his arts do far outdo all that went before him; for, besides the calamities which our forefathers suffered, he hath others in store, which are much more insufferable; some of which follow:

First, You shall have a king, that fears neither God nor man; that never observes his oath, nor keeps any promise, made with his subjects or strangers.

You shall be governed by a prince, that is arbitrary in the highest degree; your lives and fortunes will be absolutely at his disposal, who values the life of a subject, not so much as another man values the life of an ordinary dog.

Forts, citadels, and standing armies, will be your continual plagues.

Nobility and gentry must down, and betake themselves to the plough, to make room for the insolent Monsieur.

A dog's life (hunger and ease) will be much better than yours; for you must be very industrious, though the fruits of your labour must wholly result into the king's coffers: you shall sow wheat, but shall not eat one bit of the bread thereof, throughout the whole year.

You shall be continually subject to as great a burthen of taxes, as your backs can bear, or your slavish industry pay: to prevent extravagancy, you shall be constrained to wear the meanest clothes, and, for good husbandry, you shall trot about in wooden shoes, *à la mode de France*.

These are the blessings, which a French despotical power brings along with it. But this is not all that a Protestant country is to endure under the Monsieur's tyranny; for he will make your souls suffer, as well as your bodies: and, therefore, I shall give you a short account of the compendious means, he will make use of, to pervert Protestants to the idolatrous popish religion.⁵ He will send his infallible apostolic dragoons amongst you; and this is their way of discipline, in case you do not readily comply with them.

⁵ [In October 1685, Louis XIV. repealed the edict of Nantes, made by his predecessor Henry IV. for allowing to Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and declared by him to be irrevocable. Nay, both Louis XIII. and XIV. had ratified the same: and though the latter acknowledged his possession of the crown to have been derived from his Protestant subjects, yet he ungratefully expelled 150,000 of them out of his kingdom, dragooned others into popery, sent many who refused to comply for slaves, chained them in his galleys, took their children from them, and spared no violence to oppress and destroy them.]

The first compliment they use, is to quarter themselves, by violence, in your houses, and take especial care you do not make your escapes, or hide any of your goods or effects; then they will proceed to consume all the provisions you have in your houses, and seize upon all money, rings, plate, jewels, &c. and, in short, whatever they can lay hands on; and, afterwards, will expose your goods to public sale, to the neighbouring towns and villages.

Having thus disposed of your goods; in the next place, they fall upon your persons, and there is no wickedness, or horror, which they will not put in practice, to force you to change your religion; they will hang men and women, by the hair or feet, on the roofs of the chambers, or chimney-hooks, and smother them with wisps of wet hay, till they will be no more able to bear it; and when they have taken them down, if they will not sign to what shall be proposed to them, they will hang them up immediately.

Another way they make use of, is, to throw people on great fires, kindled for that purpose, and forcibly keep them there, till they are half roasted; they also tie a rope under their arms, and plunge them to and fro into wells, till they promise to quit their religion and conscience; and, in this posture, with a funnel filled with wine, they pour it down their throats, till the fumes of it deprive their reason, and then they obtain their consents to be Catholics, as they call them.

Others they strip stark naked, and after having offered them a thousand infamous indignities, they stick them with pins from head to toe.

Some they cut, in several places, with pen-knives; and sometimes, with red-hot pincers, they take them by the nose; and, after that, drag them about the room, till they promise to comply.

Others they beat with staves, and drag them, all bruised, to the churches; where their forced presence will be accounted for an abjuration.

Some they keep from sleep, for seven or eight days together; relieving one another, to watch them night and day, to keep them awake continually.

They use to throw buckets of water, and torment them a hundred ways besides; holding, over their heads, kettles turned downwards, and drum upon them continually, till the poor creatures have lost their senses.

If they find any sick (either men or women) that keep their beds, distempered with fevers, or other diseases, their way is, to bring about twelve drums; beating an alarm, at the bed-side, for whole weeks together, without intermission.

It is their usual practice, upon these occasions, to tie fathers and husbands to the bed-posts, and ravish their wives and daughters before their faces. They pluck off the nails of the hands and toes of others; they blow up some with bellows, even till they are ready to burst.

These, and ten-thousand other villainous ways, the jesuitical spirit hath found out, to make new converts: whoever hath the curiosity to see them, let him but peruse the history of the persecution of the Protestants in France, and he will find, that the ten primitive persecutions were but mercies, in comparison of those monstrous torments, lately invented, and put in practice upon those miserable creatures, by the order of the Christian-Turk, Lewis the Fourteenth.

If you fall into French hands, you see what is like to become of you: your bodies will be condemned to irretrievable slavery; and your souls (as far as it lies in their power) shall be consigned to the devil. If you are not so wise, as to regard either body or soul, I have done with you, and so farewell.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost¹: Or, England's Forewarner. Discovering a secret Consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spain. Together with his Tormenting of Count de Gondomar; and his strange Affrightment, Confession, and public Recantation. Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subversion of England.

*Cresce, cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce;
Quod spero sitio, vah sitio, sitio.*

' Destruction and unhappiness is in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known; there is no fear of God before their eyes.' Psal. xiv. 7.

Utrecht, printed by John Schellem. 1626.

[Quarto; containing forty-four pages.]

ALTHOUGH the liberty of these times (wherein your courants, gazettes, pasquils, and the like, swarm too abundantly) hath made all news, how serious or substantial soever, liable to the jealous imputation of falsehood; yet this relation, I assure you, although in some circumstances it may lean too near the flourish of invention, yet for the pith or marrow thereof, it is as justly allied to truth, as the light is to the day, or night to darkness.

To hold thee, then, gentle reader, in no further suspence; be pleased to understand, that some few days after the solemnity of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, (according to the Roman and Spanish computation,) it pleased the Majesty of Spain, Philip the Fourth, to retire himself to his delicate house of pleasure, called Casa del Campo, situated near the town of Madrid, or Madrill, where his standing court, for the most part, continually remaineth: and the nearest in attendance unto him, next to the count de Olivares, was the count de Gondomar, the arch-enemy to the flourishing estate of our England, and the fox, whose stench hath not cured the palsy, but rather impoisoned and brought into an apoplexy many noble, and sometimes well-deserving, English hearts. Neither was the king, for his pleasure, retired to this house of pleasure; but rather through the necessity of some special affairs; the greatest whereof seemed to be gathered from the last attempt of the English upon the fort and castle of Punetall, and the town of Cadiz, or Cales: wherein, though the loss was not so great or material as might either make the assailant or assailed offer roses, or nettles, upon the altar of fortune; yet, the affront seemed to strike a more deep impression in the hearts of the Spaniards, than could be well taken away with scorn, which is the ensign of their pride; or with the hope of future advantage, which only gives life unto their envy and malice.

And, therefore now at this time and in this place, after many consultations held with the

¹ [There are two different tracts with similar titles to the present. One of these is printed in *Phoenix Britannicus*, viz. "Prosopopœia; or Sir W. R.'s Ghost," &c. a MS copy of which was intitled "Vox Spiritus; or Sir W. R.'s Ghost; being a Conference between Sir Gondomar, his Majesty's Ambassador of Spain, the Friar-confessor, and Father Baldwin, the Jesuit, at Ely-house, in Holborne, Nov. 30, 1620." The tenor of this tract was to disclose Gondomar's mischievous transactions in England. Another was printed several years after, with the title of "Sir W. R.'s Ghost;" but had no relation to the conduct of Gondomar, or to that of the Spanish court. See Oldys's *Life of Raleigh*.]

earl of Gondomar, whom the whole world baptized the Butt-slave, or Incendiary of Christendom, the Intelligencer, Ambassador, and Jesuitical Archbishop Ledger, as his practices in our nation hath well witnessed, touching some notable revenge to be had against the state of Great-Britain; being the only jewel on which Spain had long since fixed her heart; to make her universal monarchy every way full and perfect: he is, by command from the king, in the person of the count Olivares, to make his appearance before the pope's nuncio, the duke of Lerma, the duke of Cea, the duke of Infantazgo, and the constable of Castile, who had a special commission signed for that purpose, and to deliver unto them all those secret advantages, which he had, either by the experience of time, the continual labour of his brain, the corruption of his bribes, the threatenings and insinuations of his popish priests, the petulant flatteries of his papistical English mistresses, diving into their husbands' counsels; or, by any other direct or indirect means, won unto himself a knowledge or instruction, for the alteration or subversion of that brave and flourishing British monarchy. And, in this charge, the count de Olivares, according to the state and magnificence of the Spanish reservations, began to make a great flourish of many demure and austere circumstances unto the earl of Gondomar, concerning the greatness of his engagement, the high trust reposed in his singular knowledge, and the infinite expectations the king and the whole state had fixed upon the wisdom of his proceeding; adding thereunto, sundry admonishments or caveats, to call into his remembrance, touching many alterations in the state of Great-Britain, some defensive, some offensive, since his last abode or commencement in the same; and, amongst the rest, as a thing of most especial note, the count began to repeat many relations, which Gondomar himself had delivered unto him, touching the general warlikeness of the British nation; affirming, that he had heard him say, that he had seen the very children and boys in the street make their sport and play a school of war; and, by imitation from elder knowledges, to express, in child-play, the very excellency and perfection of martial discipline; which had summoned in him both matter of passion and admiration, that he had often cried out, "What will the English do? Every child will be an Hercules, and kill a serpent in his cradle." This, Olivares told him, was but a small shadow, or little prick, to express a much greater substance now in use; for, since the death of king James, of ever-living and famous memory, the Englishmen, who for the space of twenty-two years before, had but as it were dallied and played with arms, rather seeking to affect it for novelty than necessity, were now, in one year's deliberate and material exercise, become so singular and exquisite, that the Netherlands blushed to see themselves overgone in a moment; and that to be made familiar in an instant, which they had laboured to obtain to in divers ages.

Besides, Olivares assured him, "that he had received infallible intelligence out of the archduchess's countries, that an hundred and odd of the best experienced soldiers, or firemen, (being all English) were sent from the states of the United Provinces, into Great-Britain, to educate and instruct, in martial discipline, every several country and province; insomuch that the whole island was nothing now but a nursery of excellent and exquisite soldiers."

To this, Gondomar replied, "that he had, from certain Jesuits in England, received the like intelligence, and with this addition, that those excellent selected men in the Low-countries found their equal school-fellows, nay, many tutors and experienced masters, when they came into England; so that indeed their necessity did but convert to superfluity and a little loss, to some that were of much better deserving."

"Yet, (said Gondomar further,) for my own part, though this make much for our terror and amazement, and that we must, with Curtius, leap wilfully into a gulph of certain ruin, before we can hope for revenge or triumph, yet doth this new military course little move my blood; for, though I must confess the Netherlands to be the only unparalleled school of war in the whole world, yet the only thing it teacheth, is form and fire, entrenchment and besiegement; but for the use of the sword, push of the pike, bringing of grosses body to body, and hand to hand, the exercise of every private strength, and the fortune of battles, (things which the English must of necessity be exposed unto,) *Hoc raro aut nunquam;*

and therefore, my lord, I tell you, I more quake when I see an old Irish commander drilling an English company, who never beheld an enemy, but he felt his sword and knew his target; than when I see infinites of golden fellows, teaching men only to dance to the tune of 'Posture,' or framing chimeras in their brains, whether the pike and the bow, or the pike and dragoon, or pike and long pistol, be of greater importance. But of these things we shall have a larger time to discourse and think upon: it sufficeth me, that I know my royal master's pleasure, and your honourable instructions, all which I will study to satisfy. Only divers things are (through other employments) laid, as it were, aside from my memory, not utterly forgotten; therefore I beseech I may have the respite of some few hours, to reckon with my former knowledge, and so yield up the whole sum of my duty and service."

To this, Olivares seemed exceeding willing: and so (for the earl to make choice of his best time) they departed one from the other; Olivares returning to satisfy the king, and Gondomar, taking his litter, went back to Madrid; where, what contention grew between him and his old-acquainted mischiefs, how every minute he produced new and unnatural cocks'-eggs, brooded them from the heat of his malice, hatched them from the devilishness of his policy, and brought forth serpents able to poison all Europe, is a discourse monstrous and almost inexpressible: I will therefore omit this mutiny of his troubled thoughts, and only pitch upon this one accident, no less strange than memorable; wherein, as in a mirror, every eye may behold the weakness of a guilty thought, and how easily frailty is surprized and overcome, when it encounters with these two main enemies of our blood, fear and amazement.

It so fell out, the morning before the noon on which Gondomar was to appear before the designed commissioners; partly to refresh his perturbed spirits with the pure air, and to recollect unto himself all those thoughts and circumstances, which might make a glorious passage for the huge and monstrous body of mischief, wherewithal he was, that day, in labour; that he caused his attendants to bring him in his litter to the Prada, near unto the city of Madrid; being a place of recreation and pleasure for the nobility and gallantry of Spain, not much unlike to our new Moorfield-walks, near to the city of London, only, that this is more private and reserved; for, as ours is common to all men of all sorts, so is this Prada only but for the king, the grandees of Spain, the nobility, and some gentlemen of the uppermost or best quality.

After Gondomar had, in this place of recreation, taken a turn or two in his litter; whether he found his ruminations disturbed with the uneasy pace of his mules, or that he had not elbow-room enough in his litter, to give action and grace to many of those damnable thoughts, which, in that hour, gave him singular contentment; for the Spaniard is not of our dull English quality, to let his words pass from him as neglected strangers, or thoughts out of the compass of his dearest familiarity; but rather as dear children, or choicest friends, to lend them admiration with his eyes and hands, to adorn them with expectation in the shrug of his shoulders, and with a thousand other mimic gestures, to make a speech that is as trivial and unseasoned as folly itself, to appear as serious as if it were a Delphian oracle. Upon some one or other of these Spanish disgusts, this fox (our earl) unkennels himself, and makes his servants take him from his litter; then, placing his chair (the true-sworn brother, or, at least, the nearest kinsman that might be to a close-stool) under the shadow of certain trees, in a walk more reserved than the rest, he commanded his attendants to withdraw themselves; and he had reason so to do for two principal respects: the first, lest his antic postures, mumps, moes, and monkey wry-faces might draw laughter, or scorn from his vassals; or lastly, lest the violence of his study and meditations might make some words fall from him, which he thought too precious for another man's bosom.

Being obeyed in all his commandments, and seated thus alone by himself, (only guarded by his two choice friends, Malice and Mischief,) he had not called up many evil thoughts to appear before him, when, on a sudden (according to the weakness of his apprehension) there shined round about him a most glorious and extraordinary light, which might be taken rather for fire and flaming, than shine or glittering; and this appeared so suddenly, spread itself so largely, and increased so violently, that terror, fear, and amazement, at one

instant, rose upon the heart of the earl, and, with their cold qualities, did so stupify, dull, and contract all his spirits, that, as if he had seen Medusa's head, the poor Don was become altogether a piece of ice or marble: he had no spirit to remember there were spirits; his crossings and blessings, his holy water, and his *agnus-dei*, his monks' charms, and his jesuits' conjurations, were all now turned to quaking and trembling, to staring and stark madness, to gaping and groaning, to want of words, through strife for words; and, indeed, to what not, that might shew the singularness of a perplexed astonishment! His nightcap throws his hat in the dust, and his hair makes his cap fly into the air like a feather; he doeth reverence, but sees no saint; would fain utter either salutations or curses, but knows not by what name to call his controller. In the-end, starting and standing upright, seeming to see what he would not see, or to find out that with curiosity, which he had rather lose with the best care of his spirits; straddling like a colossus, as if he neither respected present perils, nor feared those which were further off; he looked as if he would look through the pure air, and though it have truly no colour, yet was his search so diligent, that he appeared to find out a constant complexion: yet all was but his new fear, which neither his manner of life (which had ever been desperate, subtle, and reserved), the condition of the times (at that time and that place, free from perplexities and incumbrance), the state of his affairs (rather rising than declining), nor his present negotiations (strong enough to have encountered with any Goliath's amazement), was able now to keep constant any one joint about him. I have read, that the duke of Burgundy had like to have died at the sight of the nine worthies, which a magician had discovered; but, our Don Gondomar is like now to die at the sight of nothing but air, and his own imagination: for he had every symptom of death about him, as a body trembling, a stomach swelling, forehead turned yellow, eyes dead or sinking, a mouth gaping, and what not, that could say, 'our Don is 'now upon the pitch of departing.' They say, that great princes should never see the portraiture of fear, but upon their enemies' backs: sure I am, Gondomar now saw both fear and cowardice upon his own heart. But why should I drive you off with more circumstance? The nakedness of the truth is, that as he gazed thus fearfully about, there appeared, or seemed to appear before him, the ghost of sir Walter Raleigh, knight; a noble famous Englishman, and a renowned soldier. At this apparition, the earl fell down flat to the earth upon his face (for backward he durst not, lest he might give an offence to his surgeon), and yet the posture in which this noble gentleman appeared, however fearful to the guilt of Gondomar's conscience, was amiable and lovely to any pure and honest composition; for he was armed at all pieces, and those pieces of silver, which is the ensign of innocence and harmlessness. In his right-hand, he brandished his sword, which was an instrument that had been ever fatal to Spanish practices; and, had not the edge been taken off by this fox's subtleties, I persuade myself, by this time, it had near made a new conquest of the West-Indies; in his left-hand, he seemed to carry a cup of gold filled with blood, which blood he sprinkled, some upon Gondomar, and some upon the ground, uttering, in an hollow and unpleasant voice, these or the like words following:

' Cresce cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce;

' Quod spero sitio, ah sitio, sitio.'

Gondomar's attendants, who had all this while, afar off, beheld their lord's actions, (seeing him now falling down in this trance,) came with all possible speed running unto him; but before they could offer an hand to his assistance, they might hear him utter words of that strange nature and quality, that their fears bridled their charities; and they were rather willing to let him lie still, bending their attentions to his words, than by a too officious disturbance, to break off any part of that discourse which might make for the bettering of the knowledge of the state, or otherwise be applied to future service, at which these unnatural and abortive accidents ever point; and, therefore, fixing their eyes and ears constantly upon him, as he lay grovelling on the earth, they might hear these, or words much like unto these, proceed from his perplexed and amazed spirit:

"Blessed soul, noble sir Walter Raleigh! what have I to do with thy goodness; or wherefore hast thou left the peacefulness of thy rest, to torment, and call me to account,

before the prefixed and full day of my trial be come; and that I must stand face to face with thee, and a world of others, before the greatest tribunal? I can profess mine iniquities, and that I have been to the king my master, (as Borgia Cæsar was to pope Alexander the Sixth,) an instrument willing to take upon me any or all manner of sins, how odious or vile soever, so I might but make Spain look fresh; and that those imputations, which otherwise might have drowned her, might be but put into the catalogue of my services: though defame and curses were heaped upon me, in much greater quantities than Ossa, Pelion, or Pindus. I do confess, I have been the very nose of the Spanish state, through which hath been voided all the excrements, both of the head and the whole body: I have been a channel, or a common-sewer, to the church of Rome; and what either pope, priest, knave, or jesuit, could invent, I have not left to put in practice: I knew the odiousness of conspiracies, and how hateful they are both to God and man; yet had I never the power to leave conspiring: I knew both that the law of God, and the law of honour, tied princes to detest conspiracies, and had many times read over that notable history of Lewis the Eleventh, and could repeat the noble and famous praises which all Europe gave him, for advertising his arch-enemy, the duke of Burgundy, of an attempt against his person: but what hath this wrought in me? Certainly, nothing but more flame, and more fuel, so long as my thoughts were busied with the study and remembrance of an universal monarchy.

“ I confess, I have many times said (however I have believed), that those great ones, which seek to make away their enemies, otherwise than by justice, or the event of war, shew minds base and cowardly; and that their souls are empty of true courage, fearing that which they should scorn. I confess, I have admired the goodness of Faritius, who delivered into Pyrrhus's hand the slave that should have poisoned him. I have made Tiberius Cæsar a demy-god, for answering a king of the Celtes, which made him an offer to poison Arminius, ‘ That Rome did not use to be revenged of her enemies secretly and by deceit, but openly and by arms:’ but have I pursued this honourable track? Have any of my ghostly fathers, the Jesuits; or my masters, the Inquisitors; given examples for these restrictions? No, their lessons are of a clean contrary nature: they say, Flaminius was an honest man, when he made Prusias, the king of Bithynia, violate all the laws of hospitality and virtue, in the murder of Hannibal: but the whole senate condemned the action for most odious, accused Flaminius of cruelty and covetousness, of vain-glory, and of ostentation: and questionless, had they had any touch or feeling of divinity or christianity, they could not have found any other rank for him, than that next unto Judas. These fair paths I have known, but these I have forsaken: and as Flaminius was the cause of Hannibal's death, out of an ambitious emulation, that he might, in the histories of succeeding times, be made notorious and eminent for so foul an action; so, I must confess, I, that have the whole course of my life, laboured continually in the deep mine of policy, have not spared any blood, how excellent soever; so I might be remembered in our after-annals, for one of the chief master-workmen, which went to the building up of the king my master's universal monarchy. And, in this, I must confess, most blessed soul! that thy death, thy untimely, and (to the kingdom of Great-Britain) much too early death; which with all violence, and with all the conjurations, persuasions, and examples, that could tie and bind together the hearts and bodies of princes, I did both plot, pursue, effect, and consummate, was one of the greatest master-pieces, in which I ever triumphed: I have made myself fat with thy downfall; and the blood, which issued from thy wound, was nectar and ambrosia to my soul; for, from thy ending I knew right-well must proceed Spain's beginning: for never could the Spanish king say, as the French king did, *Je suis roy seul*, ‘ I am king alone of the Indies,’ as long as Raleigh lived, whose knowledge and experience was able to divert, convert, and turn topsy-turvy all his conquests, all his proceedings. I say, the tottering ground whereon my king's title to the Indies stood, that it was nothing but violence and force, tyranny and usurpation; and that, if a stronger or more gentle army should enter, how easy it was to set us besides the cushion. This I knew thou knewest well; and what not besides, which belongs to so great an attempt and triumph. I must confess, I have called up into my mind the honour, the antiquity, and greatness of

thy great family ; how rich thou wert in blood and friends, the whole west of the English nation depending on thine alliance : the manner of thine education, which was not part, but wholly gentleman, wholly soldier ; the endowments of thy virtues, which was learning and wisdom ; the advancement of those endowments, which was by the greatest, the best, the most renowned princess that ever breathed in Europe ; and in the greatest time, of the greatest actions, the busiest time of the most troubled estates, the wisest time for the discussion of the most difficult affairs, and the only time that did produce the excellency and perfection of wisdom, war, and government ; so that nothing could be hid from thy knowledge, neither wouldst thou suffer any thing to be concealed from thine experience, for thou hadst ever a mind actively disposed ; and howsoever thy fortune was accompanied with all manner of felicities, things able in themselves to have drawn thy mind from all other objects, and to have settled thee upon this theory, that solitariness is the most excellent condition belonging unto mankind ; inasmuch, as in it he only findeth the true tranquillity of the mind, for nothing is wanting in that quiet habitation : manna falls there, the ravens bring bread from heaven ; if the waters be bitter, there is wood to sweeten them : if the combate of Amaleck² and Edom be there, the triumphs of Moses and Joshua are likewise there ; for what cannot a life retired either suffer or cure in its contemplation ? Yet all this thou didst neglect, and both contradict and disprove ; thou knewest this life unfit for thy greatness, and thou wert not born for thyself but thy country ; thou knewest the sea, wherein every great soul should wander, had no haven but the grave ; and that, as they lived, so they ought ever to die, in action. Hence it came, that even in the very flourish and glory of all thy great estate, thou betookest thyself to the seas ; and what thou hadst before, by thy purse, and infinite great charge in the actions of other men, won and annexed to the diadem of thy great mistress, now thou dost, in thine own person, take a view and survey of the same ; applying knowledge to report, and making thine own experience a controller to other men's relations. I dare not, for the honour of my nation, unfold the woeful perplexity, in which Spain stood during this tedious voyage ; how she quaked to think of the general view which thou hadst taken, without impeachment, of all the West-Indies ; but most of all, when she was advertised of thy long and laborious passage upon the river Oroonoko, the distinguishments which thou hadst made, betwixt it and the river of Amazons ; and the intelligences which thou hadst gotten for thine ascent to the great city of Manoa, and kingdom of Guiana ; designs, which if they had been pursued according to thy willingness and knowledge, we had not, at this day, acknowledged one foot of earth for ours, in all the West-Indies. O ! the miserable estate of Spain, if these things had proceeded : she had then, which now threatens all, begged of all ; and the pistoles of gold, and pieces of plate, wherewith it now corrupts and conquers nations, had then been turned to leather or iron, or some other Spanish stuff, more base and contemptible. Was it not now high time to conspire against thee, to dig, mine, undermine, to enter into familiarity with malecontents, to seduce some, to bribe others, to flatter all ; to preach a thousand most damnable false doctrines, for the subversion of princes, and the destruction of their faithful servants ? Was it not time for us to make religion a cloak for our villainy, and under the lamb's fur to cover the wolf's policies ? Believe me, blessed shadow, had we either made conscience of sin, or scruples for the maintenance of honour, we had not subsisted as we do, but had sadly lain, like those, which now lie captived below us. Can Spain ever forget thine attempt, upon her own confines, and in her securest places ? Call up Cadiz to witness ; she will shew you some of her ashes : call the king's great armada to account, which was led by his twelve, supposed invincible, apostles ; and the most of them must rise from the bottom of the seas, some must disembogue from your and our own harbours : let Pharaoh in Portugal speak ; and she will confess that her church will yet hardly cover her idols. When I look upon the islands of the Azores, methinks I see Fiall burning in the flames, which you cast upon her ; whilst all the rest bring in the tributes of their best wealths, to save themselves from perishing. Lastly, but not least, (for

² [Exod. xvii. 8.]

from it I raised the ground-work of thy fatal destruction,) I cannot but recount thine action upon the town of St. Thomas, standing upon the river of Oroonoko, how fit it lay as a bait to draw thee into mischief, and how bravely it gave me occasion never to desist, till I saw thy ruin: alas! was that despised town to be prized with thy life, with thine experience, with thine ability to direct, or with the least part of thine actions? No, it was not; only my malice made it inestimable, and my continual solicitations, mine imprecations, my vows, mine exclamations upon justice, mine instances on the actions of pious and religious kings, and the darings of too bold and ambitious subjects, was so importunate and violent, that but in the great forfeiture of thy blood, my fury could find no satisfaction: hence you fell, and that fall was to me more than a double banquet; for now methought I saw all things secure about me. Now said I to myself, "Who shall shake any one stone in our building; who shall give us affright by sea, or shew us the terrors of the land? What shall hinder us now to bring home our gold in carviles, and our merchandise in hoys and fly-boats? All is ours; the ocean is ours, and the Indies are ours; this could we never boast before, yet this was my work, and in this I triumphed."

At these words, the ghost appeared to shew anger, and menacing him with frowns, and the shaking of his sword, the poor Don, lifting up his arms under his cloke, shewed his red badge of the order of Colotravia; but finding the cross utterly void of virtue, to divert that charm, he began to cry out again in this manner:

"Do not mistake me, blessed soul, in that I have said I triumphed; for I will now, with grief and repentance, buy from thy mercy my absolution. It is true, that then I triumphed; for what is he, that takes in hand any labour or work, of high consequence, but when he hath finished it to perfection, he sits down, and rejoiceth? So I, that saw (not afar off, but near at hand) the infinite hindrances, rubs, and impediments, which thy knowledge, thy valour, thy command, and experience, might bring to any work, undertaken by my king, for the advancement or bringing forward of his universal monarchy; and, when I pondered with myself, that no nation, under heaven, was so able in power, so apt in the nature and disposition of the people, nor so plentiful in all accommodations, both for sea and land, as this island of Great-Britain, to oppose or beat back any, or all of our undertakings. When I saw France busy, both at home and abroad; the Low-countries careful to keep their own, not curious to increase their own. When I saw Germany afflicted with civil anger, Denmark troubled to take trouble from his dearest kinsman; the Polander watching of the Turk, and the Turk, through former losses, fearful to give any new attempt upon Christendom; and, that in all these, we had a main and particular interest: when I saw every way smooth for us to pass, and that nothing could keep the garland from our heads, or the goal from our purchase, but only the anger or discontent of this fortunate British island: blame me not then, if I fell to practices unlawful, to flatteries deceitful, to bribery most hurtful, and to other enchantments most shameful; by which, I might either win mine own ends, or make my work prosperous in the opinion of my sovereign. I confess I have, many times, abused the majesty of Great-Britain with curious falsehoods. I have protested against my knowledge, and uttered vows and promises, which I knew could never be reconciled. I have made delays sharp spurs, to hasten on mine own purposes; and have brought the swiftest designs to so slow a pace, that they have been lost like shadows, and neither known nor regarded. I looked into your commonwealth, and saw, that twenty-two years ease had made her grow idle. I saw the East-Indies eat up and devour your mariners and seamen, and time and old age consume and take away your land-captains; and, of all, none more material than yourself. Blame me not then, if I made thy end my beginning, thy fall the fulness of my perfection, and thy destruction the last work, or master-piece of all my wisdom and policy. This is the freedom of my confession, and but from this sin absolve me, and I will die thy penitent in sackcloth and ashes."

At these words, the apparition seemed (in the fearful imagination of the poor Don) to be more than exceeding angry, and looked upon him with such terror and amazement, that Gondomar fell with the affright, into a trance, or deadly sound; whilst the ghost seemed to utter unto him these, or the like words following:

“ To thee, whom base flattery, want, and covetousness, have gilded with these foolish and unfitting hyperboles, as to call thee, the flower of the west, the delight of Spain, the life of wit, the light of wisdom, the Mercury of eloquence, the glory of the gown, the Phœbus in court, Nestor in council, Christian Numa, and principal ornament of this time : lord Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, most honourable earl of Gondomar, governor of Menroyo and Pennaroyo, of the most honourable order of Colotravia, counsellor of state, one of the king's treasurers, ambassador for his Catholic majesty to his royal majesty of England, regent of the town and castle of Bayon, president of the bishoprick of Tuid in Galicia, chief treasurer of the most noble order of Alcantara, one of the four judges of the sacred privileges, pronotary of the kingdom of Toledo, Leon, and Galicia, and principality of Asturias, and lord high-steward of the most puissant Philip the Fourth, king of all the Spains, and of the Indies.

“ Lo, thus I salute thee with thy true style, and eminent inscription, according to thine absolute nature, quality, and profession :

“ To thee then, that art the poisonous weed of Europe, the Atlas of Spain's sins and conspiracies, the devil's fool, the wiseman's bugbear, the Mercury of knavish policy, the disgrace of civility, the buffoon in court, Atè in counsel, atheist for the pope's advantage, and principal intelligencer between hell and the Jesuits : Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, most dishonourable earl of Gondomar, poller and pillar of Menroyo and Pennaroyo, of the rich covetous order of Colotravia, gazetist of state, one of the consumers of the king's purse, intelligencer for his Catholic majesty against the royal majesty of England, spoiler of the town and castle of Bayon, an ill example to the bishoprick of Tuid in Galicia, chief cash-keeper for the order of Alcantara, one of the four bribe-takers for the profane privileges, promoter for the kingdom of Toledo, Leon, and Galicia, and principality of Asturias, and a continual broker between the king of Spain and the pope, and between the Jesuits, the inquisitors, and the devil.

“ Harken to my detection ; and though I know thou canst steal and kill, swear and lie, weep and wound, and indeed do any thing that is contrary to truth and justice ; yet in this accusation, shame and thine own putrefied conscience shall be witnesses so powerful and undaunted, that thou shalt not be able to refel any one allegation or smallest particle.

“ To begin then with mine own end ; though I know the day of my death was the greatest festival that ever thy fortune did solemnize, though it brought to Spain a year of jubilee, to thy reputation Absolam's pillars, and to every papistical minister in the world, the praise of his arts-master : yet, poor despised mortal, know, it was not you, but a more divine and inscrutable finger, which pointed out my destiny to this manner of end and destruction ; neither is it fit for the humility of ignorant man to open his eyes, as daring to presume to gaze on the radiant beams of that sovereign Power, which disposeth of second causes, as he pleaseth ; neither do I afflict thee as my particular executioner, but as my country's general enemy. It sufficeth me, that the great God, who is judge of life and death, hath disposed of my life, and after this early manner, that in it he might express the effects of his justice : therefore, trouble not thyself with my death, which was thy comfort ; but be vexed at thine own life, which is nothing but a continual pilgrimage to ambition, and an undermining mole to dig down the church of God, and to bring the Gospel of our Blessed Saviour into eternal captivity. Hast thou not been an untired pack-horse, travelling night and day, without a bait, and loaden like an ass, till thy knees have bowed under the burthen of strange and unnatural designs, by which to advance thy master to the universal monarchy of all Europe ? This thy fear hath made thee confess, but this thy flattery and falsehood will deny, should not the efficacy of truth make it most apparent and pregnant. Therefore, to enter into the first streams from whence Spain hath gathered the great ocean of its sovereignty, there is no fountain more remarkable than the battle of Alcazar in Barbary, where the too forward Don Sebastian king of Portugal³, whether slain or not slain, engaging himself too unfortunately, gave occasion to Philip the Second of

³ [See Vol. IV. p. 423.]

Spain, to enter and usurp upon his kinsman's kingdoms, to expel Don Antonio from his right and inheritance; and, as it is strongly supposed, to cause the true king himself to die in the galleys. Hence he became king of all the Spains and Portugal, pulled to himself the sovereignty both of the islands of the Canaries, and of the Azores; the one securing his way forth, the other securing his way home, from the West-Indies, and so made the conquest thereof more safe and undoubted. He took also, by the same interest, many strongholds, and merchantable places, in the East-Indies: so that sitting now alone in Spain, without a competitor, and having treasure from the West-Indies, wherewith to pay soldiers, and merchandise from the East-Indies, wherewith to enrich his own subjects; what could he, or what did he contemplate upon but the augmentation of his monarchy? Hence it came, that his war grew violent upon the Low-countries, and under the governments of the duke of Alva, and Don John, duke of Austria, the tyrannies so insufferable, that all manner of freedoms were converted to slaveries, and the blood of the nobility, made only food for the slaughter-house: yea, such as were remote and stood farther off from his cruelty, depending upon their own rights and under the covert of their own guards, were not yet safe from Spain's conspiracies; and that witness the death and murder of the famous prince of Orange, the imprisonment and death of his eldest son, and a world of infamous practices against the life of count Maurice, the last prince deceased; and against the safety of count Henry, the prince now surviving. What incroachments were daily made upon these distressed provinces, all the princes of Europe blush to behold, and had not Elizabeth (my dread lady and mistress of famous and blessed memory) taken them to her royal protection, they had long since been swallowed up in the gulf of his tyranny, and none of them, now living, had known the name of free princes; and as this work was begun by Philip the Second, so it was continued by Philip the Third, and is now at this hour as earnestly pursued by Philip the Fourth, and his sister the archduchess, and rather with gaining than losing: so that, should England but turn its face a little way from their succour, there would be a great breach made in the hope of their subsisting.

"But you will answer, that if Spain had fixed down its resolution upon an universal monarchy, they had never then hearkened to a peace with the Netherlands: to this thine own conscience is ten-thousand witnesses, that the peace, which it entertained, was nothing else but a politic delay to bring other, and imperfect ends and designs, to a more fit and solid purpose, for effecting of his general conquest; for what did this truce, but divert the eyes of the Netherlands (which at that time were growing to be infinite great masters of shipping) from taking a survey of his Indies, and bring a security to the transportation of his plate and treasure, and make him settle and reinforce his garrisons, which then were grown weak and over-toiled; besides a world of other advantages, which too plainly discovered themselves, as soon as the war was new commenced?

"As he had thus gotten his feet into the Netherlands, had not Spain, in the same manner, and with as much usurpation, thrust his whole body into Italy? Let Naples speak, let Sicily, let the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the dukedom of Milan, the revolt of the Valtoline, and a world of other places, some possessed, some lying under the pretence of strange titles, but come to give up their account; and it will be more than manifest, that no seignory, in all Italy, but stood upon its guard, and hourly expected when the Spanish storm should fall upon them. How many quarrels have been piled against the state of Venice, some by the pope, some by the king of Spain? How many doubts have been thrown upon Tuscany? What protestations have flown to Genoa, and what threatenings against Geneva? And all to put Italy into a combustion, whilst the pope's holiness, and his Catholic majesty, like Saturn's sons, sat full gorged with expectation to divide heaven and earth between them.

"O! was it not a brave politic trick of Spain, neither was thine advice absent from the mischief, when the difference fell between Henry the Great of France, and the duke of Savoy, about the marquisate of Saluses? The king then your master, under pretence of aiding the duke, his brother-in-law, sent divers regiments of Spaniards, which were quartered some in Carbonieres, some in Montemellion, Savillan, Pigneroll, and divers

other places, about Savoy and Piedmont : but when the truce was concluded, could the duke, upon any entreaty, or potent message, make these Spaniards to quit his country ? No, by no means ; for they were so far from leaving their foot-hold, having received divers commandments to keep it, both from the count de Fuentes, at that time, vice-roy of Milan, from thee by private letters, and from the king your master by sundry commissions ; that the chiefs of those troops peremptorily answered the duke, that they would hold their gettings, in despite of all opposition, and were, indeed, full as good as their words for a long time ; till at last, the duke, forced thereunto, raised up a strong army, and in a few days put them all to the sword. I would here repeat the Spanish attempt against the castle of Nice, being the very key or opener of an entrance into the very bowels of Italy ; I could speak of the dangerous quarrel, raised between the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Mantua, for the marquisate of Montserrat, and how fatal it was likely to have been to the whole state of Italy, wherein Fuentes, and thyself, shewed all the art of practice that might be, which should become the master-workman : but these things are so pregnant and apparent, that they need little discussion.

“ Let me now awaken thy memory with some stirrings up, or practices, against the kingdom of France, no less but more pernicious than any of the former. Who was the head or chief sovereign (after the death of Henry the Third, king of France and Poland) of that most unchristianlike combination, intitled ‘ the Holy (but truly, unholy) League ? ’ Was it not Philip of Spain, one of your most catholic masters, who made the great and valiant Guise his sword and servant ; the old queen-mother, his intelligencer and admirer ; the cardinals, his ministers and seducers ; and the pope himself a prodigal child ; to bestow and give away whatsoever he required ? Was not all this Philip of Spain, your Catholic master ? How long did he keep Henry the Fourth, surnamed the Great, from his lawful throne and inheritance ? What cities did he possess ? Even the greatest that France could number. What countries under his command ? All that were rich or fruitful. And what nobility had he drawn from their obedience ? Those that were most powerful and best beloved ; insomuch that had not my most excellent mistress, Elizabeth, of blessed and famous memory, like a strong rock against the rage of a furious sea, taken the quarrel into her hand, and by her royal protection, (first under the conduct of the lord Willoughby, after under the conduct of the earl of Essex,) staid and supported that reeling state ; France, it is feared, at this hour, had only spoken the Spanish language : but God in his great mercy had otherwise disposed of these practices, and, though with some difficulties, brought the crown of France to its true owner ; a prince so absolutely excellent in every perfection of true honour and magnanimity, that his parallel hath not been found in all the history of France : and although he had in his very youth, and almost childhood, prevailed in divers battles, as that at Monconter, and at Rene-le-Duke ; and although he had been assailed in the days of Henry the Third, and in the space of four years, by ten royal armies successively one after another, and sent one to refresh the other, and under the conduct of great and most glorious captains, against all which he prevailed ; (as witnessed his victory at the battle of Contras, and other places ;) though he had given succour to Henry the Third, and delivered him from his great danger at Tours, bringing to his obedience Gargeau, Gien, la Charite, Pluviers, Estampes, Dourdan, and divers other places ; though he had been generally fortunate in all his great actions, yet after the death of Henry the Third, this devilish combination, or Spanish knot of the league, is more ominous, fatal, and troublesome unto him, than all his former undertakings ; and he found that, although he might have come to the crown of France, by succession, which was the easiest way ; yet God, to try his courage, to exercise the force of his mind, and to make a foolish shadow, or *ignis fatuus* of Spain’s ambition, presented the most painful and difficult unto him, which was that of conquest. He was forced to raise on foot, by the help of our English nation, three royal armies, which he dispersed in three provinces : the first into Normandy, where he was assisted by the earl of Essex ; the second into Champaigne ; and the third into Picardy ; where he was seconded by the lord Willoughby, who brought him triumphantly into the suburbs of Paris, and by the blowing up of a port, offered to

deliver the whole city to his subjection. The earl of Essex did as much at Roan; but the king desired to win France, not to destroy it: yet before the earl departed, he chased rebellion out of the most part of Normandy. The king gave his enemies, the Spanish faction, battle upon the plain of Yury, and won it; by which he regained, in less than two months, fifteen or sixteen great towns, brought Paris to infinite extremity, made the Spaniards wish themselves on the other side of the Pyreneans; and indeed, was such a general amazement to all the unhappy leaguers, that all stood aghast, as uncertain, which way to turn them.

"This when your great master beheld, and saw that all his hopes were dying in an instant; like a cunning conjurer, he seeks to draw fire and lightning from heaven, to consume what his armies durst not approach, or disvalue: whence it came, that he rouses up Gregory the Thirteenth, then pope, who, indeed, was the oracle, or rather the creature of Philip your master, and makes him, of a common father, between the head of a rebellious and usurping party, cast forth his fulminations, with such violence and injustice, that the bulls were taken and burnt, both at Tours and at Chalons: neither sent he out these bulls by his ungodly and bloody ministers, the Jesuits, or such like desperate and obscure malecontents, but with an army of a thousand cassocks of watchet⁴ velvet, embroidered with gold, and cyphers of keys joined unto swords; whose errand was, to demand the execution of these bulls. Now, seeing the difficulty wherein affairs stood, upon the view of one-hundred horse of the French king's white cornet; they dare not, for all the pope or the king of Spain's hopes, or commandments, abandon the very shadow of the walls of Verdun; but, like so many foxes, lay lurking in their kennels of security, knowing they had to deal with men, whose swords were so well steeled, that they feared not the lead of Rome; only, like so many furies of hell, they seek to break all treaties of peace, and made it an action treasonable and most impious, to talk of an unity between the sovereign and the subject.

"But, for all this, great Henry lost no time: for first, he passed into Normandy, and secured his friends there; thence he went into Picardy, besieged Noyon, and took it, even in the view of the Spanish army, who, although they were three to one, yet durst not hazard the battle: which advantage the king wisely taking, and turning head upon his enemies, although he was advised to the contrary by his chiefest servants, yet his courage bound him, rather to follow the path of danger with honour, than that of safety with shame; saying, as Pompey said, 'That in striking his foot against the earth, he would raise up legions.' So the armies met together at Aumale; where though, upon the first approach, the king was hurt with a shot, yet he had strength enough to cry, 'Charge, charge!' and, breaking through his enemies, he put the duke of Parma, and all his Spaniards, to a shameful retreat: as this, so he beat his enemies at Bellencombe, striped them at Bure, and made them to quit Yuetot with much shame and loss.

"Thus, this royal king's quarrel being just, and maintained by a good sword, the pride of Spain found, that if the war continued longer, her catholic greatness could have more wood to heat her oven, than corn to send to the mill.

"It is to no purpose to speak of the ruin of Quibeuf, the recovery of Espernay, or that brave assault, where eight horses put three-hundred to rout: let it suffice me, in one word, to conclude, that in despite of all the engines, which the pope, or the king of Spain, could use; Henry of France became triumphant, and your master's universal monarchy was turned topsy-turvy: nay, the league, the Typhon of sedition, from whence sprung so many serpents and vipers of disloyalty, was smothered under the Ætna of her own presumption and pride.

"But did either Spain or Rome here stay their malice? Fie, no, but rather Anteus-like, they rose up with double vigour, and what public war could not effect, private practice and conspiracy must bring to pass: for, before the great Henry was well warmed in his throne, hell and the Spanish gold stirred up a wretch, who undertook to kill him; the tiger staid his hand, at the shining of a glass; and, after his apprehension, confessed, that he saw so much piety and zeal shining in the eyes of this prince, that he felt horror in himself, to offend the sovereign dignity ordained of God among angels and

⁴ [Blue.]

men. Hence it came, that all France beheld and took notice of Spain's ambition, and that, indeed, all their labour was but to reduce that flourishing nation to a private province, which the parliament of Paris (after it had vomited the phlegm of temporizing) taking to heart, made forth a decree, for the dispersing and banishing of all the Spanish regiments; and now fine great dukes, formerly bewitched with catholic incantations, fall at the foot of this great king, and confess how they were beguiled.

"The first was the duke of Lorrain, which obtained a general peace for his estate, through the mediation of Ferdinand, the archduke of Tuscany: the second was the duke of Mayenne, who obtained pardon, through the wisdom of his carriage; having still a watchful eye, that no general ruin might happen to the kingdom: the third was the duke of Guise; the loss of whose father and uncle made his interest the greatest in this quarrel, yet had he the honour to receive the king's first embraces: the fourth was the duke of Joyeuse, who, as soon as he had kissed the king's hand, forsook the troubles of the world, and betook himself to a solitary life: and the last was the duke Mercure, who brought to the king, not himself alone, but, with him, the reduction of the goodliest province in all France. To conclude; Philip of Spain, your master, seeing upon what false wheels his engines ran, was content to entreat for peace of this great chieftain.

"But did here conspiracies and Spanish plots end? No, nothing so: for, to come nearer to your own touch, and to repeat matters of thine own prosecution; is it not an history most remarkable, and, to Spain, most infamous, of that desperate villain born at Negrepelisse, who, going into Spain upon some discontents conceived against this great Henry of France, and, as it was strongly supposed, having taken some directions from you, but full and material instructions from the devil's post-horses, your masters, the Jesuits, did, with all violence, prostitute himself to murder this most Christian king; but the matter being so important, and carried through so many several hands, had lost so much strength of secrecy, that an inkling thereof came to the ears of De Barraut (then ordinary ambassador in Spain for the king of France), who instantly, out of duty, and the hatred which every true Christian ought to bear against these odious and most atheistical practices, complained to the pope's nuncio, hoping for redress, both against the villain himself, and the jesuit, (who are both villains,) and yourself; but the matter was fully blanced, and your impious ear, that had listened to his abominable sin, was excused; and the whole offence of subornation was laid upon a creature of yours, but one of the king of Spain's esquires, named, from the place of his birth, Valdomoro; who, upon examination, (having his lesson before taught him) confessed all the passages to the duke of Lerma; and that, not only this slave, but divers others, had tendered themselves to the like service; yet this, with the greatest violence, assuring him, that he knew the means how to kill the king; which proposition, upon some conference with a jesuit (who never take distaste at such a practice), he had accepted of, but yet, with that caution and delay, that nothing proceeded therein, neither was likely to proceed, and so all things were shut up, without any further discovery, only that De Barraut advertised the king, his master, thereof. But was this honourable or pious in Spain? No; the praise had been more perfect, and the merit more plain and evident, for the Spaniards, if they had punished the traitor, made thyself, Valdomoro, and the jesuit, examples, not to listen or give ear to such odious conspiracies, and, by a careful advertisement to the king, made others dread the entering into so odious a business: for it is true, in all the laws of hospitality, that this slave ought not to have come out of Spain unchastised; for all kings are brothers, and all kingdoms interested in these attempts. But the designs of Spain looked now another way, and the traitor had leave to escape, who, returning afterwards into France, was (by De Verdun, first president of Languedock) apprehended at Tholouse, and there executed, and his companion condemned to the galleys. O, how far was this action short of that royal and princely act of the famous late queen Elizabeth! who, having received intelligence of some Spanish mischiefs pretended against this great king, forthwith gave him intelligence, that a strange gentleman, who was one of his followers, had no good meaning towards his person, and related unto him every circumstance as she

had received it; but such was the bounty of this great king, that, although reason would that he should have been apprehended, yet the king never discovered unto him a frown, but he still remained in the court well entertained, was mounted out of the king's stable, and honoured with many of his trusty commandments; till, in the end, tortured with his own conscience, he stole away from the court, and durst no longer abuse so royal a bounty. That this was a favourite of Spain, yourself cannot deny; that he fled from France into Spain, your own cabinet is a witness; and that you did preserve him for the like exploits in other places, the mark on his face, the colour of his beard, and his clothes, cut after the Walloon fashion, were too apparent testimonies.

I might here recount this great king's death by Ravilliack, from whose blood, neither thyself, nor Spain, can wash themselves, though all the rivers in the world were exhausted and thrust into one entire bath, and so spent upon your particular cleansings: but these truths are so fresh in memory, they need neither repeating, nor amplification.

I could to these add a world of others; as the attempts upon the life and safety of the late queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, and the making of all those inhuman creatures pensioners of Spain, who had either by rebellion, or other treasonable practice, attempted any thing for her untimely and sad destruction.

Was our late dread sovereign, king James, of blessed and happy memory, (that Solomon⁵ of his time,) a prince so indulgent and careful for every good thing that might happen to Spain, a man so tender and vigilant for her reputation, that he ever placed it in the next rank to his own honour? Was he, I say; was this good king free from the bloody practices of Spain? No; to the eternal infamy of ungrateful and bloody Spain, I may ever proclaim it, that he was more deeply plunged, and his life, more bitterly besieged and assaulted, than any whatsoever before rehearsed; and to this I call up the plot of all plots, that devil of many legions of devils, the Gunpowder conspiracy, that which should have destroyed all, not a single prince, or a single man; but many princes, many men's whole generations: here was cruel Spain, and here indeed, had not God prevented, was a strong foundation for an universal monarchy; and that Spain may not, in this, plead 'Not guilty;' let her discover to the world what occurrences they were which drew Thomas Winter into her confines, what negotiation was that which he held with De Laxis? Whence came his instructions and letters commendatory into the archduchess's country? Where did Guy Fawkes receive his breeding? Who gave information of his knowledge in mining? And who preferred and advanced him to this piece of most damnable service? Questionless, let truth answer to any of these positions, and the speech, it must utter, will be Spanish language. Who in all this nation was so intimate with you, as the arch-priest Garnet? Or who, like him, found at your hands equal protection? He confessed and absolved the traitors, and thou didst absolve and confess him; and thereby didst get unto thyself, from thine own tribe, the nick-name of Archbishop-ambassador.

"Thus, I have brought Spain's attempts for an universal monarchy, from Portugal to the Netherlands, thence through Italy, and so into France; England was looked upon by the way, in the year 1588, but she was not so drowsy as others. There is now but Germany betwixt him and the end of his ambition; but is that free and untouched? Woe to speak it, that of all is the worst and most horrid. O! the lamentable estate of those once most happy princes! How hath the house of Austria drowned them in blood? and, by the work of civil dissension, made them in their furies to devour one another? Is there any thing in this age more lamentable or remarkable, than the loss of the Palatinate? Or is there any thing in which thy villainy can so much triumph, as in that politic defeature? Why, the lyes which thou didst utter to abuse the majesty of England, and to breed delays till thy master's designs were effected, were so curious and so cunning, so apt to catch,

⁵ [This title had, with much sarcasm, been applied to James by Henry the Fourth of France, as the suspected offspring of David Rizzio: but it was also flatteringly applied to him by his English subjects, as has been shewn in the Royal Authors, of which the present tract furnishes an additional instance.]

and so strong in the holding; that the devil, who was formerly the author of lyes, hath now from thee taken new precedents for lying. I would here speak of thy arch-duchess's dissimulation; but she is a great lady, and their errors at the worst are weak virtues.

“ Therefore to thee, that hast lent both fuel and flame to all the mischiefs of Europe, and that art now big in labour with new troubles and vexations: arise and collect thy spirits: become once honest and religious; let thy services depend upon good and necessary affairs, and not upon malicious and bloody practices; for behold, I, thy tormentor, will never be absent from thine elbow, and whatsoever thou shalt contrive or plot for the hurt of Great-Britain, I, with the help of the holy angels, will return upon thine own bosom, and the bosom of thy country; for the God of heaven and earth, who is the Protector of the innocent, hath made royal king Charles, and his throne, precious in his sight: therefore, if thou desirest to live and see good days, touch not His anointed, and do His prophets no hurt.”

At these words the glorious apparition, waving his sword about, vanished out of his sight; and the poor Don, as if awakened from a deadly or mortal sleep, rose up, looking about with such ghastly amazedness, as affrighted all that beheld him. In the end; espying his own servants, with tears in his eyes, terror in his heart, and a general trembling over all his body, he went into his litter, and returned home; where, how he refreshed himself, how he appeared before the designed commissioners, and how he answered the expectation both of them, and the king his master, shall be declared upon the next return of the woman-post, which passeth betwixt the English and the Spanish Jesuits.

The Qualifications of Persons, declared capable by the Rump-Parliament, to elect, or be elected, Members to supply their House.

Printed in the Year 1660.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

THE Representative of the Parliament of England, having for many years employed their constant endeavour, to impose freedom and liberty on the three nations; notwithstanding their obstinate reluctancy and opposition thereunto, who would take upon them, against all right and reason, to be their own judges; and being now (after two scandalous ejectments, and as many signal restorations,) happily returned to discharge the remaining fragment of their trust; do find, to their unspeakable grief, the red-coats, in whom they always loyally acquiesced, failing of their pay, to fail likewise of their trust; and, seduced by evil counsel, to adhere unto the common enemy: that is to say, the said three nations, in complying with their desires and addresses, which are, to have this present representative dissolved, and a free parliament speedily convened, which they tremble to think upon; or the secluded members re-admitted, which they equally abominate; or the present house supplied with new elections, which their bowels sigh to reflect on: nevertheless, they have, after serious and mature deliberation, resolved upon the least; that is to say, to fill up their house; as being, though of dangerous conse-

quence, less horrible and dreadful to themselves, than any other way. And to the end the persons to be elected may be of as near a condition as may be, to match the present members, and so, possibly, go hand in hand with them, in carrying on the said work; they have agreed upon these following qualifications, and do enact, and be it hereby enacted, that no person whatsoever presume to elect or be elected, under pain of confiscation of his estate, and sale of his person, that is not allowed capable thereof, by the said qualifications, in which they do profess, before the Searcher of all hearts, that they have freely discovered the naked truth of all their intentions; as, if their breasts were to be opened, and their hearts taken out, (which God defend!) it would manifestly appear to all the world.

Qualification I.—Whosoever hath at any time been known to take the name of God in vain; that is, to swear or forswear himself for nothing, without advantage to the publick, or his own particular concerns, but merely out of rash and needless profanation; is hereby declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, as a member to serve in this present parliament. For oaths have been found, by experience, to be wonderful expedients in state-affairs; and ought not to be made or broken, but with great and serious consideration.

Qualification II.—Whosoever is noted to be a sabbath-breaker, or profaner of the Lord's-day, is declared incapable to elect, or be elected, &c. For he that cannot one day in seven observe, at least in show, one Commandment in ten, that costs nothing the keeping, nor gains any thing by being broken; is not fitly qualified to sit in this parliament. For all such sins, as have no immediate relation to the service of this house, must be openly detested; that there may be the less notice taken of such as are for the advantage and interest thereof.

Qualification III.—Whosoever hath at any time, within the space of these twenty years last past, been observed to be disguised in drink, unless he can bring testimony that it is his usual custom to drink himself drunk in private alone, to avoid giving evil example, or in secret and well-affected company, without healths, is declared incapable to elect or be elected. Provided, that surfeit and gluttony be not included within this incapacity, nor such other alterations as may fall upon the spirit of a man, at thanksgiving-dinners.

Qualification IV.—Whosoever doth live in adultery, or fornication, or hath at any time had carnal copulation with the wife, sisters, or daughter, of any member of parliament, now sitting, without the consent or satisfaction of the said member; or hath been seen, in the day-time, to resort to houses of evil fame, or frequent the company of common women, is declared incapable to elect or be elected, &c. Provided, that this do not extend to any person that hath kept a concubine or concubines so long, that now there is no notice taken thereof; or to such as by the loss of their eyes or noses, botches in their skins, or aches in their bones, can bring proof of their repentance, and resentment of their former lives; as it hath been allowed in the cases of William lord viscount Monson, sir Henry Martin, Mr. secretary Scot, William Heveningham, esq. and others.

Qualification V.—Whosoever hath suffered for his conscience, either by imprisonment, sequestration, or sale of his estate, or hath refused to take any oath imposed by this parliament, howsoever contradictory to any former oath, by him taken; or hath gained nothing by the ruin of his native country, nor is liable to suffer by any revolution, that may tend to the general settlement thereof; but, being unbiassed by any party, is at liberty to promote the proper and natural interests of the nation in general; or hath subscribed any petition or remonstrance for a free parliament; or for the re-admission of the secluded members to their right of sitting; or, at a time to be prefixed, to determine the sitting of this present parliament, or any thing else against the sense of this house, in order to the settlement of the nation; or hath declared against taxes, excise, free-quarter,

plunder, arbitrary government, the perpetuation and supremacy of the present parliament, continuation of the distractions, decay of trade, and slavery of the English nation. Any, and every such person, is hereby declared not only incapable to be elected a member of this present or any future parliament, or of bearing any office, or place of trust, in this commonwealth; but shall suffer such farther punishment, either by sequestration, or sale of his estate or person, as to the wisdom of this house shall seem expedient.

Qualification VI.—Whosoever hath been engaged in the late rebellions of sir George Booth, bart. or Lambert Symnell, esq. or any way aiding or assisting thereunto; or hath sat or acted in, or under the late committee of safety, or had any hand in the late disturbances of this present parliament; is, beside such other punishment as this house shall judge fitting, declared incapable to elect, or be elected, to serve in this or any future parliament. Provided, that this shall not extend to such members of this house, as were engaged in the said insurrections. For, if all such should be impeached before the house be full, there would not be a quorum left to make it a parliament.

Qualification VII.—Whosoever hath called Charles Stewart king, or drunk his health, or prayed God to restore him to his right, and every honest man to his own, or used any malignant and treasonable expressions: or hath called the present parliament Rump, Arse, Bum, Tail, or Breech; or hath rejoiced at the interruptions thereof, or wished it at an end; or hath sued, arrested, reviled, beaten, kicked, cuckolded, trepanned, or refused to trust any of the members thereof, during the intervals; or hath action of debt, or bill of complaint against any member now sitting; and doth refuse to give the said member a full discharge and general release: any, and every such person, is declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected to serve in this present or any future parliament, or of bearing any office or place of trust in this commonwealth.

Qualification VIII.—No man shall be judged qualified, nor admitted to sit in this house as a member thereof, that doth not first acknowledge this parliament to be a free parliament, unfounded by the laws of God or man; that all things are exposed to the will of the members thereof, who may freely dispose of the estates, persons, consciences, and lives of men, as they please, and afterwards make it lawful. That this house hath a greater power in civil affairs than the Turk, and in spiritual than the pope; for it is head of churches, not yet in being, and judge more of faith, than all the general councils ever were. That it can damn, and save, and bind, and loose in this world, in despite of the next; make what it pleases holy or profane, true or false, scripture or apocrypha, and no man dares to question its infallibility; and that every member thereof can vote and swear contradictions, and make others do so too, or pay them for it.

Qualification IX.—No man shall be judged rightly qualified, nor admitted to sit in this house, until he hath engaged to use his Christian endeavour to carry on a thorough reformation of the calendar; that the English nation may no more use the Julian account, nor reckon by the year of our Lord, but by the Roman indiction, according to the custom of the Christians in ancient times; that is, reckon the year by their taxes, and not their taxes by the year: a reformation, which this parliament made some progress in before their late interruption, when they drew the whole year within the compass of four months; and do intend, by God's help, to bring to perfection with all convenient expedition.

Qualification X.—Whosoever makes profession of godliness and holiness of life, although he be commonly reputed to be both a fool, and a knave, a notorious villain, and diabolical hypocrite; shall, nevertheless, be allowed, if duly elected, to be rightly qualified to sit in this present parliament. Provided, that this capacity do not extend to Charles Fleetwood, esq. John Desbrow, yeoman, and sir Henry Vane, knight, lately elected; or John Hewson, cordwainer, of the city of London.

Ordered, that Dr. John Owen, Mr. Hugh Peters, and Major John Wildman, be included within this qualification; notwithstanding they are in orders.

Qualification XI.—Whosoever hath had a hand in the late King's blood, or petitioned to bring him to trial, or hath demolished his houses, cut down his woods, or pulled down churches, to sell the materials; or can bring proof, that he hath been of one or more high-courts of justice, or at one or more committees of sale or sequestration of the committee for propagation of the Gospel; or hath been a commissioner of the excise, a sequestrator, treasurer, or trustee, for the sale of king's lands or goods, or bishops' and deans' and chapters', and delinquents' lands; and hath gotten a considerable estate, by buying or selling the aforesaid lands; and can make it appear, that his head is forfeited to the Tower on London-bridge, and the four quarters of his outward man to four respective gates of the city, if any revolution should happen to the general settlement of the nation. Any, and every such person, is declared rightly qualified to sit in this present parliament, and shall be admitted without taking any oath at all: for a man's skin is tenderer than his conscience, and this world much nearer to him than the next.

Qualification XII.—Whosoever can bring proof, by the loss of his ears, or otherwise, that he hath stood on the pillory for perjury, forgery, faction, or sedition, to hinder the government of the late King; or that he hath been burnt in the hand, forehead, or shoulder, thrown over the bar, set in the stocks, carted, or whipped at the tail of a cart, for any thing by him done, said, or written against the said government, before the year 1642; shall be approved as most fitly qualified to sit in this present parliament. Provided, that this shall not extend to William Prynne, of Swanswick, esq. utter benchler of Lincoln's-inn, nor to major William Poe.

Qualification XIII.—Whosoever is son, brother, or nephew, or can prove himself to be the natural son or bastard of any member, or of the mother, sister, or wife of any member of this parliament now sitting, or any member thereof deceased, that sat since the year 1648; and will engage to conform to the sense of this house, according to the example of the said member unto whom he hath relation; is hereby declared rightly qualified, either to elect, or be elected, a member of this present parliament.

Qualification XIV.—Whosoever can bring proof, that he is a man of a public spirit, fit for all times and occasions, of approved liberty of conscience, and of courage and resolution to encounter any danger that extends to soul or body, if need be, rather than live out of authority and command, or under the laws of God or man: that he hath proper suits for the service of the present government, and can do the same things by the Spirit of God, which other men are drawn to by the temptations of the devil: that he can break oaths by Providence, and forswear himself to the glory of God; deal falsely and treacherously with men, out of conscience; and verily believeth it to be a greater sin to name faith, than to break it: that religion is his trade, and God himself his occupation: that he can hold forth any useful, though notorious untruth, with convenient obstinacy, until he believes himself, and so renders it no sin: that he hath an excellent spirit to find out ways of raising money, and will deserve his share both of the substance and curses of the people. Any, and every such person, is declared to be most aptly qualified to elect, or be elected, member of this present parliament. Provided, that this capacity do not extend to Bulstrode Whitlock, esq. or Richard Salway, grocer; lately ejected this house.

Qualification XV.—Whosoever can produce testimony, that he hath taken the late oath of allegiance and supremacy, the protestation, the solemn league and covenant, the engagement, to be true and faithful to the present government, without king or house of lords: that he hath subscribed the addresses, to live and die with Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and taken the oaths to be true and faithful to the governments under them, and feels no alteration in his conscience, but is ready to take the oath of abjuration

of Charles Stewart, King Jesus, or any other single person. Any, and every such person, is declared, as rightly qualified, to elect, or be elected, a member of this present parliament; and shall be admitted to sit, being duly elected, without taking any further oath at all.

Qualification XVI.—Ordered, that a bill be forthwith brought in, to make Newgate, Bridewell, and Bedlam, corporations; that writs may be issued out, to empower them to choose their respective representatives, to serve in this present parliament, in as full manner, as the Upper-bench and the Fleet have already done.

Qualification XVII.—Any nobleman, or late peer of the realm, that will renounce his creation, or his creator, and is otherwise qualified; shall be allowed capable (being first naturalized by an act of this house) to be made a knight, citizen, or burgess; and, being duly elected and sworn, shall be admitted to sit among the rabble of this house, in as full manner as Philip Herbert, esq. late earl of Pembroke, and William Cecill, late earl of Salisbury, at this present do. Provided, that this shall not extend to any peer of the late other house, that, having a trade to get his living honestly by, did, nevertheless, betake himself to so lewd a course of life.

Qualification XVIII.—Whosoever, by fraud, coven, or otherwise, hath possessed himself of another man's estate, or hath gotten into his hands any office or place, of considerable value, by ejecting, indirectly, the right owner thereof, and does not know how to maintain and justify the same so well, as by being chosen a member of this house, shall be approved of, in so doing, to have given good security for his fidelity to the present government, and be capable to elect, or be elected, &c.

Qualification XIX.—Resolved, that the curses of the people shall, henceforth, (that is to say, from this present fourteenth of February, 1659,) be reputed, and taken for their free voices; and whosoever hath most of the curses of his country, shall be understood to have most of their free voices; and be approved, as most fitly qualified to sit in this present parliament. For such will be very profitable members to this house, when it shall be judged seasonable to make the people pay for their cursing, as well as they have done for their swearing.

Qualification XX.—No man shall be admitted to sit in this house, as a member thereof, howsoever duly qualified and elected, except before excepted, until he hath taken the following oath upon the holy evangelists.

The OATH.—‘ I, A. B. do swear, in the presence of Almighty God, and by the contents of this book, to be true and faithful to this present government, as it is now unestablished, and to the keepers of the liberties, unsight unseen; whether they are of an invisible and internal nature, as fiends, pugs, elves, furies, imps, or goblins; or whether they are incarnate, as redcoats, lobsters, corporals, troopers, or dragoons. I do also swear, that neither Charles Stewart, nor any person claiming from King James, shall ever be restored to the crown of England, Scotland, or Ireland, either by foreign or domestic assistance; all dispensations, and outgoings of Providence, to the contrary notwithstanding. I do likewise swear, never to understand, nor believe any thing, that is against the authority, interest, or sense of this house; and that I will never give my vote, to determine the sitting thereof, during the natural life of every respective member thereof now sitting; nor consent to the establishment of any thing, but taxes, excise, free-quarter, plunder, confiscations, arbitrary government, high-courts of justice, committees of sale and sequestration, a gospel-preaching ministry, and liberty of conscience. I do further swear, that I will constantly believe in all the privileges of parliament, as the house believes; and that I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain and defend the same, although I do not understand, nor ever shall, what they are, or how far they extend. And lest the present members should, when the house is full, be secluded by their own votes (by which the secluded members are declared incapable of ever sitting in parliament, or bearing any office of trust in this commonwealth), I do swear, that the

‘ secluded members, properly so called, are not these who have been twice secluded, (that
‘ is to say, the present members now sitting,) but those who have been secluded but once;
‘ that is, the major part of the Long Parliament. As also, that when it shall seem good unto
‘ this parliament to make every member thereof an officer or commander of the army, this
‘ house will, nevertheless, be no council of officers, but a very parliament, and the sword
‘ still in the hand of the civil magistrate. I do also swear, that whatsoever time shall
‘ hereafter produce (six governments off) for the advantage of the present parliament, or
‘ whatsoever they shall at any time do, say, or swear, in order thereunto, (how contrary
‘ soever to any thing by them formerly done, said, or sworn,) is, and will be always the
‘ good old cause, and the work of the Lord. That the present distractions are for his
‘ glory, and the peace of the government; and that the slavery of the English nation is
‘ for the liberty of the people. That, notwithstanding, they are barred to change their
‘ masters, as Christian bondslaves, as in Turkey; and are conveyed from government to
‘ government, as rogues are from constable to constable, still to be whipped and punished;
‘ all is for their freedom and protection in their ancient laws, rights, and immunities.
‘ Lastly, I do swear never to divulge the secrets of this house, nor discover the hidden
‘ mysteries thereof: the admirable art of managing factions with confederate contests in
‘ ordinary matters, and staving and tailing with the rabble of parties, in businesses of profit
‘ and advantage, to carry on private designs under the mask of public good: the subtle
‘ ways of packing committees, and proroguing business without doors: the ingenious arti-
‘ fices of double-dealing, by selling with one hand, and buying with the other; whereby
‘ several members have afforded themselves good bargains of delinquents’ estates, in
‘ suborned purchasers’ names: the most excellent invention of advising votes, and finding
‘ out the true value of a leading or seconding voice, third, fourth, or fifth; how many a
‘ lasting voice goes for, like the last trick at picquet; how to balance all these upon ac-
‘ count, so that every sharer may have his due: with infinite other curious and occult
‘ sciences, which the present members, out of their long practice and experience, have
‘ found out, to the glory of God, and good of the nation. So help me God.’

Qualification XXI.—And lest the new-elected members should (notwithstanding all these oaths and qualifications) oppose, and, being the greater number, overvote the present members; like a new piece of cloth upon an old garment, instead of patching, tear it wider: it is resolved, that but eight writs for new elections be issued forth, at one time, and no more; until the new returned members have been entrusted in the practice of this house, and, being engaged by profitable employments, have given proof of their conformity thereunto; or, in case of refusal, have been ejected.

The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be used¹.

Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of John Bill. 1633.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

By the King.

OUR dear father of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire², found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays, after evening prayers ended, and upon holidays; and he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who labour hard all the week, should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And after his return, he farther saw, that his loyal subjects, in all other parts of his kingdom, did suffer in the same kind, though, perhaps, not in the same degree; and did, therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times; which was printed and published, by his royal commandment, in the year 1618, in the tenour which hereafter followeth:

By the King.

WHEREAS, upon our return the last year out of Scotland, we did publish our pleasure, touching the recreations of our people in those parts, under our hand; for some causes us thereunto moving, we have thought good to command these our directions, then given in Lancashire, (with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these parts of our realms,) to be published to all our subjects.

Whereas we did justly, in our progress through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of our good people, for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises, upon Sundays and other holidays, after the afternoon sermon or service: we now find, that two sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected (we mean Papists and Puritans) have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings: and therefore, lest our reputation might, upon the one side (though innocently) have some aspersion laid upon it; and, upon the other part, our good people in that country be misled, by the mistaking and misinterpretation of our meaning; we have therefore thought good, hereby to clear and make our pleasure to be manifested to all our good people in those parts.

It is true, that at our first entry to this crown and kingdom, we were informed (and that too truly) that our county of Lancashire abounded more in popish recusants, than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment; save that now of late, in our last riding through our said county, we find, both by the report of the judges, and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning; which is no small contentment to us.

¹ [The Presbyterians, notwithstanding king James's proclamation, having forbidden their servants to be present at any public recreation on Sundays, after divine service, Charles the First renewed and confirmed his father's proclamation. In Somersetshire, where wakes and church-ales abounded, the lord chief-justice Richardson and baron Denham in their circuits, with the general consent of the whole bench, made an order that these festivities should be suppressed: but the chief-justice, being commanded to attend the privy-council, was severely reprimanded, and enjoined to revoke the order which he had issued at the assizes. See Rapin's Hist.]

² [In 1617.]

The report of this growing amendment amongst them made us the more sorry, when, with our own ears, we heard the general complaint of our people, 'That they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, after the ending of all divine service;' which cannot but produce two evils: the one, the hindering of the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex; persuading them, that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful, or tolerable, in our religion; which cannot but breed a great discontentment in our people's hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises, as may make their bodies more able for war, when we, or our successors, shall have occasion to use them; and, in place thereof, sets up filthy tiplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their alehouses: for, when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays? Seeing they must apply their labour, and win their living in all working-days.

Our express pleasure therefore is, that the laws of our kingdom, and canons of our church, be as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this our kingdom; and, on the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people, which shall not tend to the breach of our aforesaid laws, and canons of our church: which to express more particularly, our pleasure is, that the bishop, and all other inferior churchmen, and churchwardens shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion; presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to our judges and justices; whom we likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.

Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same; either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the county, according to the laws of our kingdom, and canons of our church; and so to strike equally, on both hands, against the contemners of our authority, and adversaries of our church. And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreation; nor from having of May-games, Whitson-ales³, and Morrice-dances; and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decoring of it, according to their old custom. But, withal, we do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only; as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and, at all times, (in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling.

And likewise we bar, from this benefit and liberty, all such known Recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service; being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting, in like sort, the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church, at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office, shall present, and sharply punish all such as, in abuse of this our liberty, will use these exercises before the ends of all divine services, for that day. And we likewise straitly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish-church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service; prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried, or used in the said times of recreations.

³ [*Ale*, says Mr. Warton, is *festival*: whence Whitson-ale, in our midland-counties, is the common name for the rural sports and feasting at Whitsuntide. *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. 129. See a curious and critical account of the Morris-dance at the end of Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare, &c.* where the May-games are introduced.]

And our pleasure is, that this our declaration shall be published, by order from the bishop of the diocese, through all the parish-churches ; and that both our judges of our circuit, and our justices of our peace, be informed thereof.

Given at our manor of Greenwich, the four-and-twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland ; and, of Scotland, the one-and-fiftieth.

Now, out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of our well-deserving people, we do ratify and publish this our blessed father's declaration ; the rather, because of late, in some counties of our kingdom, we find, that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called Wakes*. Now our express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed ; and that our justices of the peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented, or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises, be used. And we farther command our justices of assize, in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of our loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations ; having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to us and our laws. And of this we command all our judges, justices of the peace, as well within liberties as without, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender our displeasure. And we farther will, that publication of this our command be made, by order from the bishops, through all the parish-churches of their several dioceses respectively.

Given at our palace of Westminster, the eighteenth day of October, in the ninth year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

* [The Wake is of great antiquity in England ; and was held on the day of the Saint to whom the village-church was dedicated. Booths were erected in the church-yard and on the adjacent plain ; and, after divine service, the rest of the time was devoted to the occupations of the fair, and to rustic merriment. See Bourne, *Antiq. Vulgares.*]

A worthy Speech, spoken in the honourable House of Commons,
by Sir Benjamin Rudyard ; for Accommodation betwixt his
Majesty and his Parliament. July the Ninth, 1642. July 18.

Printed for Richard Lownds, 1642.

[Quarto ; containing eight pages.]

“ Mr. Speaker ;

“ **I**N the way we are, we have gone as far as words can carry us : we have voted our own rights, and the king's duty. No doubt there is a relative duty between a king and his subjects ; obedience from a subject to a king, protection from a king to his people. The present unhappy distance between his Majesty and the Parliament, makes the whole

kingdom stand amazed, in a fearful expectation of dismal calamities to fall upon it. It deeply and conscionably concerns this house, to compose and settle these threatening, ruining distractions.

“ Mr. Speaker; I am touched, I am pierced with an apprehension of the honour of the house, and success of this parliament. The best way to give a stop to these desperate, imminent mischiefs, is to make a fair way for the king's return hither: it will likewise give best satisfaction to the people, and will be our best justification.

“ Mr. Speaker; That we may the better consider the condition we are now in, let us set ourselves three years back. If any man then could have credibly told us, that within three years, the queen shall be gone out of England into the Low-countries for any cause whatsoever; the king shall remove from his parliament, from London to York, declaring himself not to be safe here; that there shall be a total rebellion in Ireland, such discords and distempers both in church and state here, as now we find; certainly we should have trembled at the thought of it: wherefore, it is fit we should be sensible now we are in it.

“ On the other side, if a man then could have credibly told us, that within three years, ye shall have a parliament, it would have been good news; that ship-money shall be taken away by an act of parliament, the reasons and grounds of it so rooted out, as that neither it, nor any thing like it, can ever grow up again; that monopolies, the High-commission court, the Star-chamber, the bishops' votes shall be taken away; the council-table regulated and restrained, the forests bounded and limited; that ye shall have a triennial parliament, and (more than that) a perpetual parliament, which none shall have power to dissolve without yourselves; we should have thought this a dream of happiness: yet, now we are in the real possession of it, we do not enjoy it, although his Majesty hath promised and published he will make all this good to us. We stand chiefly upon further security, whereas the very having of these things is a convenient, fair security, mutually securing one another: there is more security offered, even in this last answer of the king's, by removing the personal votes of popish lords, and by the better education of papists' children; by supplying the defects of laws against recusants; besides what else may be enlarged and improved by a select committee of both houses named for that purpose. Wherefore, Sir, let us beware we do not contend for such a hazardous unsafe security, as may endanger the loss of what we have already; let us not think we have nothing; because we have not all we desire; and, though we had, yet we cannot make a mathematical security. All human caution is susceptible of corruption and failing: God's Providence will not be bound; success must be his. He, that observes the wind and rain, shall neither sow nor reap: if he do nothing, till he can secure the weather, he will have but an ill harvest.

“ Mr. Speaker; It now behoves us to call up all the wisdom we have about us; for we are at the very brink of combustion and confusion. If blood once more begin to touch blood, we shall presently fall into a certain misery, and must attend an uncertain success; God knows when, and God knows what. Every man here is bound in conscience to employ his uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of blood. Blood is a crying sin; it pollutes a land: let us save our liberties, and our estates; as we may save our souls too. Now I have clearly delivered mine own conscience, I leave every man freely to his.”

A Discourse, shewing in what State the three Kingdoms are in at this present.

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

—◆—

SIR;

AS the faces of all Britain shew their hearts and inclinations, so if their hearts were glazed with a crystal, they would appear fearful of the future; were not the representative body of the state careful to cure the present malady, purge the distempered humours, and save the much gangrened body, by cutting some rotten and putrified members off, which infect, infest, and invade the republick: this makes me cheerful to discover the conceptions of the wise, and not as an orator, but relate their opinion as their auditor. I hope it will take away from me ostentation, and trouble from the reader, even to give ease of discourse.

Their profound sighs, and earnest prayers, might quicken my ingeny, better than the sound of excellent instruments can revive the spirit; to present this with all obedience to my sovereign, and faith to the country, and declare what is convenient to be done at this time, submitting myself modestly to head and body.

Now if those streams of tears, and sweet perfumes, make not my pen fruitful and odorous; pardon my rudeness, and consider the state we are now in.

When our miserable condition perceived, before the access of the universal body, by the wrinkles, put on the brow of ruined affairs, counsel weakened, and reputation of state blasted, that the people cry out against such instruments; what miserable condition are we brought to? Oh God! suffer not ill counsellors to be as a bad spleen, to swell so big as to make lean the commonwealth, that our empty purses be not filled with blood, though with tears: wherefore, I humbly beseech the head to produce such effect, as the sun on moist and cold grounds; to reduce the general capacity, to such an influence of justice, peace, religion, and liberty; and that, in lieu thereof, the people may make a rich and potent king.

As all rivers return to the ocean, so shall the labyrinth, we are in, be by the help of wise Ariadnes escaped; and the golden-fleece (continuance of Gospel, justice, peace, and downy tranquillity), with the help of those godly Medeas, be preserved and procured. Therefore, not as a lawyer; give me leave, as a well-wisher to the state, to put the case by way of supposition.

If the fundamental laws be quite overthrown, religion altered, the nobility taken away by councils of war, as the lord Mount-Norris should have been; the meaner sort used as Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick¹; the propriety of goods taken away from the subject; an army force an arbitrary way of government; and justice, bought and sold: what misery will follow, when the judges shall affirm it legal, the clergy wrongfully in their pulpits teach it, and the cabinet-council authorize the conveniency, for matter of state? Therefore, to have our laws established, religion maintained, the pride of prelates abased, justice administered, liberty settled, and peace continued for after-times: it is necessary, the king, lords, and commons, join in a most severe punishment; that none, in the *postea*, dare to enterprize, the surprise and ruin of the common good: for it is an infallible maxim, 'The king is richer in the hearts, than in the treasures of his subjects.'

¹ [See Vol. IV. p. 12.]

Surely there was never a fitter time, nor a more convenient occasion than now, when three kingdoms unite for their own safety; when the Scot hath an army on foot for this purpose, and the king hath promised they shall not be interrupted in their counsels, and God requires it for his glory.

Especially when ministers of state have begun to act this fatal tragedy, the guiltiness by so many lively testimonies proved, and the treason by precedents and weighty authority assured, by law maintained, and by all the commons-house adjudged; who have power by the 25th of Edward the Third; and when it is brought to so good a pass by the lords, who both have legislative power, why should not lords and commons bring it to perfection, that the king sign, That who shall dare to alter religion, innovate law, or take away liberty of the subject, be condignly punished; and for the future, cause an express law to be made on purpose, to attain blood, forfeit life, lands, and goods, if any shall essay such crying exorbitances?

If by the law it be high-treason to kill a commissioner of Oyer and Terminer, in time of justice; *à majori*, to confound the whole body, when a commissioner, is but one poor member of the body-politick.

2. To make a law, that none be capable of any place of government, that hath, or shall give such counsel, and leave the rest to the triennial parliament, and not grasp too much, lest all the harpies fly away.

Likewise, it is necessary to make a remonstrance of the necessity of giving 300,000 pounds, to the Scots, to give satisfaction to future ages, that it was no pusillanimity, but upon mature deliberation; because the evident necessity, and inevitable dangers cast upon us by ill counsel, justly caused it.

To the purpose, the house of commons hath done wisely, to endeavour to clip the wings of the clergy, that they may fly into no temporal place, whose pens and tongues have uttered such poison against the common good, and in their pride would willingly adhere to Rome; as by many superstitions it plainly appears, they have introduced some Babylonian ceremonies, and made a bridge unto the church, by the Arminian opinion, to pass over to popery.

The state of Venice, jealous of any their members confederating with enemies, cause them to be strangled, and hanged up between columns, confiscate their goods and estates, banish their children, and make them incapable of government; if for jealousy, much more, for so foul acts committed, ought they to die, by the law of God and man.

Among the Athenians, Lacedemonians, and Romans; whosoever should go about to alter the form of government, or laws, without public consent, hath been ever accounted the highest traitor: witness their ostracism, and many such exemplary punishments, used to such wretches.

If destroying the head be high-treason, then ruining the state of the body must be; for if it be suffocated with gross spirits, the head will not only ake, but be apoplectical or lethargical; such a sympathy or rather relation is betwixt head and members, that no rhetorick or eloquence can take it away. In this case it is no pity, but convenient, to destroy the brood of such vipers, and by our law the intention makes it treason. But how many ways the lord of Strafford hath perpetrated this intention, hath been often proved.

In 18 & 21 Jacobi, the whole house adjudged it treason, to alien the hearts of the subjects from the sovereign, which hath been done by his counsellors. His imprisoning without law, was high-treason, in Sir Haukin Hanby, 25 Edw. III. art. 61, who was drawn, hanged, and quartered.

Judge Thorpe's giving such an oath, contrary to law, was high-treason; and is not his?

The reason Richard the Second was deposed, plainly manifested, was; because he suffered divers malefactors to escape, condemned by parliament, which caused the oppression of the subject and ruin of the kingdom.

In all ages, a lethargy in kings hath caused their ruin; witness Edward the Second,

Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixth. I humbly desire God to bless his Majesty ! But consider we, that the three kingdoms will not be satisfied, unless the wrong received be expiated with the oblation of some, who have caused a heretic condition.

The lord of Strafford hath had counsel, in case of treason, when none hath had the like since the Conquest. So the whole world may see with what temper, gravity, and patience they proceed.

Edward earl of Northumberland, in the 8th of Richard II, because his deputy let the Scots take Berwick-castle, was condemned of high-treason ; and yet he never consented thereunto, for it was done without his privity ; but the lord of Strafford writ to the mayor of Newcastle, to let in the Scots, and caused the arms to be taken away from the four adjacent counties, making them incapable of defence.

Wherefore, it is visible as the sun, he is guilty, besides his other crimes : now his delay of punishment hath kindled such a fire, as all the subjects of the three kingdoms are in a flame, and will not be satisfied.

Ex parvis magna crescunt.

I pray God divert the evil, and give us true repentance !

Considerations touching a War with Spain¹. Written by the
Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount of St.
Albans.

Imprinted, 1629.

[Quarto ; containing forty-eight pages.]

YOUR Majesty hath an imperial name. It was a Charles that brought the empire first into France ; a Charles that brought it first into Spain : why should not Great-Britain have its turn ? But to lay aside all that might seem to have a show of fumes and fancies, and to speak solids : a war with Spain, if the king shall enter into it, is a mighty work ; it requireth strong materials and active motions : he, that saith not so, is zealous, but not according to knowledge. But, nevertheless, Spain is no such giant ; and he that thinketh Spain to be some great over-match for this estate, assisted as it is and may be, is no good mint-man, but takes greatness of kingdoms, according to their bulk and currency, and not after their intrinsic value.

Although, therefore, I had wholly sequestered my thoughts from civil affairs, yet because it is a new case, and concerneth my country infinitely, I obtained of myself to set down, out of long continued experience in business of state, and much conversation in books of policy and history, what I thought pertinent to this business, and, in all humbleness, to present it to your Majesty ; hoping, that at least you will discern the strength of my affection, through the weakness of my abilities : for the Spaniards have a good proverb, *Desnario siempre con la calentura* ; ‘ there is no heat of affection, but is joined with some idleness ‘ of brain.’

¹ [The commons having voted a supply to enable the king to declare war against Spain in 1624, lord Bacon took up his pen as a politician, and composed the present treatise, which he presented to the prince of Wales, and afterwards to the queen of Bohemia.]

To War are required, a just Quarrel; sufficient Forces and Provisions; and a prudent Choice of the Designs.—So then I will, first, justify the Quarrel: secondly, balance the Forces: and, lastly, propound variety of Designs for Choice. For that were not fit for a writing of this nature, neither is it a subject within the level of my judgment; I being, in effect, a stranger to the present occurrents.

Wars (I speak not of ambitious predatory wars) are suits of appeals to the tribunal of God's justice, when there are no superiors on earth to determine the cause; and they are as civil pleas, either complaints or defences.

There are therefore three just grounds of war with Spain; one upon complaint, two upon defence: (Solomon saith, 'A cord of three is not easily broken;' but especially when every of the lines will hold by itself:) they are these: the recovery of the Palatinate, and a just fear of the subversion of our church and religion. For, in the handling of these two last grounds of war, I shall make it plain, that wars preventive, upon just fears, are true defences, as well as upon actual invasions. And again, that wars defensive for religion, (I speak not of rebellions,) are most just; though offensive wars for religion are seldom to be approved, or never, except they have some mixture of civil titles. But all that I shall say, in this whole argument, will be but like bottoms of thread close wound up, which, with a good needle, perhaps, may be flourished into large works.

For asserting of the justice of the quarrel, for the recovery of the Palatinate, I shall not go so high, as to discuss the right of the war of Bohemia; which, if it be freed from doubt on our part, then there is no colour nor shadow, why the Palatinate should be retained; the ravishing whereof was a mere excursion of the first wrong, and a super-injustice. But I do not take myself to be so perfect in the customs, records, transactions, and privileges of that kingdom of Bohemia, as to be fit to handle that part; and I will not offer at that I cannot master. Yet this I will say, in passage, positively and resolutely, that it is impossible and repugnant in itself, that an elective monarchy should be so free and absolute as an hereditary, no more than it is possible for a father to have so full power and interest in an adoptive son, as in a natural; *quia naturalis obligatio fortior civili*. And again, that received maxim is almost unshaken and infallible, *Nil magis naturæ consentaneum est, quàm ut eisdem modis res dissolvantur quibus constituuntur*. So that, if part of the people or estate be somewhat in the election, you cannot make them nulloses or cyphers in the prorivation or translation: and, if it be said, that this is a dangerous opinion for the pope, emperor, and all elective kings; it is true, it is a dangerous opinion and ought to be a dangerous opinion to such personal popes, emperors, or elective kings, as shall transcend their limits, and become tyrannical.

But it is a safe and sound opinion for their sees, empires, and kingdoms, and for themselves also, if they be wise; *Plenitudo potestatis est plenitudo tempestatis*: but the chief cause why I do not search into this point, is, because I need it not. And, in handling the right of a war, I am not willing to intermix matters doubtful, with that which is out of doubt: for as, in capital causes, wherein but one man's life is in question, *in favorem vitæ*, the evidence ought to be clear; so much more in the judgment of a war, which is capital to thousands. I suppose therefore the worst; that the offensive war upon Bohemia hath been unjust, and then make the case, which is no sooner made than resolved: if it be made, not enwrapped, but plainly and perspicuously, it is this in these. An offensive war is made, which is unjust to the aggressor; the prosecution and race of the war carrieth the defendant to assail and invade the ancient and indubitate patrimony of the first aggressor, which is now turned defendant: shall he sit down, and not put himself in defence? or, if he be disposed, shall he not make a war for the recovery? No man is so poor of judgment, as will affirm it. The castle of Cadmus was taken, and the city of Thebes itself invested by Phebidas, the Lacedemonian, insidiously and in violation of league²: the process of

² [The inconsistency of the Spartans on this occasion is strongly pointed out by Polybius. They decreed that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined a hundred-thousand drachmas; while they, at the same time, resolved to hold the citadel of Thebes, and to keep a stable garrison there.]

this action drew on a re-surprise of the castle by the Thebeans, a recovery of the town, and a current of the war, even unto the walls of Sparta. I demand, was the defence of the city of Sparta, and the expulsion of the Thebeans, out of the ancient Laconian territories, unjust? The starving of that part of the duchy of Milan, which lieth upon the river of Adda, by the Venetians, upon contract with the French, was an ambitious and unjust purchase. This wheel, set on going, did pour a war upon the Venetians, with such a tempest, as Padua and Trivigi were taken from them, and all their dominions upon the continent of Italy abandoned, and they confined within the salt waters. Will any man say, that the memorable recovery and defence of Padua, when the gentlemen of Venice, unused to the wars, out of the love of their country, became brave and martial the first day; and so likewise the redemption of Trivigi, and the rest of their dominions, was matter of scruple, whether just or no; because it had force from a quarrel ill begun? The wars of the duke of Urbine, nephew to pope Julius the Second, when he made himself head of the Spanish mutineers, was as unjust as unjust might be; a support of desperate rebels, and invasion of St. Peter's patrimony, and what you will. The race of this war fell upon the loss of Urbine itself, which was the duke's undoubted right; yet in this case not penitentiary, though he had enjoined him never so strait penance to expiate his first offence, and would have counselled him to have given over the pursuit of his right for Urbine; which after he obtained prosperously, and hath transmitted to his family, yet until this day.

Nothing more unjust than the invasion of the Spanish Armada in Eighty-eight, upon our seas; for our land was holy land to them: they might not touch it. Shall I say therefore, that the defence of Lisbon, or Cales³, afterwards was unjust? There be thousands of examples; *Utor in re non dubiâ exemplis non necessariis*. The reasons are plain: wars are vindict, revenges reparations; but revenges are not infinite, but according to the measure of the first wrong or damage. And therefore, when a voluntary offensive war, by the design or fortune of the war, is turned into a necessary defensive; the scene of the tragedy is changed, and it is a new act to begin. For, though the particular actions of wars are complicate in fact, yet they are separate and distinct in right; like to cross suits in civil pleas, which are sometimes both just: but this is so clear, as needeth not further to be insisted upon. And yet, if in things so clear, it were fit to speak of more or less clear, in our present cause, it is the more clear on our part, because the possession of Bohemia is settled with the emperor; for, though it be true, that *non datur compensatio injuriarum*; yet were there somewhat more colour to detain the Palatinate, (as in the nature of a recovery in value or compensation,) if Bohemia had been lost; or were still the stage of the war. Of this therefore I speak no more.

As for the title of proscription or forfeiture, wherein the emperor, upon the matter, hath been judge and party, and hath justified himself: God forbid, but that it should well endure an appeal to a war: for, certainly, the court of Heaven, I take it, is as well a chancery to save and debar forfeitures, as a court of common law to decide rights; and there would be work enough in Germany, Italy, and other parts, if imperial forfeitures should go for good titles.

Thus much for the first ground of war with Spain, being in the nature of a plaint for the recovery of the Palatinate; omitting that here, which might be the seed of a larger discourse, and is verified by a number of examples; which is, That whatsoever is gained by an abusive treaty, ought to be restored *in integrum*. As we see the daily experience of this in civil pleas; for the images of great things are best seen contracted into small glasses: we see, I say, that all pretorian courts, if any of the parties be entertained, or laid asleep under pretence of an arbitrement or accord; and that the other party, during that time, doth cautelously get the start and advantage at common law, though it be to judgment and execution; yet the pretorian court will set back all things *in statu quo prius*; no respect being had to such eviction, or dispossession. Lastly, Let there be no mistaking;

³ [i. e. Cadiz.]

as if, when I speak of a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, I meant, that it must be *in linea rectâ* upon that place: for look in *jus feciale*, and all examples, and it will be found to be without scruple, that, after a legation *ad res repetendas*, and a refusal, and a denunciation or indiction of a war, the war is no more confined to the place of the quarrel, but is left at large, and to choice (as to the particular conducting designs) as opportunities and advantages shall invite.

To proceed therefore to the second ground of a war with Spain: we have set it down to be a just fear of the subversion of our civil estate; so then the war is not for the Palatinate only, but for England, Scotland, Ireland, our king, our prince, our nation, all that we have. Wherein two things are to be proved; the one, That a just fear, without an actual invasion or offence, is a sufficient ground of a war, and in the nature of a true defensive; the other, That we have, towards Spain, cause of just fear: I say just fear; for, as the civilians do well define, that the legal fear is *justus metus, qui cadit in constantem virum*, in private cases; so there is *justus metus, qui cadit in constantem senatum in causâ publicâ*; not out of umbrages, light jealousy, apprehensions afar off, but out of clear foresight of imminent danger.

Concerning the former proposition, it is good to hear what time saith.

Thucydides, in his inducement to his story of the great war of Peloponnesus, sets down in plain terms, that the true cause of that war was the over-growing greatness of the Athenians, and the fear that the Lacedemonians stood in thereby; and doth not doubt to call it 'a necessity imposed upon the Lacedemonians of a war;' (which are the very words of a mere defensive;) adding, that the other causes were but specious and popular: *Verissimam quidem, sed minimè sermone celebratam arbitror exitisse belli causam, Athenienses magnos effectos, et Lacedæmoniis formidolosos, necessitatem illis imposuisse bellandi; quæ autem propalàm ferebantur utrinque, causæ istæ fuerunt; &c.* i. e. 'The truest cause of this war, though least voiced, I conceive to have been this: that the Athenians, being grown great, to the terror of the Lacedemonians, did impose upon them the necessity of a war; but the causes, that went abroad in speeches, were these;' &c.

Sulpitius Galba, consul, when he persuaded the Romans to a preventive war with the latter Philip, king of Macedonia; in regard of the great preparations, which Philip had then on foot, and his designs to ruin some of the confederates of the Romans, confidently saith, that they who took that for an offensive war, understood not the state of the question: *Ignorare videmini mihi, Quirites, non utrùm bellum, an pacem habeatis vos consuli; (neque enim liberum id vobis permittet Philippus, qui terrâ marique ingens bellum molitur;) sed utrùm in Macedoniam legiones transportetis, an hostem in Italiam accipiat: i. e.* 'You seem to me, you Romans, not to understand, that the consultation before you is not, whether you shall have war or peace; (for Philip will take order you shall be no choosers, who prepareth a mighty war both by land and by sea;) but, whether you shall transport the war into Macedonia, or receive it into Italy.'

Antiochus, when he incited Prusias, king of Bithynia, at that time in league with the Romans, to join with him in war against them, setteth before him a just fear of the over-spreading greatness of the Romans; comparing it to a fire, that continually took and spread from kingdom to kingdom:—*Venire Romanos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nullum usquam orbis terrarum, nisi Romanum imperium esset; Philippum et Nabin expugnatos, se tertium peti, ut quisque proximus ab oppresso sit per omnes velut continens incendium pervasurum: i. e.* 'That the Romans came to pull down all kingdoms, and to make the state of Rome an universal monarchy; that Philip and Nabis were already ruined, and now was his turn to be assailed: so that, as every state lay next to the other, that was oppressed, so the fire perpetually grazed.' Wherein it is well to be noted, that, towards ambitious states, which are noted to aspire to great monarchies, and to seek upon all occasions to enlarge their dominions, *crescunt argumenta justî metus*; i. e. 'All particular fears do grow and multiply out of the contemplation of the general courses and practices of such states:' therefore, in deliberations of war against the Turk, it hath been often with great judgment maintained, that Christian princes and states have always a sufficient ground

of invasive war against the enemy, not for the cause of religion, but upon a just fear; forasmuch as it is a fundamental law, in the Turkish empire, 'That they may, without any other provocation, make war upon Christendom, for the propagation of their law:' so that there lieth upon the Christians a perpetual fear of a war hanging over their heads from them; and therefore they may at all times, as they think good, be upon the prevention.

Demosthenes exposeth to scorn wars which are not preventive, comparing those that make them to country-fellows in a fence-school, that never ward till the blow be past: *Ut barbari pugiles dimicare solent, ita vos bellum geritis cum Philippo; ex his enim is, qui ictus est, ictui semper inhæret: quod si eum alibi verberes, ille manus transfert, ictum autem propellere aut prospicere neque scit, neque vult: i. e.* 'As country-fellows use to do, when they play at Waisters, such a kind of war do you, Athenians, make with Philip; for, with them, he that gets a blow, straight falleth to ward, when the blow is past: and if you strike him in another place, thither goes his hand likewise; but to put by, or foresee a blow, they neither have the skill, nor the will.'

Clinias the Candian, in Plato, speaks desperately and wildly, as if there were no such thing as peace between nations; but that every nation expects but his advantage to war upon another.

But yet, in that excess of speech, there is thus much, that may have a civil construction; namely, that every state ought to stand upon its guard, and rather prevent, than be prevented. His words are: *Quam rem ferè vocant pacem, nudum et inane nomen est; reverà autem omnibus adversus omnes civitates bellum sempiternum perdurat: i. e.* 'That, which men for the most part call peace, is but a naked and empty name; but the truth is, that there is ever between all states a secret war.' I know well, this speech is the objection, and not the decision, and that it is afterwards refused: but yet (as I said before) it bears thus much of truth, that, if that general malignity and predisposition to war, which he untruly figureth to be in all nations, be produced and extended to a just fear of being oppressed; then it is no more a true peace, but a name of peace.

As for the opinion of Iphicrates the Athenian, it demands not so much towards a war, as a just fear, but rather cometh near the opinion of Clinias; as if there were ever amongst nations a brooding of a war, and that there is no sure league, but impuissance to do hurt. For he, in the treaty of peace with the Lacedemonians, speaketh plain language, telling them, 'There could be no true and secure peace, except the Lacedemonians yielded to those things, which being granted, it would be no longer in their power to hurt the Athenians, though they would.'

And, to say the truth, if one mark it well, this was in all memory the main piece of wisdom, in strong and prudent councils; to be in perpetual watch, that the states about them should neither by approach, nor by increase of dominion, nor by ruining confederates, nor by blocking of trade, nor by any the like means, have it in their power to hurt or annoy the states, they serve: and, whensoever any such cause did but appear, straightway to buy it out with a war, and never to take up peace at credit, and upon interest. It is so memorable, that it is yet fresh, as if it were done yesterday, how that triumvirate of kings, Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First of France, and Charles the Fifth, emperor, and king of Spain, were, in their times, so provident, that scarce a palm of ground could be gotten by either of the three, but that the other two would be sure to do their best to set the balance of Europe upright again. And the like diligence was used, in the age before, by that league (wherewith Guicciardini beginneth his story, and maketh it, as it were, the calendar of the good days of Italy) which was contracted between Ferdinando king of Naples, Lorenzo of Medicis, potentate of Florence, and Lodovico Sforza, duke of Milan; designed chiefly against the growing power of the Venetians, but yet so, that the confederates had a perpetual eye one upon another, that none of them should overtop. To conclude therefore: Howsoever some schoolmen (otherwise reverend men, yet fitter to guide penknives than swords) seem precisely to stand upon it, That every offensive war must be *ultio*, a revenge, that presupposeth a precedent assault, or injury; yet neither do they descend to this point, which we now handled, of a just fear; neither are they of authority

to judge this question against all the precedents of time: for, certainly, as long as men are men, (the sons of the poets allude of Prometheus, not of Epimetheus,) and as long as reason is reason, a just fear will be a just cause of a preventive war; but especially, if it be part of the cause, That there be a nation, that is manifestly detected to aspire to monarchy and new acquists, then other states assuredly cannot be justly accused for not staying for the first blow; or for not accepting Polyphemus's courtesy, to be the last that shall be eaten up.

Nay, I observe further, that in that passage of Plato, which I cited before; and even in the tenet of that person, that beareth the resolving part, and not the objecting; a just fear is justified for a cause of an invasive war, though the same fear proceed not from the fault of the foreign state to be assailed: for it is there insinuated, that if a state, out of the distemper of their own body, do fear sedition and intestine troubles to break out amongst themselves, they may discharge their own ill-humours upon a foreign war for a cure; and this kind of cure was tendered by Jasper Coligni, admiral of France to Charles the Ninth, the French king, when, by a vive and forcible persuasion, he moved him to make war upon Flanders, for the better extinguishment of the civil-wars of France: but neither was that counsel prosperous, neither will I maintain that proposition; for I will never set politicks against ethicks, especially, for that true ethicks are but as a handmaid to divinity and religion. Surely, St. Thomas, who had the largest heart of the school-divines, bendeth chiefly his style against depraved passions, which reign in making wars, out of St. Augustine; *Nocendi cupiditas, ulciscendi crudelitas, implacatus et implacabilis animus, feritas rebellandi, libido dominandi, et si quæ sunt similia, hæc sunt quæ in bellis jure culpantur.* And the same St. Thomas, in his own text, defining of the just causes of the war, doth leave it upon very general terms; *Requiritur ad bellum causa justa, ut scilicet illi qui impugnantur, propter aliquam culpam impugnationem mereantur*; for *impugnatio culpæ* is a far more general word, than *ultio injuriæ*.

And thus much for the first proposition of the second ground of a war with Spain; namely, that a just fear is a just cause of a war, and that a preventive war is a true defensive. The second, or minor proposition, was this, That this kingdom hath cause of a just fear of overthrow from Spain; wherein it is true, that fears are ever seen in dimmer lights, than facts; and on that other side, fears use many times to be represented in such an imaginary fashion, as they rather dazzle men's eyes, than open them: and, therefore, I will speak in that manner which the subject requires, that is, probably, and moderately, and briefly; neither will I deduce these fears to the present occurrents, but point only at general grounds, leaving the rest to more secret councils.

It is nothing, that the crown of Spain hath enlarged the bounds thereof, within this last six-score years, much more than the Ottomans; I speak not of matches or unions, but of arms, occupations, invasions. Granado, Naples, Milan, Portugal, the East and West Indies; all these are actual additions to that crown, and in possession; they have a great mind to French-Britain, the lower part of Picardy and Piedmont, but they have let fall their bit; they have, at this day, such a hovering possession of the Valtoline, as an hobby hath over a lark, and the Palatinate is in their talons: so nothing is more manifest, than that this nation of Spain runs a race still of empire, when all other states of Christendom stand, in effect, at a stay.

Look then a little further into the titles, whereby they have acquired, and do now hold these new portions of their crown; and you will find them of so many varieties, and such natures, (to speak with due respect,) as may appear to be easily minted, and such as can hardly, at any time, be wanting: and, therefore, so many new conquests and purchases, so many strokes of the alarum-bell of fear, and awaking to other nations; and the facility of the titles, which, hand over head, have served their turn, do ring the peal so much the sharper, and the louder.

Shall we descend from their general disposition, to enlarge their dominions; to their particular dispositions, and eye of appetite, which they have had towards us? They have now sought twice to impatronize themselves of this kingdom of England; once by mar-

riage with queen Mary, and, the second time, by conquest, in 1588; when their forces, by sea and land, were not inferior to those they have now: and, at that time, in 1588, the counsel and design of Spain was, (by many advertisements, revealed, and laid open, to be,) that they found the war, upon the Low-countries, so churlish and longsome, as they grew then to a resolution, that as long as England stood in state to succour those countries, they should but consume themselves in an endless war; and, therefore, there was no other way, but to assail and depress England, which was a back of steel to the Flemings: and who can warrant, I pray, that the same counsel and design will not return again? So that we are in a strange dilemma of danger; for, if we suffer the Flemings to be ruined, they are our out-work, and we shall remain naked and dismantled; if we succour them strongly, as is fit, and set them upon their feet, and do not withal weaken Spain, we hazard to change the scene of the war, and to turn it upon Ireland or England; like unto rheums and defluxions, which, if you apply a strong repercussive to the place affected, and do not take away the cause of the disease, will shift, and fall straightways to another joint or place. They have also twice invaded Ireland; once under the pope's banner, when they were defeated by Gray; and after, in their own name, when they were defeated by Mountjoy: so let this suffice for a taste of their disposition towards us. But it will be said, this is an almanack for the old year: since 1588, all hath been well; Spain hath not assailed this kingdom, howsoever, by two several invasions from us, mightily provoked. It is true: but then consider, that immediately after they were embroiled, for a great time, in the protection of the league of France, whereby they had their hands full; after being brought extreme low, by their vast and continual embracements, they were enforced to be quiet, that they might take breath, and do reparations upon their former wastes; but now, of late, things seem to come on a-pace to their former estate, nay, with far greater disadvantage to us: for now that they have almost continued, and as it were, arched their dominions from Milan, by the Valtoline and Palatinate, to the Low-countries; we see how they thirst and pant after the utter ruin of those states; having, in contempt almost, the German nation, and doubting little opposition, except it come from England: whereby, we must either suffer the Dutch to be ruined, to our own manifest prejudice, or put it upon the hazard I spoke of before, that Spain will cast at the fairest. Neither is the point of internal danger, which groweth upon us, to be forgotten. That the party of the papists in England are become more knotted, both in dependance towards Spain, and amongst themselves, than they have been; wherein again comes to be remembered the cause of 1588: for then also it appeared, by divers secret letters, that the design of Spain was, for some years before the invasion attempted, to prepare a party in this kingdom, to adhere to the foreign at his coming; and they bragged, that they doubted not, but to abuse and lay asleep the queen and council of England, as to having any fear of the party of papists here; for that they knew, they said, the state would but cast the eye, and look about to see, whether there were any eminent head of that party, under whom it might unite itself; and, finding none worth the thinking on, the state would rest secure, and take no apprehension: whereas they meant, they said, to take course to deal with the people, and, particularly, by reconcilements and confessions, and secret promises, and cared not for any head of party; and this is the true reason why, after that, the seminaries began to blossom, and to make missions into England, which was about the twenty-third of queen Elizabeth; at which time, also, was the first suspicion of the Spanish invasion: then, and not before, grew the sharp and severe laws to be made against the papists, and, therefore, the papists may do well to change their thanks; and whereas they thank Spain for their favours, to thank them for their perils and miseries, if they should fall upon them, for that nothing ever made their case so ill, as the doubt of the greatness of Spain; which adding reason of state, and matter of conscience and religion, doth whet the laws against them: and this cause also seemeth, in some sort, to return again at this time, except the clemency of his Majesty and the state do superabound. As for my part, I wish it should, and that the proceedings towards them may rather tend to security, and Providence, and point of state, than to persecution for religion.

But to conclude; these things, briefly touched, may serve as in a subject conjectural, and future, for to represent, how just cause of fear this kingdom may have towards Spain; omitting, as I said before, all present and more secret occurrents.

The third ground of a war with Spain I have set down to be a just fear of the subversion of our church and religion, which needeth little speech; for, if this war be a defensive, as I have proved it to be, no man will doubt, that a defensive war, against a foreigner, for religion is lawful: of an offensive war there is no dispute; and yet, in that instance of the war for the Holy-land and Sepulchre, I do wonder sometimes, that the schoolmen want words to defend that, which St. Bernard wanted words to commend. But I, that, in this little extract of a treatise, do omit things necessary, am not to handle things unnecessary: no man, I say, will doubt, but if the pope, or king of Spain, would demand of us to forsake our religion, upon pain of a war, it were as unjust a demand, as the Persians made to the Grecians, of land and water; or the Ammonites to the Israelites, of their right eyes; and we see all the heathens did style their defensive war *pro aris & focis*, placing their 'altars before their hearths': so that it is in vain of this to speak further; only this is true, that the fear of the subversion of our religion from Spain is the more just, for that all other catholic princes and states content and contain themselves, to maintain their religion within their own dominions, and meddle not with the subjects of other states; whereas the practice of Spain hath been, both in Charles the Fifth's time, in Germany, and in the time of the League, in France, by war; and now, with us, by conditions of treaties; to intermeddle with foreign states, and to declare themselves projectors-general of the party of Catholics through the world: as if the crown of Spain had a title of this, that they would plant the pope's law by arms, as the Ottomans do the law of Mahomet. Thus much concerning the first main point of justifying the quarrel, if the king shall enter into a war: for this that I have said, and all that followeth to be said, is but to shew what he may do.

The second main part of that I have propounded to speak of, is the Balance of Forces between Spain and us; and this also tendeth to no more but what the king may do: for what he may do is of two kinds; what he may do as just, and what he may do as possible: of the one I have already spoken, of the other I am now to speak. I said, Spain was no such giant; and yet, if he were a giant, it will be but as it was between David and Goliath, for God is on our side. But to leave all arguments that are supernatural, and to speak in an human and politic sense, I am led to think that Spain is no over-match for England, by that which leadeth all men; that is, experience and reason: and with experience I will begin, for there all reason beginneth. Is it fortune, shall we think, that in all actions of war, or arms, great and small, which have happened these many years, (ever since Spain and England have had any thing to debate one with the other,) the English, upon all encounters, have perpetually come off with honour, and with the better? It is not fortune, sure; she is not so constant. There is somewhat in the nations and natural courage of the people, or some such thing. I will make a brief list of the particulars themselves, in an historical truth; no ways stretched nor made greater by language. This were a fit speech, you will say, for a general, in the head of an army, when they are going to battle: yes, and it is no less fit speech to be spoken in the head of a council upon a deliberation of an entrance into a war; neither speak I this to disparage the Spanish nation, whom I take to be of the best soldiers in Europe. But that sorteth to our honour, if we still have had the better hand. In the year 1578, was that famous Lammas-day which buried the reputation of Don John of Austria, himself not surviving long after: Don John, being superior in forces, assisted by the prince of Parma, Mondragon, Mansell, and other the best commanders of Spain, confident of victory, charged the army of the States near Rimenant, bravely and furiously at the first, but, after a fight maintained by the space of a whole day, was repulsed, and forced to a retreat, with great slaughter of his men, and the course of his farther enterprises, wholly arrested; and this chiefly by the prowess and virtue of the English and Scottish troops, under the conduct of Sir John Norris and Sir Robert Steward, colonels; which troops came to the

army but the day before, harassed with a long and wearisome march. And (as it is left for a memorable circumstance in all stories) the soldiers, being more sensible of a little heat of the sun, than of any cold fear of treaty, cast away their armour and garments from them, and fought in their shirts; and (as it was generally conceived) had it not been that the count of Bosse was slack in charging the Spaniards upon their retreat, this fight had turned to an absolute defeat: but it was enough to chastise Don John for his insidious treaty of peace, wherewith he had abused the states at his first coming. And the fortune of the day, besides the testimony of all stories, may be ascribed to the service of the English and Scottish; by comparison of this charge near Rimenant (where the English and Scottish, in great numbers, came in action), with the like charge given by Don John, half a year before at Guyllours, where the success was contrary; there being at that time in the army but a handful of English and Scottish, and put in disarray by the horsemen of their own fellows.

The first dart of war, which was thrown from Spain or Rome upon the realm of Ireland, was in the year 1580: for the design of Stuckley blew over into Africk, and the attempt of Sanders and Fitz-Morris had a spice of madness. In that year, Ireland was invaded by Spanish and Italian forces (under the pope's banner and the conduct of St. Josepho) to the number of seven-hundred, or better; which landed at Smerwicke in Kerry. A poor number it was to conquer Ireland to the pope's use, for their design was no less; but, withal, they brought arms for five-thousand men above their own company, intending to arm so many of the rebels of Ireland; and their purpose was to fortify in some strong place of the wild and desolate country, and there to nestle till greater succours came; they being hastened upon this enterprise upon a special reason of state not proper to the enterprise itself; which was, by the invasion of Ireland, and the noise thereof, to trouble the council of England, and to make a certain diversion of certain aids that were then preparing from hence for the Low-countries. They chose a place where they erected a fort, which they called the Fort del Or, and from thence they bolted like beasts of the forest, sometimes into the woods and fastnesses, and sometimes back again to their den. Soon after, siege was laid to the fort by the lord Gray, then deputy, with a smaller number than those were within the fort; venturously indeed, but haste was made to attack them before the rebels came in to them. After the siege of four days only, with two or three sallies, with loss on that part; they that should have made good the fort for some months, till new succours came from Spain (or at least from the rebels of Ireland), yielded up themselves without conditions, at the end of those four days: and for that there were not in the English army enough to keep every man a prisoner; and for that also the deputy expected instantly to be assailed by the rebels; and again, there was no barque to throw them into, and send them away by sea; they were all put to the sword, with which queen Elizabeth was afterwards much displeased.

In the year 1582, was that memorable retreat of Ghent, than the which there hath not been an exploit of war more celebrated: for, in the true judgment of men of war, honourable retreats are no ways inferior to brave charges; as having less of fortune, more of discipline, and as much of valour. There were to the number of three-hundred horse, and many thousand foot, English; commanded by Sir John Norris; charged upon an advantage taken by the prince of Parma coming upon them with seven-thousand horse; besides that, the whole army of the Spaniards was ready to march on. Nevertheless, Sir John Norris maintained a retreat without disarray, by the space of some miles, (part of the way champaign unto the city of Ghent,) with less loss of men than the enemy: the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange, beholding this noble action from the walls of Ghent, as in a theatre, with great admiration.

In the year 1585, followed the prosperous expedition of Drake and Carlisle into the West-Indies. In which I set aside the taking of St. Jago and St. Domingo in Hispaniola, as surprises rather than encounters. But that of Carthagená, where the Spaniards had warning of our coming, and had put themselves in their full strength, was one of the hottest services and most dangerous assaults hath been known; for the access to the town

was only by a neck of land between the sea on the one part, and the harbour-water or minor-sea on the other, fortified clean over a strong rampart barricado, so as upon the ascent of our men they had both great ordnance and small shot that thundered and showered upon them from the rampart in front, and from the galleys that lay at sea in flank; and yet they forced the passage, and won the town, being likewise very well manned.

As for the expedition of sir Francis Drake in the year 1587, for the destroying of the Spanish shipping and provision upon their own coast; as I cannot say that there intervened in that enterprise any sharp fight or encounter, so nevertheless it did straitly discover, either that Spain is very weak at home, or very slow to move, when they suffered a small fleet of English to make an hostile invasion or incursion upon their havens and roads from Cadiz to Cape Sacre, and thence to Cascous; and to fire, sink, and carry away at the least ten-thousand ton of their greater shipping, besides fifty or sixty of their smaller vessels; and that in the sight and under the favour of their forts, and almost under the eye of their great admiral, the best commander of Spain by sea, the marquis de Santa Cruce, without ever being disputed with by any fight of importance. I remember Drake, in the vaunting style of a soldier, would call this enterprise, 'the singeing of the king of Spain's beard.'

The enterprise of 88 deserveth to be stood upon a little more fully, being a miracle of time. There arrived from Spain, in the year 1588, the greatest navy that ever swam upon the seas; for though there have been far greater fleets for number, yet the bulk and building of the ships, with the furniture of great ordnance and provisions, never the like. The design was, not to make an invasion only, but an utter conquest of this kingdom. The number of vessels were one-hundred-thirty, whereof galleasses and galleons seventy-two goodly ships, like floating towers or castles, manned with thirty-thousand soldiers and mariners. This navy was the preparation of five whole years at the least: it bare itself also upon divine assistance, for it received special blessing from pope Sixtus, and was assigned as an apostolical mission for the reducement of this kingdom to the obedience of the see of Rome. And, in further token of this holy warfare, there were, amongst the rest of these ships, twelve called by the names of the Twelve Apostles. But it was truly conceived that this kingdom of England could never be overwhelmed, except the land-waters came in to the sea-tides: therefore, was there also in readiness in Flanders a mighty army of land-forces, to the number of fifty-thousand veteran soldiers, under the conduct of the duke of Parma; the best commander, next the French king, the fourth of his time. These were designed to join with forces at sea; there being prepared a number of flat-bottom boats, to transport the land-forces, under the wing and protection of the great navy; for they made no other account, but that the navy should be absolutely master of the seas. Against these forces, there were prepared on our part, to the number of near one-hundred ships; not of so great bulk indeed, but of a more nimble motion, and more serviceable; besides a less fleet of thirty ships, for the custody of the narrow seas. There were also in readiness at land two armies, besides other forces, to the number of ten-thousand, dispersed amongst the coast-towns, in the southern parts: the two armies were appointed, one of them consisting of twenty-five-thousand horse and foot, for the repulsing of the enemy, at their landing; and the other of thirty-five thousand, for safeguard and attendance about the court, and the Queen's person. There were also other dormant musters of soldiers, throughout all parts of the realm, that were put in readiness, but not drawn together. The two armies were assigned to the leading of two generals, noble persons; but both of them rather courtiers, and assured to the state, than martial men, yet loved and assisted; with subordinate commanders, of great experience and valour.

The fortune of war made this enterprise, at first, a play at Base. The Spanish navy set forth out of the Groyne in May, and was dispersed and driven back by weather: our navy set forth sowewhat later out of Plymouth, and bare up towards the coast of Spain, to have fought with the Spanish navy; and partly upon advertisement, that the

Spaniards were gone back, and upon some doubt also, that they might pass by towards the coast of England, while we were seeking them afar off, returned likewise into Plymouth, about the middle of July. At that time, came more constant advertisement, though false, (not only to the lord-admiral, but to the court,) that the Spaniards could not possibly come forwards that year; whereupon our navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of our men gone a-shore. At that very time, the 'Invincible Armada' (for so it was called, in a Spanish ostentation, throughout Europe) was discovered upon the western coast. It was a kind of surprise; for that, as we said, many of our men were gone on land, and our ships ready to depart. Nevertheless, the admiral, with such ships only, as could suddenly be put in readiness, made forth towards them; insomuch as, of one-hundred ships, there came scarce thirty to work. Howbeit, with them, and such as came duly in, we set upon them, and gave them the chace. But the Spaniards, for want of courage, which they called 'Commission,' declined the fight; casting themselves continually into roundels, the strongest ships walling in the rest; and in that manner, they made a flying march, towards Calais. Our men, by the space of five or six days, followed them close, fought with them continually, made great slaughter of their men, took two of their great ships, and gave divers others of their ships their deaths-wounds, whereof soon after they sank, and perished; and, in a word, distressed them, almost in the nature of a defeat; we ourselves, in the mean time, receiving little or no hurt. Near Calais the Spaniards anchored, expecting their land-forces, which came not. It was afterwards alleged, that the duke of Parma did artificially delay his coming; but this was but an invention, and pretension, given out by the Spaniards; partly upon a Spanish envy, against the duke, being an Italian, and his son a competitor to Portugal, but chiefly to save the monstrous scorn and disreputation, which they and their nation received by the success of that enterprise: therefore, their colours and excuses forsooth were, that their general by sea had a limited commission, not to fight, until the land-forces were come in to them; and that the duke of Parma had particular reaches, and ends of his own, under-hand, to cross the design. But it was both a strange commission, and a strange obedience to a commission, for men, in the midst of their own blood, and being so furiously assailed, to hold their hands, contrary to the laws of nature and necessity. And, as for the duke of Parma, he was reasonably well tempted to be true to that enterprise, by no less promises, than to be made feudatory, or beneficiary, king of England, under the seignory in chief of the pope, and the protection of the king of Spain. Besides it appeared, that the duke of Parma held his place long after in the favour and trust of the king of Spain, by the great employments and services that he performed in France. And again, it is manifest, that the duke did his best to come down and put to sea: the truth was, that the Spanish navy, upon these proofs of fight, which they had with the English, finding how much hurt they received, and how little they did; by reason of the activity, and low building of our ships, and skill of our seamen, and being also commanded by a general of small courage and experience, and having lost, at the first, two of their bravest commanders at sea, Pedro de Valdez and Michael de Oquenda; durst not put it to a battle at sea, but set up their rest wholly upon the land enterprise. On the other side, the transporting of the land-forces failed, in the very foundation; for whereas the council of Spain made full account, that their navy should be master of the sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the vessels of transportation, it fell out to the contrary, that the great navy was distressed, and had enough to do to save itself; and again, that the Hollanders impounded their land-forces, with a brave fleet of thirty sail, excellently well appointed. Things, I say, being in this case; it came to pass, that the duke of Parma must have flown, if he would have come into England, for he could get neither barque nor mariner to put to sea; yet certain it is that the duke looked still for the coming back of the Armada, even at that time when they were wandering and making their perambulation, upon the northern seas. But to return to the Armada, which we left anchored at Calais; from thence, as Sir Walter Raleigh was wont prettily to say, they were suddenly driven away with squibs; for it

was no more but a stratagem of fireboats manless, and sent upon them, by the favour of the wind, in the night-time, that did put them in such terror, as they cut their cables, and left their anchors in the sea. After they hovered many days about Graveling, and there again were beaten in a great fight; at which time our second fleet, which kept the narrow seas, was come in, and joined with our main fleet. Thereupon the Spaniards, entering into further terror, and finding also divers of their ships every day to sink, lost all courage; and instead of coming up into the Thames' mouth for London, as their design was, fled on towards the North, to seek their fortunes, being still chased by the English navy at the heels, until we were fain to give them over, for want of powder. The breath of Scotland the Spaniards could not endure; neither durst they, as invaders, land in Ireland; but only ennobled some of the coasts thereof with shipwrecks, and so going northwards aloof, as long as they had any doubts of being pursued: at last, when they were out of reach, they turned, and crossed the ocean to Spain, having lost fourscore of their ships, and the greater part of their men. And this was the end of that sea-giant, the 'Invincible Armada,' which having not so much as fired a cottage of ours at land, nor taken a cock-boat of ours at sea, wandered through the wilderness of the northern seas, and (according to the curse in the Scripture) came out against us one way, and fled before us seven ways; serving only to make good the judgment of an astrologer, long before given, *Octogesimus-octavus mirabilis annus*: or rather indeed, to make good, even to the astonishment of all posterity, the wonderful judgments of God, poured down commonly upon vast and proud aspirings.

In the year that followed, 1589, we gave the Spaniards no breath, but turned challengers and invaded the main of Spain; in which enterprise although we failed of our end (which was to settle Don Antonio, in the kingdom of Portugal), yet a man shall hardly meet with an action, that doth better reveal the great secret of the power of Spain; which well sought into, will be found rather to consist in a veteran army, such as, upon several occasions and pretences, they have ever had on foot in one part or other of Christendom, now by the space almost of six-score years, than in the strength of their several dominions and provinces. For what can be more strange, or more to the disvaluation of the power of the Spaniards, upon the continent; than that with an army of eleven-thousand English land-soldiers, and a fleet of twenty-six ships of war, besides some weak vessels for transportation; we should, with the hour-glass of two months, have won one town of importance by Escalida, battered and assaulted another, overthrown great forces in the field, and that, upon the disadvantage of a bridge strongly barricadoed, landed the army in three several places of his kingdom, marched seven days in the heart of his countries, lodged three nights in the suburbs of his principal city, beat his forces into the gates thereof, possessed two of his frontier forts; and after all this, came off with small loss of men, otherwise than by sickness? And it was verily thought, that had it not been for four great disfavours of that voyage; that is to say, in the failing of sundry provisions that were promised, especially of cannons for battery; the vain hopes of Don Antonio, concerning the people of his country, to come in to his aid; the disappointment of the fleet, that was directed to come up the river of Lisbon; and lastly, the diseases which spread in the army, by reason of the heat of the season, and of the soldiers' misrule in diet; the enterprise had succeeded, and Lisbon had been carried. But howsoever, it makes proof to the world, that an invasion of a few English upon Spain may have just hope of victory, or at least of a passport to depart safely.

In the year 1591, was that memorable fight of an English ship, called 'The Revenge,' under the command of sir Richard Greenfield; memorable, I say, beyond credit, and to the height of some heroical fable. And though it was a defeat, yet it exceeded a victory; being like the act of Samson, that killed more men at his death, than he had done in the time of all his life. This ship, for the space of fifteen hours, sat like a stag amongst hounds at the bay; and was sieged and fought with, in turn, by fifteen great ships of Spain, part of a navy of fifty-five ships in all; the rest, like abettors, looking on afar off.

And, amongst the fifteen ships that fought, the great St. Philip was one; a ship of fifteen-hundred tons, prince of the twelve Sea-apostles, which was right glad, when she was shifted off from the Revenge. This brave ship, the Revenge, being manned only with two-hundred soldiers and mariners, whereof eighty lay sick; yet, nevertheless, after a fight maintained, as was said, of fifteen hours, (and two ships of the enemy sunk by her side, besides many more torn and battered,) and great slaughter of men, never came to be entered, but was taken by composition: the enemies themselves having in admiration the virtue of the commander, and the whole tragedy of that ship.

In the year 1596, was the second invasion that we made upon the main territories of Spain, prosperously achieved by that worthy and famous earl, Robert, earl of Essex, in consort with the noble earl of Nottingham, that now liveth, then admiral. This journey was with lightning; for, in the space of fourteen hours, the king of Spain's navy was destroyed, and the town of Cadiz taken. The navy was no less than fifty-nine tall ships, besides twenty galleys to attend them: the ships were straightways beaten, and put to flight, with such terror, as the Spaniards were their own executioners, and fired them all with their own hands. The galleys, by the benefit of the shores and shallows, got away; the town was a fair, strong, well-built, and rich city, famous in antiquity, and now most spoken of for this disaster. It was manned with four-thousand soldiers on foot, and some four-hundred horse; it was sacked and burnt; though great clemency was used towards the inhabitants. But that, which is no less strange than the sudden victory, is the great patience of the Spaniards; who, though we staid upon the place divers days, yet never offered us any play, nor never put us in suit by any action of revenge, or reparation of any times after.

In the year 1600, was the battle of Newport in the Low-countries, where the armies of the archduke, and the states, tried it out by a just battle.

This was the only battle that was fought in those countries these many years: for battles in the French wars have been frequent, but in the wars of Flanders rare, as the nature of a defensive requireth. The forces of both armies were not much unequal; that of the states exceeded somewhat in number, but that again was recompensed in the quality of the soldiers; for those of the Spanish part were of the flower of all their forces. The archduke was the assailant, and the preventer, and had the fruit of his diligence and celerity; for he charged certain companies of Scotchmen, to the number of eight-hundred, sent to make good a passage, and thereby severed from the body of the army, and cut them all in pieces; for they, like a brave infantry, when they could make no honourable retreat, and would take no dishonourable flight, made good the place with their lives. This entrance of the battle did whet the courage of the Spaniards, though it dulled their swords; so as they came proudly on, confidently to defeat the whole army. The encounter of the main battle, which followed, was a just encounter; not hastening to a sudden rout, nor the fortune of the day resting upon a few former ranks; but fought out of the proof by several squadrons, and not without variety of success; *Stat pede pes, densusque viro vir*. There fell out an error in the duke's army, by the overhasty medley of some of their men with the enemies, which hindered the playing of their great ordnance. But the end was, that the Spaniards were utterly defeated, and five-thousand of their men, in the fight and in the execution, slain and taken; amongst whom were many of the principal persons of their army. The honour of the day was, both by the enemy, and the Dutch themselves, ascribed much to the English; of whom sir Francis Vere, in a private commentary, which he wrote of that service, leaveth testified, that of fifteen-hundred in number (for they were no more) eight-hundred were slain in the field; and (which is almost incredible in a day of victory) of the rest, two only came off unhurt. Amongst the English, sir Francis Vere himself had the principal honour of the service, unto whom the prince of Orange, as is said, did transmit the direction of the army for that day; and, in the next place, sir Horace Vere, his brother, that now liveth, who was the principal in the active part⁴. The ser-

⁴ [See Collins's historical collections of the noble families of Vere, &c.]

vice also of sir Edward Cecil, sir John Ogle, and divers other brave gentlemen, was eminent.

In the year 1601, followed the battle of Kinsale in Ireland. By this Spanish invasion of Ireland, which was in September that year, a man may guess how long time Spaniards will live in Irish ground; which is a matter of a quarter of a year, or four months, at the most: for they had all the advantages in the world, and no man would have thought, considering the small forces employed against them, that they could have been driven out so soon. They had obtained, without resistance, in the end of September, the town of Kinsale; a small garrison of one-hundred and fifty English, leaving the town upon the Spaniards' approach, and the townsmen receiving the foreigners as friends. The number of Spaniards, that put themselves into Kinsale, was two-thousand men, soldiers of old bands, under the command of Don John de Aquila, a man of good valour. The town was strong of itself; neither wanted there any industry to fortify it on all parts, and make it tenable, according to the skill and discipline of Spanish fortification. At that time the rebels were proud, being encouraged upon former successes: for though the then deputy, the lord Mountjoy, and sir George Carew, president of Munster, had performed divers good services to their prejudice; yet the defeat they had given to the English, at the Black-water, not long before; and the treaty, too much to their honour, with the earl of Essex⁵, was yet fresh in their memory. The deputy lost no time, but made haste to recover the town, before new succours came, and sat down before it in October, and laid siege to it by the space of three winter months, or more; during which time, some sallies were made by the Spaniards, but they were beaten in with loss. In January came fresh succours from Spain, to the number of two-thousand more, under the conduct of Alonzo d'Ocampo: upon the comforts of these succours, Tyrone and Oneale drew up their forces together, to the number of seven-thousand, besides the Spanish regiments, and took the field; resolved to rescue the town, and to give the English battle.

So here was the case: An army of English, of some six-thousand, wasted and tired with a long winter's siege, enraged in the midst, between an army of a greater number than themselves; fresh, and in vigour, on the one side, and a town, strong in fortification, and strong in men, on the other side: but what was the event? This in few words: that, after the Irish and Spanish forces had come on, and shewed themselves in some bravery, they were content to give the English the honour, as to charge them first; and, when it came to the charge, there appeared no other difference between the valour of the Irish rebels, and the Spaniards, but that the one ran away before they were charged, and the other straight after: and again, the Spaniards, that were in the town, had so good memory of their losses, in their former sallies, as the confidence of an army, which came for their deliverance, could not draw them forth again. To conclude: there succeeded an absolute victory for the English; with the slaughter of above two-thousand of the enemy, the taking of nine ensigns (whereof six Spanish), the taking of the Spanish general, D'Ocampo, prisoner; and this with the loss of so few of the English, as is scarce credible; being (as hath been rather confidently, than credibly reported) but one man, the cornet of sir Richard Greame; though not a few hurt. There followed, immediately after the defeat, a present yielding up of the town by composition; and not only so, but an avoiding, by express article of treaty accorded, of all other Spanish forces throughout all Ireland, from the places and nests where they had settled themselves in greater strength (as in regard of the natural situation of the places, than that was of Kinsale), which were Castle-haven, Baltimore, and Beer-haven. Indeed, they went away with sound of trumpet; for they did nothing but publish and trumpet all the reproaches they could devise, against the Irish land and nation: insomuch, as D'Aquila said, in open treaty, "That when the devil upon the mount did shew Christ all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them; he did not doubt, but the devil left out Ireland, and kept it for himself."

⁵ [This probably was the ill-judged treaty entered into with Tyrone, which first turned the tide of queen Elizabeth's favour against the noble earl.]

I cease here; omitting not a few other proofs of the English valour and fortune, in these latter times: as at the suburbs of Paris, at the Raneline, at Drus in Britain, at Ostend, and divers others; partly, because some of them have not been proper encounters between the Spaniards and the English, and partly, because others of them have not been of that greatness, as to have sorted in company with the particulars formerly recited. It is true, that among all the late adventures, the voyage of sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, into the West-Indies, was unfortunate; but yet, in such sort, as it doth not break, or interrupt our prescription, to have had the better of the Spaniards upon all fights: for the disaster of that journey was caused chiefly by sickness; as well might appear by the deaths of both the generals, sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, of the same sickness amongst the rest. The land-enterprise of Panama was an ill-measured and immature counsel, for it was grounded upon a false account, that the passages, towards Panama, were no better fortified, than Drake had formerly left them; but yet it sorted not to any fight of importance, but to a retreat; after the English had proved the strength of their first fort, and had notice of the two other forts beyond, by which they were to have marched. It is true, that in the return of the English fleet, they were set upon by Avellandea, admiral of twenty great Spanish ships; our fleet being but fourteen, full of sick men, deprived of their two generals by sea, and having no pretence, but to journey homewards: and yet the Spaniards did but salute them about the Cape de las Corientes, with some small offer of fight, and came off with loss. Although it was such a new thing for the Spaniards to receive so little hurt, upon dealing with the English, as Avellandea made great brags of it; for no greater matter, than the waiting upon the English afar off, from Cape de las Corientes to Cape Antonio, which, nevertheless, in the language of a soldier and of a Spaniard, he called 'a Chace.'

But, before I proceed further, it is good to meet with an objection, which, if it be not removed, the conclusion of experience, from the time past to the time present, will not be sound and perfect: for it will be said, that in the former times, whereof we have spoken, Spain was not so mighty, as now it is; England, on the other side, was more aforehand in all matters of power: therefore, let us compare, with indifferency, these disparities of times; and we shall plainly perceive, that they make for the advantage of England at this present time. And, because we will less wander in generalities, we will fix the comparisons to precise times, comparing the states of Spain or England, in the year 1588, with this present year that now runneth. In handling this point, I will not meddle with any personal comparisons of the princes, counsellors, and commanders, by sea or land, that were then, or are now in both kingdoms, Spain and England; but only rest upon real points, for the true balancing of the state of the forces and affairs of both times: and yet these personal comparisons I omit not, but that I could evidently shew, that even in these personal respects, the balance sways on our side; but because I would say nothing, that may favour of the spirit of flattery, or censure of the present government.

First, therefore, it is certain, that Spain hath not now a foot of ground, in quiet possession, more than it had in 1588. As for the Valtoline and the Palatinate, it is a maxim in state, That all countries of new acquist, till they be settled, are matters rather of burthen, than of strength. On the other side, England hath Scotland united, and Ireland reduced to obedience, and planted; which are mighty augmentations.

Secondly; In 1588, the kingdom of France (able to counterpoise Spain itself, much more in conjunction) was torn with the party of the league which gave law to their king, and depended upon Spain. Now France is united under a valiant young king, generally obeyed, if he will himself, king of Navarre, as well as of France; and one that is no ways taken prisoner, though he be tied in a double chain of alliance with Spain.

Thirdly; In 1588, there sat, in the see of Rome, a fiery thundering friar, that would set all at six and seven, or at six and five; if you allude to his name. And though he would have after turned his teeth upon Spain, yet he was taken order with, before it came to that. Now there is ascended to the papacy a personage, that came in by a chaste election, no ways obliged to the party of the Spaniard; a man bred in ambassages and affairs of state, that hath much of the prince, and nothing of the friar; and one, that though he

love the chair of the papacy well, yet he loveth the carpet above the chair that is in Italy, and the liberties thereof well likewise.

Fourthly; In 88, the king of Denmark was a stranger to England, and rather inclined to Spain; now the king is incorporated to the blood of England, and engaged in the quarrel of the Palatinate. Then also Venice, Savoy, and the princes and states of Germany, had but a dull fear of the greatness of Spain, upon a general apprehension only, of the spreading and ambitious designs of that nation; now, that fear is sharpened and pointed by the Spaniards' late enterprises in the Valtoline and the Palatinate, which come nearer them.

Fifthly, and lastly; The Dutch (which are the Spaniards' perpetual duellists) have now, at this present, five ships to one; and the like proportion in treasure and wealth, to that they had in 88: neither is it impossible (whatsoever is given out) that the coffers of Spain should now be fuller than they were in 88; for, at that time, Spain had no other wars save those of the Low-countries, which was grown into an ordinary; now they have had, coupled with it, the extraordinary of the Valtoline and the Palatinate: and so I conclude my answer to the objection raised, touching the difference of times; not entering into more secret passages of state, but keeping the character and style whereof Seneca speaketh; *Plus significat quàm loquitur*.

Here I could pass over from matter of experience; were it not that I held it necessary to discover a wonderful erroneous observation that walketh about, and is commonly received contrary to all the true accounts of time and experience. It is, that the Spaniard, where he once getteth in, will seldom or never be got out again: but, nothing is less true than this. Not long since, they got footing at Brest, and some other parts in French Britany, and after quitted them; they had Calais, Ardes, and Amiens, and rendered them, or were beaten out; they had since Versailles, and fairly left it; they had the other day the Valtoline, and now have put it in deposit; what they will do with Ormus, which the Persian hath taken from them, we shall see: so that, to speak truly of latter times, they have rather poached and offered at a number of enterprises, than maintained any constantly, quite contrary to that idle tradition.

In more ancient times, leaving their purchases in Africk, which, after their great emperor Charles had clasped Germany almost in his fist, he was forced in the end to go from Icksparg, and as if it had been in a mask by torch-light, to quit every foot in Germany round, that he had gotten; which I doubt not will be the hereditary issue of this late purchase of the Palatinate: and so I conclude the ground that I have to think, that Spain will be no over-match to Great-Britain, if his Majesty shall enter into a war out of experience, and the records of time.

For grounds of Reason, they are many: I will extract the principal, and open them briefly, and, as it were, in the bud. For situation, I pass it over, though it be no small point; England, Scotland, Ireland, and our good confederates, the United Provinces, lie all in a plump together, not accessible but by sea; or at least, by passing of great rivers, which are natural fortifications: as for the dominions of Spain, they are so scattered, as it yieldeth great choice of the ascents of the war, and promiseth slow succours unto such parts as shall be attempted.

There be three main parts of military puissance, *viz.* men, women, and confederates. For men, there are to be considered valour and number: of valour, I speak not; take it from the witnesses that have been produced before: yet the old observation is untrue, that the Spaniards' valour lieth in the eye of the looker-on, but the English valour lieth about the soldier's heart: a valour of glory, and a valour of natural courage, are two things; but let that pass, and let us speak of number. Spain is a nation thin sown of people; partly by reason of the sterility of the soil, and partly, because their natives are exhausted by so many employments, in such vast territories as they possess; so that it hath been counted a kind of miracle to see ten or twelve thousand native Spaniards in an army: and it is certain, (as we have touched it a little before in passage,) that the secret of the power of Spain consisteth in a veteran army, compounded of miscellany forces of

all nations, which, for many years, they have had on foot upon one occasion or other ; and if there should happen the misfortune of a battle, it would be a long work to draw on supplies. They tell a tale of a Spanish ambassador that was brought to see the treasure of St. Mark at Venice, and still he looked down to the ground ; and, being asked why he looked down, said, " He was looking to see whether their treasure had any root ; so that, if it were spent, it would grow again, as his master's had." But, howsoever it be of their treasure, certainly their forces have scarce any root ; or at least such a root, as buddeth forth poorly and slowly. It is true they have the Walloons, who are tall soldiers, but that is but a spot of ground ; but, on the other side, there is not in the world again such a spring and seminary of brave military people, as in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the United Provinces ; so as, if wars should mow them down never so fast, yet they may be suddenly supplied and come up again.

For money, no doubt, it is the principal part of the greatness of Spain ; for by that they maintain their veteran army, and Spain is the only state of Europe, that is a money-grower : but, in this part, of all others, is the most to be considered the ticklish and brittle state of the greatness of Spain. Their greatness consisteth in their treasure ; their treasure, in their Indies ; and their Indies, if it be well weighed, are indeed but an accession to such as are masters by sea : so as this axle-tree, whereupon their greatness turneth, is soon cut in two, by any that shall be stronger than they by sea. Herein, therefore, I refer me to the opinion of all men, enemies, or whomsoever ; whether that the maritime forces of Great-Britain, and the United Provinces, be not able to beat the Spaniards at sea : for, if that be so, the links of that chain, whereby they hold their greatness, are dissolved. Now if it be said, that, admit the case of Spain to be such as we have made it, yet we ought to descend into our own case, which we shall find, perhaps, not to be in a state, for treasure, to enter into a war with Spain : to which I answer, I know no such thing ; the mint beateth well, and the pulses of the people's heart beat well. But there is another point that taketh away quite this objection ; for, whereas wars are generally a cause of poverty or consumption, on the contrary part, the special nature of this war with Spain, if it be made by sea, is like to be a lucrative and a restorative war : so that if we go roundly on at the first, the war in continuance will find itself ; and therefore you must make a great difference between Hercules's labours, and Jason's voyage by sea for the Golden Fleece.

For the confederates, I will not take upon me the knowledge how the princes, states, and councils in Europe, at this day, stand affected towards Spain ; for that trencheth into the secret occurrents of the present time, wherewith, in all this treatise, I have forborne to meddle ; but to speak of that which lieth open and in view. I see much matter of quarrel and jealousy, but little of amity and trust towards Spain, almost from all other states. I see France is in competition with them, for three noble portions of their monarchy, Navarre, Naples, and Milan ; and now freshly in difference with them, about the Valtoline. I see once in thirty or forty years cometh a pope, that casteth his eye upon the kingdom of Naples, to recover it to the church ; as it was in the minds of Julius the Second, Paul the Fourth, and Titus the Fifth. As for the great body of Germany, I see they have greater reason to confederate themselves with the kings of France and Great-Britain, or Denmark, for the liberty of the German nation, and for the expulsion of the Spanish and foreign forces, than they had in the years 1552 and 1553 ; at which time they contracted a league with Henry the Second, the French king, upon the same articles, against Charles the Fifth, who had impatronized himself of a great part of Germany ; through discord of the German princes, which himself had sown and fomented ; which league at that time did the deed, and drove out all the Spaniards out of that part of Germany, and re-integrated that nation in their ancient liberty and honour. For the West-Indies, though Spain hath had yet not much actual disturbance there, except it have been from England ; yet, nevertheless, I see all princes lay a kind of claim unto them ; accounting the title of Spain but as a monopoly of those large countries, wherein they have, in great parts, but an imaginary possession ; for Africk upon the West, the Moors of Valen-

cia expelled, and their allies, do yet hang as a cloud or storm over Spain ; Gabor, on the east, is like an anniversary wind that riseth every year once upon the part of Austria ; and Persia hath entered into hostility with Spain, and given them the first blow by taking of Ormus. It is within every man's observation also, that Venice doth think their state almost unfixed, if the Spaniards hold the Valtoline ; that Savoy hath learned by fresh experience, that alliance with Spain is no security against the ambition of Spain ; and that Bavaria hath likewise been taught, that merits and service do oblige the Spaniards but from day to day : neither do I say for all this, but that Spain may rectify much of this ill blood, by their particular and cunning negociations ; but yet there is in the body, and may break out no man knows when, into ill accidents ; but, at least, it sheweth plainly that which serveth for our purpose, that Spain is much destitute of assured and confident confederates. And here I will conclude this part, with a speech of a counsellor of state ; he said to his master, the king of Spain that now is, upon occasion : " Sir, I will tell your majesty thus much for your comfort ; your majesty hath but two enemies, whereof the one is all the world, and the other is your own ministers." And thus I end the second main part I propounded to speak of ; which was, the balancing of the forces between the king's majesty and the king of Spain, if wars must follow.

THE ASSEMBLY-MAN.

Written in the Year 1647.

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤ. *Χαρακτ. 17. περὶ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑΣ.*

Διηγείρειν τὰς μαχομένους, καὶ ἧς ὃ γινώσκει ἀτραπὴν ἡγήσασθαι καὶ ὀμνύναι μέλλων, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰς περιεσχηκότας, ὅτι τὸ πρότερον πολλάκις ὁμώμοκα ἰ. ε.

‘ He seditiously stirs up men to fight : he will teach others the way whereof
‘ himself is most ignorant ; and persuades men to take an oath, because
‘ himself had sworn it before.’

London, printed for Richard Marriott, and are to be Sold at his Shop under
St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street ; 1662-3.

[Quarto ; containing twenty-two pages.]

Reader,
THIS pamphlet was torn from me, by those who say, they cannot rob, because all is theirs. They found it where it slept many years forgotten ; but they awakened it, and made false transcripts. They excised what they liked not ; so mangled and reformed, that it was no character of an Assembler, but of themselves. A copy of that reforming had crept to the press. I seized and stopped it, unwilling to father other men's sins. Here therefore you have it, as it was first scribbled, without addition of a syllable : I wish I durst say, here is nothing lopped off ; but men and manners are changed : at least, they say so. If yet this trifle seem born with teeth, you know whose hands were knuckle-deep in the blood of that renowned chancellor of Oxon, archbishop Laud ; though, when they cut up that great martyr, his two greatest crimes were the two greatest glories Great-

Britain can boast of, St. Paul's church, and the Oxford library. Where you find no coherence, remember this paper hath suffered decimation: better times have made it worse, and that is no fault of
J. B.¹

AN Assembler is part of the state's chattels; nor priest, nor burgess, but a participle that sharks upon both. He was chosen, as Sir Nathaniel², because he knew least of all his profession; not by the votes of a whole diocese, but by one whole parliament-man. He has sat four years towards a new religion, but, in the interim, left none at all; as his masters, the commons, had a long debate, Whether candles, or no candles; but all the mean while sat still in the dark: and, therefore, when the moon quits her old light, and has acquired no new, astronomers say she is in her synode. Shew me such a picture of Judas, as the Assembler; a griping, false, reforming brother; who rails at waste spent upon the anointed; persecutes most those hands which ordained him; brings in men with swords and staves; and all for money from the honourable Scribes and Pharisees. One touch more (a line tied to his name-sake, Elder-tree) had made him Judas, root and branch. This Assembly³ at first was a full century, which should be reckoned (as the scholiast's hecatomb) by their feet, not heads: or count them by scores; for in things without heads, six score go to an hundred. They would be a new Septuagint; the old translated Scripture out of Hebrew into Greek, these turn it to four shillings a-day; and all these Assemblers were begot in one day, as Hercules's fifty bastards all in one night. Their first list was sprinkled with some names of honour (Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, &c.), but these were divines too worthy to mix with such scandalous ministers, and would not assemble without the royal call. Nay, the first list had one archbishop, one bishop, and an half (for bishop Brownrigg was then but elect); but now their Assembly, as philosophers think the world, consists of atoms; petty small Levites, whose parts are not perceptible: and yet these inferior postern-teachers have intoxicated England; for a man sometimes grows drunk by a clyster. When they all meet, they shew beasts in Africa, by promiscuous coupling, ingender monsters. Mr. Selden visits them, as Persians use, to see wild asses fight; when the commons have tired him with their new law, these brethren refresh him with their mad gospel. They lately were gravelled betwixt Jerusalem and Jericho; they knew not the distance betwixt those two places: one cried twenty miles, another ten; it was concluded seven, for this reason, "That fish was brought from Jericho to Jerusalem-market." Mr. Selden smiled, and said, "Perhaps, the fish was salt-fish:" and so stopped their mouths⁴. Earl Philip⁵ goes thither to hear them spend: when he heard them toss their National, Provincial, Classical, Congregational, he swore damnably, "That a pack of good dogs made better musick." His allusion was proper; since the elder's maid had a four-legged husband. To speak truth, this Assembly is the two houses' attiring-room, where the lords and commons put on their vizards and masks of religion; and their honours have so sifted the church, that at last they have found the bran of the clergy: yet such poor church-menders must reform and shuffle, though they find church-government may a thousand ways be changed for the worse, but not one way for the better.

¹ [John Birkenhead, knt. a witty partisan of the still more witty Samuel Butler. An account of his life and employments may be seen in Athen. Oxon. ii. 639; and in Biog. Brit. ii. 324. The present tract was reprinted in 1681, and again in 1704.]

² [Brent.]

³ [The Assembly of Divines at Westminster, which was, properly speaking, the parliament-convocation. Members of both houses to a great number, sat in this assembly, and had the same liberty with the hundred and twenty divines, to debate and give their votes in any manner. Their first meeting, pursuant to the ordinance of both houses, was on July 1, 1643, in Henry VII.'s chapel. Rushworth, v. 339.]

⁴ [Whitelock observes, that Selden spoke admirably in these debates: and sometimes when the divines had cited a text to prove some assertion, he would say—"Perhaps in your little pocket-bible with gilt-leaves, the translation may be thus; but the Greek and Hebrew signifies thus and thus:" confuting them, by these means, in their own biblical learning.]

⁵ [Philip, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; afterward Cromwell's chancellor.]

They have lately published 'Annotations on the Bible,' where their first note, on the word *create*, is a libel against kings, for creating of honours. Their annotation on Jacob's two kids is, That two kids are too much for one man's supper; but he had (say they) but one kid, and the other made sauce. They observe, upon Herod, what a tyrant he was, to kill infants under two years old, without giving them a legal trial, that they might speak for themselves. Commonly they follow the Geneva margin, as those seamen, who understood not the compass, crept along the shore: but, I hear, they threaten a second edition, and, in the interim, thrust forth a paltry catechism, which expounds nine commandments, and eleven articles of the creed. Of late they are much in love with chronograms; because, if possible, they are duller than anagrams. O how they have torn the poor bishops' names, to pick out the number Six-hundred sixty-six! little dreaming, that a whole baker's dozen of their own Assembly have that beastly number in each of their names, and that as exactly, as their solemn league and covenant consists of six-hundred sixty-six words. But, though the Assembler's brains are lead, his countenance is brass; for he damned such as held two benefices, while himself has four or five, besides his concubine-lecture. He is not against pluralities, but dualities; he says, "It is unlawful to have two of his own, though four of other men's;" and observes how "the Hebrew word for 'Life' has no singular number." Yet it is some relief to a sequestered person to see two Assemblers snarl for his tithes; for, of all kinds of beasts, none can match an Assembler, but an Assembler. He never enters a church by the door, but clambers up through a window of sequestration, or steals in, through vaults and cellars, by clandestine contracts with an expecting patron. He is most sure no law can hurt him, for all laws died in England, the year before the Assembler was born. The best way to hold him is, as our king Richard bound the king of Cyprus, in silver chains. He loves to discourse of the New Jerusalem, because her streets are of fine gold; and yet could like London as well, were Cheapside paved with the philosopher's stone: nay, he would say his prayers with beads, if he might have a set made all of diamonds. This, this is it which tempts him to such mad articles against the loyal clergy, whom he dresses as he would have them appear; just as the ballad of Dr. Faustus brings forth the devil in a friar's weed. He accused one minister for saying the blessed Virgin was the 'mother of God' (Θεοτόκος as the ancients call her). Another he charged for a common drunkard, who, all the country knows, has drunk nothing but water these six-and-twenty years: but the Assembler himself can drink widows' tears, though their husbands are not dead. Sure, if Paracelsus's doctrine were true, That to eat creatures alive will perpetuate man's life, the Assembler were immortal; for he swallows quick men, wives, and children, and devours lives as well as livings; as if he were born in that pagan province, where none might marry, till he had killed twelve Christians. This makes him kneel to lieutenant-general Cromwell, as Indians to the devil: for he saw Oliver first threw —, then —, and can, with a wink, do as much for —; like Milo, in the Olympicks, who, by practising on a calf, grew strong enough for a bull, and could with ease give a lift to an ass. The Great Turk was sending his ambassador to congratulate the Assembly's proceedings against the Christians: he ordered them thanks for licensing his alcoran to be printed in English; but hearing Ottoman Cromwell had talked of marching to the walls of Constantinople, that embassy was stopped. The only difference betwixt the Assembler and a Turk is, that one plants religion by the power of the sword, and the other by the power of the scimeter. Nay, the greatest strife in their whole conventicle is, who shall do worst: for they all intend to make the church but a sepulchre; having not only plundered, but anatomized all the true clergy; whose torment is heightened in being destroyed by such dull instruments, as the prophet Isaiah was sawn to pieces with a wooden saw. The Assembler wonders that the king and his friends live still in hope; he thinks them all in St. Clement's case, drowned with an anchor tied about his neck. He has now got power to visit the universities; where these blinking visitors look on eminent scholars (as the blind man, who 'saw men like trees') as timber growing within the root-and-branch ordinance. The Assembler has now left scholars so poor, that they have scarce rags, wherewith to make paper. A man would think, the two houses

intend to transport the universities, since they load asses with college-revenues: for, though these Assemblers made themselves heads⁶, they are rather the hands of these colleges; for they all are takers, and take all. And yet they are such creeping tyrants, that scholars are expelled the two universities, as the old Thracians, forced from their country by rats and mice; so that learning now is so much advanced, as Arrowsmith's glass-eye sees more than his natural. They never admit a good scholar to a benefice; for the Assembly's balance is the lake of Sodom, where iron swims, and feathers sink. Their divinity-disputations are with women, or laymen; and it is only on one question, Episcopacy, where the Assembler talks all that he and his friends can say; though his best medium, to prove presbyters more ancient than bishops, is, that scribes, pharisees, priests, and elders were before the Apostles: yet, if a scholar, or good argument come, he flies them as much as if they were his text. This made him curse Dr. Steward, Dr. Laney, and Dr. Hammond; and had he not had more brass in his face, than in his kitchen, he had hanged himself at Uxbridge, and ended with that treaty; for he has nought of logick, but her clutched fist, and rails at philosophy as beggars do at gentlemen. He has very bad luck, when he deals in philology; as one of them (and that no mean man), who, in his preface to the reader, says, that St. Paul had read Eustathius upon Homer; though the Apostle died a thousand years before Eustathius was born. The Assembler's diet is strangely different; for he dines wretchedly on dry bread at Westminster, four Assemblers for thirteen pence; but this sharpens and whets him for supper, where he feeds *gratis* with his city-landlord, to whom he brings a huge stomach, and news; for which crammed capons cram him. He screws into families, where there is some rich daughter, or heir; but whoever takes him into their bosom, will die like Cleopatra. When it rains, he is coached (a *classis* of them together), rolling his eyes, to mark who beholds him. His shortest things are his hair and his cloak: his hair is cut to the figure of three; two high cliffs run up his temples, whose cape of shorn hair shoots down his forehead, with creeks indented, where his ears ride at anchor. Had this false prophet been carried with Habakkuk, the angel had caught fast hold of his ears, and led him, as he leads his auditory. His eyes are part of his tithe at Easter, which he boils at each sermon; he has two mouths, his nose is one, for he speaks through both; his hands are not in his gloves, but his gloves in his hands; for betwixt sweatings (that is, sermons) he handles little else, except his dear mammon. His gown, I mean his cloak, reaches but his pockets. When he rides in that manner, with a hood on his shoulders, and a hat above both; is he not then his own man of sin with the triple crown? You would swear some honest carpenter dressed him, and made him the tunnel of a country-chimney. His doublet and hose are of dark blue, a grain deeper than pure Coventry: but of late he is in black, since the loyal clergy were persecuted into colours. His two longest things are his nails and his prayer; but the cleanest thing about him is his pulpit-cushion, for he still beats the dust out of it. To do him right, commonly he wears a pair of good lungs, whereby he turns the church into a belfry; for his clapper makes such a din, that you cannot hear the cymbal for the tinkling. If his pulpit be large, he walks his round, and speaks as from a garrison; his own neck is palisadoed with ruff. When he first enters his prayer before sermon, he winks and gasps, and gasps and winks, as if he prepared to preach in another world. He seems in a slumber, then in a dream; then rumbles a while: at last he sounds forth, and then throws so much dirt and nonsense towards heaven, as he durst not offer to a member of parliament. Now, because Scripture bids him not curse the king in his thought, he does it in his pulpit, by word of mouth; though heaven strike him dumb in the very act, as it did Hill at Cambridge, who while he prayed, 'Depose him, O Lord, who would depose us,' was made the dumb devil. This, one would think, should gargle his foul mouth; for his only hope, why God should hear him against the king, is, The devil himself, that great Assembler, was heard against Job. His whole prayer is such an irrational bleating, that, without a metaphor, it is the *calves of his lips*; and commonly it is larded with fine new words, as, *savingable, muchly, Christ-Jesusness,*

⁶ [See the third tract from the present, intituled "News from Pembroke," &c.]

&c. and yet he has the face to preach against prayer in an unknown tongue. Sometimes he is foundered, and then there is such hideous coughing ! but that is very seldom, for he can glibly run over nonsense, as an empty cart trundles down a hill. When the king girt round the earl of Essex at Lestwythiell, an Assembler complained, ' That God had drawn ' his people into the wilderness ; ' and told him, he was bound in honour to feed them : for, ' Lord, (said he) since thou givest them no meat ; we pray thee, O Lord, to give them no ' stomachs.' He tore the liturgy, because, forsooth, it shackled his spirit ; he would be a devil without a circle : and now, if he see the book of Common-Prayer, the fire sees it next, as sure as the bishops were burnt who compiled it. Yet he has mercy on Hopkins and Sternhold, because their metres are sung without authority (no statute, canon, or injunction at all,) only, like himself, first crept into private houses, and then into churches. Mr. Rous⁷ moved those metres might be sequestered, and his own rhymes to enjoy the sequestration ; but was refused, because John Hopkins was as ancient as John Calvin : besides, when Rous stood forth for his trial, Robin Wisdom⁸ was found the better poet. It is true, they have a directory, but it is good for nothing but Adoniram, who sold the original for four-hundred pounds ; and the book must serve both England and Scotland, as the directory-needle points north and south. The Assembler's only ingenuity is, that he prays for an extempore spirit, since his conscience tells him, he has no learning. His prayer thus ended ; he then looks round, to observe the sex of his congregation, and, accordingly, turns the Apostle's men, fathers, and brethren, into ' dear brethren and sisters.' For his usual auditory is, most part, female ; and as many sisters flock to him, as at Paris, on St. Margaret's day, when all come to church, that are, or hope to be with child that year. He divides his text, as he did the kingdom, makes one part fight against another ; or, as Burges divides the dean of Paul's house, not into parts, but tenements ; that is, so as it will yield most money. And properly they are tenements ; for each part must be dwelt upon, though himself comes near it but once a quarter, and so his text is rather let out, than divided. Yet sometimes, to shew his skill in Keckerman⁹, he butchers a text, cuts it (just as the Levite¹⁰ did his concubine) into many dead parts, breaking the sense and words all to pieces ; and then they are not divided, but shattered, like the splinters of Don Quixote's lance. If his text be to the occasion, his first dish is ' apples of gold in pictures of silver ; ' yet he tells not the people what pictures those were. His sermon and prayer grin at each other ; the one is Presbyterian, the other Independent ; for he preaches up the classes, yet prays for the Army. Let his doctrine and reason be what they will, his use is still to save his benefice, and augment his lecture. He talks much of truth, but abhors peace, lest it strip him as naked as truth ; and therefore hates a personal treaty, unless with a sister. He has a rare simpering way of expression : he calls a married couple, ' saints that enjoy the mystery,' and a man drunk, is ' a brother full of the creature ; ' yet, at wedding-sermons, he is very familiar, and (like that picture in the church at Leyden) shews Adam and Eve without fig-leaves. At funerals, he gives infallible signs, that the party is gone to heaven ; but his chief mark of a child of God, is to be good to God's ministers. And hence it is, he calls his preachment, manna, fitted not to his hearers' necessity, but their palate ; for it is to feed himself, not them. If he chance to tire, he refreshes himself with the people's hum, as a collar of bells cheers up a pack-horse. It is no wonder he will preach, but that any will hear him ; and his constant auditors do but shew the length of their ears : for he is such an *Ἀελετρονόκηξ*, that to hear him, makes

⁷ [Francis Rous was one of the members of the violent parliament, which began at Westminster, in Nov. 1640, when he espoused the puritanical party with great zeal. In 1643 he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, and became presbyterian-provost of Eton-college. He translated the Psalms of David into English metre, and his version was printed by order of the house of commons. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 231, and Todd's *Milton*, vii. 392.]

⁸ [Rector of Sittlington in Yorkshire, archdeacon of Ely, and a coadjutor to Sternhold and Hopkins ; on which last account he was ludicrously termed by bishop Corbet—" Arch-botcher of a psalm or prayer." See more of him in Warton's *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, iii. 171, and Gilchrist's complete edition of Corbet's poems, p. 288.]

⁹ [A very learned rhetorical author, born at Dantzic in 1571.]

¹⁰ [See the Book of Judges, xix. 29.]

good scholars sick; but to read him, is death. Yet, though you heard him three hours, he will ask a fourth; as the beggar at Delph craves your charity, because he eats four pounds of bread at a meal. It was from his alarum, the watch-makers learned their infinite screw. His glass and text are equally handled, that is, once an hour; nay, sometimes, he sallies, and never returns; and then we should leave him to the company of Lorimers, for he must be held with bit and bridle. Who ever once has been at his church, can never doubt the history of Balaam. If he have got any new tale or expression, it is easier to make stones speak, than him to hold his peace. He hates a church, where there is an echo: for it robs him of his dear repetition, and confounds the auditory as well as he. But, of all mortals, I admire the short-hand men, who have the patience to write from his mouth; had they the art to shorten it into sense, they might write his whole sermon on the back of their nail; for his invention consists in finding a way to speak nothing upon any thing: and were he in the grand-seignior's power, he would lodge himself with his mutes; for nothing, and nothing to purpose, are all one. I wonder in conscience, he can preach against sleeping at his opium-sermons. He preaches, indeed, both in season, and out of season; for he rails at popery, when the land is almost lost in presbytery, and would cry 'Fire, fire,' in Noah's Flood. Yet all this he so acts with his hands, that in this sense too, his preaching is a handicraft. Nor can we complain, that plays are put down, while he can preach; save only his sermons have worse sense, and less truth. But he blew down the stage, and preached up the scaffold; and, very wisely, lest men should track him, and find where he pilfers all his best similies, (the only thing wherein he is commendable, St. Paul himself having culled sentences from Menander's Thais, though it was his worst, that is, unchaste comedy.) Sometimes, the Assembler will venture at the original; and then, with the translator of Don Quixote, he mistakes sobs and sighs for eggs and collops. But commonly, for want of Greek and Latin, he learns Hebrew, and straight is illuminated, that is, mad. His brain is broke by a brickbat, cast from the tower of Babel; and yet this empty windy teacher has lectured a war quite round the kingdom. He has found a circulation of blood for destruction (as famous Harvey for preservation) of mankind. It was easy to foresee a great mortality, when ravens were heard in all corporations; for, as multitude of frogs presage a pestilence, so croaking lecturers foretold an Assembly. Men come to church, as the great Alexander went to sacrifice, led by crows. You have seen a small elder-tree grow in chinks and clefts of church-walls; it seems rather a weed, than a tree, which, lend it growth, makes a rent in the wall, and throws down the church. Is not this the Assembler? Grown from schisms, which himself begot; and, if permitted, will make the church but a floor, or church-yard. Yet, for all this, he will be called 'Christ's minister and saint,' as the rebels, against king John, were 'the army of God.' Sure, when they meet, they cannot but smile; for the dumbest amongst them needs must know, that they all cheat the people: such gross low impostors, that we die the death of the emperor Claudius, poisoned by mushrooms. The old hereticks had skill and learning, some excuse for a seduced church; those were scholars, but these are Assemblers, whose very brains (as Manichæus's skin) are stuffed with chaff: for they study little, and preach much, ever sick of a diabetes; nor do they read, but weed authors, picking up cheap and refuse notes; that, with Caligula, they gather cockle-shells, and, with Domitian, retire into their study to catch flies. At fasts and thanksgivings, the Assembler is the state's trumpet, for then he doth not preach, but is blown; and proclaims news very loud, the trumpet and his forehead being both of one metal; and yet, good man, he still prays for boldness; he hackneys out his voice, like a crier, and is a kind of spiritual adjutant; receives orders, and spreads them. In earnest, the states cannot want this tool; for, without him, the saints would scarce assemble; and, if the zealots chance to fly out, they are charmed home by his sounding brass. There is not, on earth, a baser sycophant; for he ever is chewing some vote or ordinance, and tells the people how savoury it is: like him, who licked up the emperor's spittle, and swore it was sweet. Would the two houses give him cathedral lands, he would prove lords and commons to be *jure divino*; but should they offer him the self-denying ordinance, he would justify the devil, and curse them to

their faces: his brother kirk-man did it in Scotland. It is pleasant to observe, how finely they play into each other's hands; Marshall procures thanks to be given to Sedgwick, for his great pains; Sedgwick obtains as much for Marshall; and so they all pimp for one another: but yet, to their great comfort be it spoken, their whole seven years sermons, at Westminster, are now to be sold in Fetter-lane and Pye-corner. Before a battle, the Assembler ever speaks to the soldiers, and the holding up of his hands must be as necessary as Moses's against the Amalekites, for he pricks them on; tells them, 'That God loves none but the valiant;' but, when bullets fly, himself runs first, and then cries, 'All the sons of Adam are cowards!' Were there any metempsychosis, his soul would want a lodging; no single beast could fit him, being wise as a sheep, and innocent as a wolf: his sole comfort is, he cannot out-sin Hugh Peters; sure as Satan hath possessed the Assembler, so Hugh Peters hath possessed Satan, and is the devil's devil; he, alone, would fill a whole herd of Gadarenes; he hath sucked blood ever since he lay in the butcher's sheets, and now, like his sultan, has a shambles in his countenance, so crimson and torrid, you may there read, how St. Laurence died, and think the three children were delivered from his face. This is St. Hugh, who will level the Assembler, or the devil's an ass. Yoke these brethren, and they two couple like a Sadducee and a Pharisee, or a Turk and a Persian, both Mahometans. But the Assembler's deepest, highest abomination, is his solemn league and covenant; whereby he strives to damn, or beggar the whole kingdom; outdoing the devil, who only persuades, but the Assembler forces to perjury or starving. And this, whoever lives to observe it, will, one day, sink both him and his faction; for he, and his oath, are so much one, that were he half-hanged and let down again, his first word would be, 'Covenant! covenant!'

But I forget, a character should be brief, though tedious length be his best character; therefore I will give you, what he denies the sequestered clergy, but a fifth part: for weigh him single, and he has the pride of three tyrants, the forehead of six jailers, and the fraud of twelve brokers; or take him in the bunch, and their whole Assembly is a club of hypocrites, where six dozen of schismatics spend two hours, for four shillings a-piece.

Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of Ireland; humbly submitted to the most Noble Assembly of Lords and Commons, at the great Convention at Westminster.

London, printed for Joseph Watts, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1689.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

I. 'THAT Ireland is part of the dominions of England, and a kingdom subordinate to it.'—This appears not only by the appeals that are made from the Chancery there, to the House of Lords here; and by writ of error from the King's-bench there, to the King's-bench here; but also by the patents which often pass under the great-seal of England, for lands, honours, and offices in Ireland; and by the obligation which an English act of parliament lays on Ireland, when it is particularly named.

II. 'That the crown of England hath good title to Ireland.'—Not only by descent from Eva, daughter of Dermond Mac Morough, king of Leinster, whose ancestors were

monarchs of Ireland; but also by lawful conquest in a just war, and by the repeated oaths and voluntary submissions of the Irish potentates and gentry in all ages; and by several statutes of recognition, and acts of parliament in that kingdom; and by above five-hundred years prescription.

III. 'That whoever hath the crown of England, is, *ipso facto*, sovereign of Ireland; and to levy war, against such person, is treason.'—This is the natural result of the first assertion: and besides what may be collected from the statute of 11 Hen. VII. of paying obedience to the king for the time being; it was so at common law, and cannot be otherwise in reason: for there is that correlation between protection and allegiance, that they must stand and fall together, and there is no difference in this case between Ireland and the Isle of Wight, or any other part of the dominions of the crown of England.

IV. 'That the lords and commons of England have always been zealously concerned for, and liberally contributed to, the preservation of Ireland.'—This appears by the many subsidies and other aids, they have in all ages given towards the support of that kingdom; for Ireland was always a charge to England, until the act of settlement was made. It cost this kingdom near three-hundred thousand pounds *per annum* for some years in queen Elizabeth's reign; and the rebellion, in 1641, drained England of some millions of money, and of many thousands of men; and yet all this was well spent, because,

V. 'Without the subjection of Ireland, England cannot flourish, and, perhaps, not subsist.'—For every harbour in Munster would be more prejudicial to the trade of England, than either Sallee or Algiers ever was; that island being so situate, that England cannot trade with Spain, the Levant, Africa, the East-Indies or the West, without sailing almost in view of the old head of Kinsale; so that England must traffick at vast disadvantage, hazard, and charge, in armed and double-manned vessels, or with great convoys. Add to this, that Ireland would be always in close league with the enemies of England, and yearly supply a vast number of able bodies to annoy it.

VI. 'That Ireland was never in so much danger as it is now.'—For the confederacy was never so general before, the Irish never had such quantities of arms and ammunition, they never had the city of Dublin, they never had the whole kingdom in their possession, or under their power; and, which is more than all the rest, they never had the colour or pretence of authority before this time.

VII. 'That the Protestants there, unless speedily relieved, must necessarily be ruined.'—For the Irish, having no money, cannot support their vast army, without free-quarter on the English. Add to this, the decay and full stop of trade, and the many other insupportable difficulties they labour under, and their ruin will appear inevitable without present relief.

VIII. 'That no people in the world are in so miserable a condition as the Protestants of Ireland.'—For they are not only insulted over by their own servants, and in a certain way of beggary; but are also in continual fear, and under imminent danger of being massacred.

IX. 'That the English government hath been easy and favourable to the Irish.'—And this evidently appears by one slight instance, *viz.* That the grand-jury, and the whole county of Cork, had more trouble and charge to get rid of two Irish attorneys in the sheriff's court, (and at last could not effect it,) than the Irish have had to turn out most of the civil and military Protestant officers in that kingdom, though some of them had good patents for their places; and it is beyond dispute, that, for many years past, the Irish never wanted such friends at Whitehall, as made their affairs run glib in all courts of judicature, and elsewhere.

X. 'That, nevertheless, many of the Irish, and some degenerate English, would rather live under any government than that of England.'—And this happens partly from the difference of humours, manners, and customs, between them and us; and partly, because they look upon the first conquest of Ireland, and the subsequent confiscations to be injurious, and think a foreigner would restore them: but chiefly this aversion is to be

attributed to the difference in religion; they conceiving us to be obstinate incorrigible hereticks; and therefore they have often invited the pope, French, and Spaniard, to accept of the government of that kingdom.

XI. 'That ten-thousand English, well furnished and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the Irish in that kingdom.'—The first assertion is true, and the second is rational; for, allowing the Irish gentry to be brave enough, yet the commoners have not courage or skill equal to the English, or near it; nor can the Irish keep more than ten or twelve thousand men together any long time, for want of forage and other necessities.

XII. 'However, less than fifteen, or perhaps twenty thousand men, ought not now to attempt Ireland.'—Because it will be necessary to make descents in several places; and, when garrisons, and other necessary detachments, are deducted, there will remain above ten or twelve thousand for the field.

XIII. 'If these twenty-thousand were divided into three bodies, in all probability there would be none, or very weak and short resistance.'—For if four-thousand landed in Ulster, six-thousand in Munster, and ten-thousand in the heart of the kingdom, the Irish would be distracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither officers nor soldiers capable to make three distinct armies: experience will manifest, that, in that case, finding themselves attacked on all sides, Tyrconnel would retire to Athlone, and thence to Galway; and, in the first ship he could get, shift for himself as well as he could.

XIV. 'However, reasonable conditions should not be denied them, if they will submit quietly.'—For, besides that it may prevent much mischief, and save the effusion of Christian blood, it is unchristian to force them to desperation; they should have indemnity for what is past, and a connivance at the private exercise of their religion, by a competent number of priests, for the future. This offer justifies our moderation; and, if refused, leaves them without excuse.

XV. 'Whatever conditions are offered them, will be rejected or postponed, unless backed with a sufficient force.'—For they are in hopes of aid from France, and have very little foresight of what is future; it is not unusual amongst them, to defy one day what they tremble at the next. It has been always a principal maxim in their politicks, to procrastinate and delay their submission, in hopes of imaginary succours, until they plunged themselves sometimes into a sea of misery; and it looks as if their destiny inclines that way now.

XVI. 'That the Irish estates are sufficient to defray the charge of reducing them to their duty.'—For of ten millions of plantation-acres of land, which there are in Ireland, the Irish have a fourth part; which, to be purchased, is worth three millions of pounds.

XVII. 'That the Protestants are already damnified to that value, and in three months more will suffer as much again.'—For, besides the interruption in trade and business, bad debts, and the particular wrongs and injuries done them, the losses of those that were forced to fly to England and elsewhere, the very land is one-third part lessened in the yearly value; and the two thirds remaining, are not worth so many years purchase by a third part, as they were *anno* 1684. For example, three-hundred *per annum*, at twelve years purchase, being three-thousand six-hundred pounds, is now but two-hundred pounds, at eight years purchase, which is one-thousand six-hundred pounds.

XVIII. 'The Protestants of Ireland had been eternally ruined, if it were not for the glorious achievements of the prince of Orange.'—For, if they are in so ill condition at this day, in what case would they have been, if France had leisure and means to assist the Irish; and England (in a civil war) not able to relieve the Protestants there?

XIX. 'The policy and true scheme of government was totally overturned in Ireland.'—For where reason and the interest of England required, that the English colony should be protected by an English army; and whereas a Protestant parliament in Ireland had raised a great revenue to the crown, mostly paid by Protestants, in order to maintain

a Protestant army; on the quite contrary, that army was disbanded, with circumstances as bad as the fact, and papists introduced to guard us against themselves; and Irish brought to garrison within those walls, that were purposely built to keep them out.

XX. 'The law was likewise subverted.'—For the force and energy of the law being resolved into trials by jury: when the judge, sheriff, jury, witness and party, were all of a piece, and that in a country where perjury is so frequent, that Irish evidence is become, proverbially scandalous; what could an English Protestant expect, but that many notorious murders should pass unpunished, many forged deeds should be trumped up, and many hundreds of English indicted, drawn in question, and prosecuted, without so much as a probability, or colour of truth?

XXI. 'These injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our religion and nation destroyed there by law.'—For they dissolved all corporations, on forged or frivolous pretences; and in so precipitate a manner, that they did not give competent time to draw, much less to review the pleadings. They projected to call the eldest sons of popish noblemen by writ, and so made themselves sure of both houses of an Irish parliament.

XXII. 'That the disbanded Protestant officers deserve, and are fit to be employed in the recovery of Ireland.'—They deserve it, and all the countenance that can be shewn them; because they have suffered much (and few people consider how much) merely for their religion and country. And they are fit, because they are acquainted with the country, the climate, and the inhabitants; and are, beyond objection, zealous in this cause.

XXIII. 'That the prince wants neither courage, conduct, reputation, or zeal.'—His attempt in England manifested his courage; his success demonstrated his conduct, and confirmed his reputation; and, for the rest, the same motives, that induced him to come hither, are still in being, and will prevail to advance his victorious arms to Ireland.

XXIV. 'There is nothing wanting but a settled legal authority and money.'—For, though necessity justifies *pro hac vice*, yet our law knows no authority but what is regal: without that, there can be no parliament, nor indeed no obligation to obedience, or at most but temporary. And as for money, though it is impossible to make a general tax seasonably for the relief of Ireland; yet, perhaps, a good vote of espousing the Irish concern may give credit to raise a fund, for a service so necessary and beneficial to England.

XXV. 'The army will be in more danger of famine than sword.'—For, besides that the enemy will destroy and burn all he can, there is not in the country provision enough for both armies; and therefore great magazines must be erected at Chester, Bristol, Milford, &c. how much money soever it may cost.

XXVI. 'All private undertakings, in this matter of Ireland, are vain.'—For no one body is able to do much, and confederacies and partnerships are lame and uncertain, because the failure of any one spoils all. Nor did any private undertaker of public affairs ever succeed in Ireland: witness Sir Thomas Smith's project in the Ardes, and Walter earl of Essex's in Clandeboy and the Ferny.

XXVII. 'That whoever takes commission here, to raise men in Ireland, does that country a great deal of wrong.'—For either he takes some poor dispirited people, or such farmers, labourers, or tradesmen, as would be more useful in their vocation; or he takes others, that would, of their own accord, and without pay in the militia, or otherwise, fight for their lives, families, and estates: every way he robs the country of people, and hinders those that else would be raised here, and go from hence; and he makes the government depend on a broken reed, for it is impossible any men should be raised and accoutred there time enough to do service, and fit to do it.

Lastly, 'Though the Irish should submit, yet Ireland will need a considerable English army.'—For that kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be danger of some French attempt. But, besides all this, he knows little of Ireland, who thinks that the Irish army (when disbanded) will ever be brought to work for their living. On the con-

trary, many of them will turn Tories; so that, if there be not a good army in the kingdom, it will be as unsafe and troublesomè as in time of war.

A true and most exact Relation of the Taking of the goodly Ship, called, The *Saint Esprit*, belonging unto the French King; which was built in Holland, and furnished with fifty-four Pieces of great Ordnance; was surprised on the twenty-eighth Day of September, by Sir Sackville Trevor, Knight; and since brought over, by him, unto Harwich in Essex. Likewise, the Proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham's Grace, in the Isle of Ree; the Killing of the base Brother of the French King, at the new Fort before Rochelle, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and also the appointed Place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet threatened from Foreign Parts to raise the Siege at the Isle of Ree: With many other Particulars. Published by Authority.

London: Printed by A. M. for Thomas Walkley; and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Eagle and Child, in Britain's Burse. 1627.

[Quarto; containing fourteen pages.]

THE French resolving to build some ships, for the strengthening of their navy, and wanting materials and ship-wrights in the kingdom, they determined to build them in Holland, at Amsterdam, and Enchuysen; a thing which the states of the United Provinces could not deny them, it being at their proper cost, in respect of those obligations which bind them to that nation.

The notice whereof, together with their supposed time of launching, being advertised into England; his Majesty¹, to crush this crocodile in the shell, and to prevent the storm of the danger before it fell, sent out sir Sackville Trevor, after his return from the river of Elve; where he made the Hamburgers come to reason, and searched their ships in despite of all opposition.

He had with him in this last expedition a fleet of eight sail; whereof four were of the king's navy-royal, the rest were merchants.

His commission enjoined him to ply up and down, upon the coast of Holland, and to take all French ships which he could meet withal.

He observing carefully these orders, used all possible speed, and on Friday the twenty-eighth of September, he arrived at the Texel (a great road in North-Holland) about eight of the clock at night, with all his fleet in safety.

¹ [Charles I.]

The names of his ships were these :

The king's good ship, called the Assurance; carrying thirty-eight pieces of brass ordnance, wherein sir Sackville himself went as admiral.

The king's good ship, called the Adventure; carrying twenty-six brass pieces, wherein captain George Allen commanded as vice-admiral.

The good ship, called the Ambrose; carrying eighteen pieces of iron ordnance, wherein capt. John Pette, the rear-admiral of the fleet, commanded.

The king's good ship, called the St. Mary of Roan; carrying sixteen great pieces, besides murderers, the captain whereof was capt. Thomas Bardesey.

Capt. Cheyney's ship, called the May-Flower of London.

Capt. Hook's ship, called the Lion of Ipswich.

Capt. Morgan's ship, called the Jacob.

Capt. Needham, a pinnace belonging to the king, called the Maria, carrying six pieces of brass ordnance.

These four latter ships were of no great burthen, but were well manned, and of quick steerage, and carried in all (besides the murderers, which they had upon their upper decks) twenty pieces of brass and iron ordnance.

Sir Sackville Trevor got a Dutch pilot upon the coast, who being demanded concerning the ships that lay in the Texel? told him, that besides sixteen Hollandish men of war, and divers other vessels of good burthen, there lay one goodly French ship, called the St. Esprit, which was of the burthen of eight-hundred tons; the upper works whereof were richly gilt, with double angel gold, in the inside and outside of her, in those places which were fittest to express pomp and stateliness; as also the very port-holes were curiously carved with lions'-heads gaping, that were richly double-gilt.

The pilot, after he had been fully questioned by sir Sackville Trevor concerning all particulars, which might tend to the service, told him, that if he would give him gold, he would bring him to the side of her; whereupon sir Sackville gave him a double Portuguese in gold, valuing four pounds, sterling.

We coming near unto their French ship, presently she sent out her long-boat, being manned with French and Dutch to hale us, and to see what we were: but our admiral commanding the men to come aboard us, we surprized the long-boat, and pinioned the men, and put them in the hold.

Afterwards the Esprit, discovering us to be enemies, began to fight; and discharged (but without any effects of hurt) three great shot, and one-hundred small shot. Then sir Sackville Trevor, being willing to take occasion by the foretop, and to slack no time for fear of losing advantage, came up close to her, and gave her a whole broad-side; so likewise did our vice-admiral and rear-admiral, and the St. Mary, where capt. Thomas Bardesey commanded; which shot was discharged with that quick motion, and working advantage, that their main-mast and bow-sprit being pierced through, they cried out for 'quarter;' which, for good considerations, was granted them: so that by ten of the clock at night (which was two hours after our coming into the Texel) we became masters of this great and warlike ship.

Before we came up close to her, but after they had discovered us to be enemies, those of the St. Esprit made a train in a chest filled with gunpowder, and other combustible materials, to blow up the ship, and our men that should enter it. But this resolution was again altered; because their long-boat being taken by our admiral, they saw no other means of escape, but only by submitting themselves unto our mercy.

That night we disposed of her men severally in our ships, being one-hundred French, and fifty Dutch. We gave all fair quarter to the Dutch, but the French were kept prisoners until the day before we came out of the Texel, and then they were all set on land in North-Holland.

After we had taken this ship, there came unto us captain Dapper, in the True-Love of Ipswich, and capt. Wall, in the Susan of Alborough, on the Sunday following, whom we welcomed after the manner of the sea.

There was another goodly French ship, which was newly come over Wearing Flats, distant eight miles from the Texel, who (receiving intelligence of our strength, and of what we had done) got hoys, lighters, and other small vessels of transportation; in which having lighted herself of her ordnance, she got over the flats to Enchuysen, before our men could come up to her.

We came up with eight sail of ships to take her; but losing our labour, by means that she was safely harboured in Enchuysen, we returned back again unto our admiral, who expected our coming in the Texel-road.

Some of the states of the neighbour-towns came a-board us, and demanded peremptorily, by virtue of what commission we came to fetch that ship out of their road? Our admiral told them, that he had commission to take all French ships which he could meet withal, and he was assured that this was a French ship, and therefore he adventured to take her, without any further commission.

Capt. George Allen, our vice-admiral, and some others of this fleet, stay upon the coast of Holland, for the intercepting of this, and other French ships; the rest under the conduct of sir Sackville Trevor brought home the surprized ship to Harwich.

This goodly ship taken on the twenty-eighth of September, as is aforesaid, had forty-two pieces of ordnance mounted, twelve pieces unmounted in her hold, two-hundred and six armours, one-hundred and fifty musquets, and sixty barrels of gunpowder.

The specification of her ordnance, and other particulars, follows:

Item, Upon her lower tier, twenty whole culverings of brass of full size, being in height five inches and a quarter.

In her steerage, two demy-culverings of brass, in height four inches, one quarter, and better.

Item, Two drakes upon the half-deck, being brass, of sacker-bore.—24 brass.

Item, Upon her upper tier twelve demy-culverings of iron, in height four inches and a quarter.

Item, Four sackers of iron, upon the half-deck.—18 iron.

Sum total mounted is 42.

Item, It is reported, there are in hold twelve pieces of iron, all whole culverings: we took the height of two, being five inches, the rest we could not come to.

The length of the ship, by the keel, is one-hundred and five feet.

The breadth, by her beam, is thirty-five feet.

From the kilchin to the deck, in depth twelve feet.

Item, Two-hundred and six armours.

Item, One-hundred and fifty musquets.

Item, Sixty barrels of gunpowder.

Concerning the proceedings of our army and navy in the island of Ree², commonly called St. Martin's, there hath happened no memorable accident, as far as we can under-

² [The duke of Buckingham, with 100 sail of ships of all sorts, and 7000 land-forces, set sail from Portsmouth in June 1627; and under colour of supporting the Hugonots, appeared before Rochelle, still besieged by Lewis XIII. but being refused admittance, he directed his course to the isle of Rhee, where he made a descent: the French, at first, endeavoured to hinder his landing; but being inferior in numbers, retired to the citadel of St. Martin's. The duke then proceeded so tardily in preparing to attack, that the besieged had time to store the place with ammunition.]

Rushworth, in his Collections, relates, that he first blocked up the citadel, in hopes of starving the garrison, which was in want of provisions: but the French finding means to throw in provisions, he after besieged it in form. Refreshments of men, &c. being still poured in; about the middle of October, the duke called a council to consult of a retreat, but being pressed to continue the siege; on Nov. 6, he made a general storm of the citadel and works, wherein many men were lost, and the rest forced to retire. After this ill success, a retreat was at length made, with great loss, on Nov. 8, and the duke, having promised the Rochellers to come again to their relief, set sail for England, where he arrived in much disgrace; having lost one-third of his troops, without effecting any thing.]

stand, since the Wednesday se'nnight after sir John Burrows³ was slain; upon the night of which day, our men surprized many boats, as they were passing to the fort with victuals; the particulars of which exploit were related in our last journal. But concerning the occurrences happening in the main, we have received their advertisements, by letters out of France, on Wednesday last, being the third of October.

That the French king, being fully bent to follow his designs against Rochel, and to pluck out that thorn, which (as the cardinal⁴ intimated unto him) had so long stuck in the sides of his sovereignty; continues the building of his new fort⁵, on purpose to debar the townsmen from all ingress and egress by water. He follows this work with great charge and greater labour; as well knowing how important the finishing thereof will be for his farther ends and intentions. He hath caused twelve whole cannons to be mounted before the breast of this fort, with which his cannoniers make divers random shot into the town; but with more terror than danger. Some ships of our fleet, riding not far from the fort, have bestowed divers shot upon the French, though without point-blank distance: one of which fell so fortunately for us, and so unfortunately for them, that it killed a base son of that great Henry the Fourth, which he had by a sister of the duke of Orleance. The same shot did likewise kill another duke, of whose name we are not as yet certain. And the wind of that bullet struck down the Monsieur, the legitimate brother of the French king, as he was conferring with the other two.

It is further confirmed, that two principal men of the French nobility were slain by the late ambush of the Rochellers. Which two noblemen, with divers other brave chevaliers, were drawn within danger by a stale made by twenty common soldiers, in the habit of gentlemen, who sallied forth of the town of Rochel.

The Rochellers are very careful to furnish our fleet and army, with all necessary provisions, which their store or procuration can afford; and these they transport in twenty long-boats, which in token of the service that they owe unto the king of England, carry red crosses for the device of their colours. Divers English, who have been either sick or wounded, are in the town; amongst whom is that honourable knight, sir Charles Rich, who is cured of his wound, but hath not as yet recovered the perfect use of his arm. His presence is much desired of my lord-duke, and is expected in the army every day.

His excellency, to avoid the extortion of victuallers, who like the milt in man's body grow fat by the leanness of others; hath, out of his noble disposition, published a proclamation for the price of bread, wine, and other necessities; according to the rates of which proclamation, the islanders and others from the continent do bring in victuals.

There is a confident report in all those parts of France, that there are appointed forty ships of war to come from Spain, and twenty from Dunkirk, who are to join with the French fleet for the succours of the island, and the beating off of the English. The rendezvous of all these ships was appointed at Blawet, a famous port-town in Brittany, on the tenth of this present month.

³ [Major-general Burroughs, one of the best officers in England, was lost with the flower of his army, in the unfortunate expedition to the isle of Rhee.]

⁴ [Richelieu.]

⁵ [Fört-Lewis.]

News from Pembroke and Montgomery : or Oxford Manches-
tered, by Michael Oldsworth and his Lord¹, who swore he
was Chancellor of Oxford; and proved it in a Speech made to
the new Visitors, in their New Convocation; April 11, 1648.
As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath.

Printed at Montgomery, 1648.

[Quarto ; containing eight pages.]

‘ Mr. Visitors,

‘ I AM glad to see this day ; I hope it will never end ; for I am your Chancellor.
‘ Some say I am not your Chancellor, but dam-me, they lie ; for my brother was so
‘ before me, and none but rascals would rob me of my birth-right. They think Marquis
‘ of Hertford is Chancellor of Oxford, because, forsooth, the University chose him ;
‘ s’death, I sit here by ordinance of parliament, and judge ye, Gentlemen, whether he or
‘ I look like a Chancellor. I’ll prove he is a party, for he himself is a scholar, he has
‘ Greek and Latin ; but all the world knows I can scarce write or read : dam-me, this
‘ writing and reading hath caused all this blood.

‘ Some say, I love not the University, but, I say, they lie. I love her, I count her my
‘ mother ; for I had four sons there. You know what a coil I had ere I could get hither :
‘ Selden did so vex us with his law and his reasons, we could get nothing pass : you saw
‘ I was fain to swear him down, and Mr. Rous, Gurdon, Mildmay, Wentworth, Prideaux,
‘ Scot², and other friends, voted bravely ; else Selden had carried it. S’death, that fellow
‘ is but Burgess for Oxford, and I am Chancellor ; and yet he would have the Parliament
‘ hear his law and reasons against their own Chancellor. I thank God, and I thank you :
‘ I thank God I am come at last, and I thank you for giving me a gilded bible ; you could
‘ not give me a better book, dam-me I think so. I love the Bible, though I seldom use it : I
‘ say I love it ; and a man’s affection is the best member about him. I can love it, though
‘ I cannot read it ; as you, Dr. Wilkinson, love preaching, though you never preach.
‘ What ! Cannot a man be a Doctor of Divinity but he must preach ? I hope you’ll
‘ confess I have gotten you good places : if I had not stuck to you, how could you have
‘ thrown out Bayly, Sheldon, Feil, Potter, Oliver, Hammond, Morley³, and the rest ?
‘ And then to what end had you been Visitors, if you got not their places ? You know
‘ Hammond is my own godson, and they say he is a scholar. S’death, I love you ; what
‘ care I for deep scholars ? Mr. Cheynell⁴, I thank you, you have been kind to me ;

¹ [The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, chancellor of Oxford, who, with the reforming visitors appointed by the parliament, in the year 1647, began their visitation of the University, which they finished not till the next year. Sir Nathaniel Brent (mentioned in the next page) was made chief-visitor ; and fully countenanced all the violent and arbitrary proceedings there used. The present tract appears to have been intended as a lampoon upon those procedures.]

² [The persons here named were active instruments in this Calvinistical visitation.]

³ [The former heads of houses, who had adhered to the loyalists, and were expelled for refusing to submit to the authority of the visitors.]

⁴ [Francis Cheynell of Merton-college, a member of the Assembly of Divines, and one of the six ministers employed by parliament to preach the University into obedience. In 1647, he was named one of the reforming visitors, and accompanied the chancellor in his round to the several colleges, in April 1648, to give possession to the new heads ; himself being appointed president of Saint John’s-college, then vacated by the ejection of Dr. Baylie.]

' you have broke your brains again for me, and I have given you another head ; for I made
' you Head of St. John's, and for your sake have thrust out Bayly, his wife, and nine pretty
' children. Master Reynolds⁵, I feared you would have left us, for you pretended to take
' no man's place from him ; but, I thank God, you are of another mind, for you have
' both a man's place and a woman's place ; you have all that belonged to Fell, his wife,
' and all his children. Mr. Wilkinson⁶, you love me, and I am glad of it ; for, they say,
' you hate your enemies to the Bottomless-pit : I have given you my own chaplain's pre-
' bend, and dam-me, while he served me, he was an excellent scholar. Mr. Corbet⁷, I
' love you too, I have made you Orator of the University ; it was my godson Hammond's
' place : I hope none will blame me for displacing my own godson ; you are now my god-
' son, for you are Orator : I hope you'll speak for me, I cannot speak for myself : you
' have a tongue now, though you want eyes : what, cannot a man be a Visitor, though
' without eyes ? Mr. Langley⁸, I love you also, I have made you Doctor of Divinity ;
' malignants say, it is impossible to make you a Doctor ; but, hang them, they lie ; for
' you were created Doctor, and nothing can create but God and a Chancellor : nay, I
' have made you Head of Pembroke-college, I cannot make you Governor ; for a rogue,
' they call him Poyer, is Governor of Pembroke, and, dam-me, I think the King will make
' Poyer to be Earl of Pembroke. Master Harris⁹, you are an old man, I have made you
' Head of Trinity-college ; I love an old Head : Dr. Kettle was an old Head before, but
' he loved us not ; I love an old Head new-made. Sir Nathaniel Brent, I know you love
' me, for you are Judge of the Prerogative-court ; the Parliament gave it you ; you are a
' good man, and that's a good place ; they say you have no civil law ; what is that to
' the purpose ? You have an ordinance of Parliament : a man may be a Civilian by an
' ordinance of Parliament ; else why the devil have we sat seven years ? My father
' said, that a Parliament could do any thing but make a man a woman, and a woman a
' man. Mr. Rogers¹⁰, you look as if you love me, and I have made you Doctor : they
' call you Aaron, I hate them for it, for I hate Aaron ; he was a priest, and I would
' have all priests and jesuits hanged. Mr. Cornish¹¹, I love you, though your wife plays
' tricks with you ; they say she gads abroad, because you are a sickly weak man, but I
' have given you Dr. Wall's place, for " the weakest goes to the wall : " you must give
' me leave to clinch, for those that have no wit must be content with clinches. Mr.
' Palmer¹², I have made you Head of All-souls, and have turned out Sheldon ; I hope
' you love me, for you are a Physician, and never any Physician was Head of All-
' souls : they say their statutes do keep you out ; hang their statutes, I'll keep you in :
' you are a member of the House of Commons, and a Member of Parliament may
' be Head of any house. What ! Must the Parliament be tied to oaths and statutes ?
' I have, for your sake, clapped Sheldon in prison ; was it not high time ? Dam-
' me, he hath more brains than all we together ; you saw to-day what tricks he put upon
' me : I could not speak to him, but he made it nonsense ; so as I was forced to cry him

⁵ [Edward Reynolds, M. A. apesbyterian minister and visitor, was made dean of Christ-church, and put into actual possession, by breaking open the doors belonging to the former dean, Dr. Fell. The same day he was appointed vice-chancellor, and took his chair accordingly.]

⁶ [Henry Wilkinson (commonly called Long Harry), one of the Assembly, and a visitor. He was also rewarded with a senior-fellowship of Magdalen-college, and a canonry of Christ-church.]

⁷ [Edward Corbet, M. A. one of the Assembly, and a preacher before the Long Parliament, though appointed a visitor of the university, seldom or never sat amongst them. He was made orator and canon of Christ-church, in the room of Dr. Hammond ; which two places he shortly after conscientiously resigned.]

⁸ [Henry Langley, M. A. one of the visitors, was made master of Pembroke-college, Aug. 1647. In 1648, he became one of the canons of Christ-church, in the place of Dr. Morley.]

⁹ [Robert Harris, B. D. of Magdalen-hall, was put into the president's lodgings of Trinity-college, by breaking open the doors ; a little before which time, the old loyal president, Dr. Kettle, had withdrawn to avoid imprisonment.]

¹⁰ [Christopher Rogers, M. A. principal of New-Inn-hall. He was shortly after made a canon of Christ-church.]

¹¹ [Henry Cornish, M. A. of New-Inn-hall, was likewise made canon in the room of Dr. Wall.]

¹² [*Alidus* Vaulx. He was put into possession of the lodgings of the warden of All-Souls-college, Apir 13, in the room of Dr. Sheldon.]

‘ mercy four several times : but I have *sheldon’d* him by the heels, and he deserves it.
 ‘ S’death ! Is he not Clerk of the Closet ? I love no Clerks of the Closet ; I am not one
 ‘ myself, dam-me if I be. There is a young rogue, one Palmer ; I hope, Mr. Palmer, he
 ‘ is not your name-sake ; this little knave looked at me as if he cared not two-pence for
 ‘ me : but I have *sheldon’d* him too ; and I’ll justify it, for he is at least twelve years old, and
 ‘ the Parliament hath imprisoned one at nine years old, I mean Inchiquin’s son ; a plague
 ‘ upon him, for now Inchiquin is turned *Inchiking*. Gentlemen, love one another, for
 ‘ there’s twenty-thousand do hate you ; they say you are all either dunces, knaves, or
 ‘ mad-men : s’death, they will say so of me, if they durst. But do you serve God, and
 ‘ love your Chancellor, you have all the good places the University can yield ; you desired
 ‘ us to make you Visitors, and you have made yourselves Heads of Colleges : I love you all,
 ‘ dam-me, I do. I command you, Register, to write it down that I love them all : your
 ‘ name is French, and my name may be *French*, for I cannot spell *English*. God bless
 ‘ you all, and God bless me, and do as I do, for I fear God, and obey the Parliament ; I
 ‘ will live and die with you, and God confound me, if I leave the town these two days.’

Copia vera,

MICHAEL OLDSWORTH.

The Parable of the three Jackdaws, &c.

Printed in the Year 1696.

[Quarto ; containing four pages.]

THERE was a time when the Feathered Commonwealth¹ fell into great disorder, about choosing a successor to the Eagle², whose advanced years portended the fall of his sceptre ; and the disputes, which happened amongst the several pretenders, did mightily perplex the Kingdom of Birds, who were in doubt, whether the Eagle had any genuine offspring. The Magpies³, who had an inveterate malice against the Black-birds and Nightingales⁴, (because they were better liked than themselves, on the account of their harmonious notes, and innocent nature,) improved the opportunity, to make interest with the Jackdaws and Cuckows, to settle the succession on a noted Bird, which was reckoned brother⁵ to the Eagle, because hatched in the same nest ; but a mortal enemy to the Nightingales, and Black-birds, and accused of a confederacy with the Storks and Kites, to betray the Winged Nation to the Birds of Prey⁶. The Magpies were frequently told of this, and remonstrances were entered against their proceedings, as destructive to the whole Volatile Empire ; but they turned the deaf ear to every thing, that was said to them : for being used to feed upon carrion, they delighted in slaughter. In process of time, the Eagle died, and his brother, the friend to the Magpies, succeeded : as soon as he mounted the throne, the Magpies chattered for joy, the Jackdaws cawed, and the Cuckows made protestations of loyalty, in their usual note : but he was scarcely seated on the throne, when the region of the Air was filled with Birds of Prey : the Screech-owls began to quarrel

¹ [England is here implied, to whose governors and government this tract throughout has an allegorical reference.]

² [Charles II. who died in Feb. 1685, aged 55.]

³ [Bishops and clergy.]

⁴ [Dissenters.]

⁵ [James II.]

⁶ [Papists.]

with the Jackdaws, and the Cormorants pretended a right to the nests of the Magpies. In the mean time, though they could not agree amongst themselves, yet all of them united against the Nightingales and Black-birds, who, by this means, were forced to retire to the solitary groves, where they chirped and warbled out their own misfortunes. The affairs of the Winged Empire being in this posture, a generous Falcon⁷ (as he was called by some), or the true offspring of the Eagle (as reckoned by others), being moved with compassion towards the injured Birds, attempted their relief: but the Magpies and Jackdaws, with their adherents, the Cuckows, were so much incensed against the generous Falcon, because of his favourable inclinations to the Nightingales and Black-birds, that they summoned together their friends, the Rooks, and joining with the Storks and Kites, oppressed the poor Falcon, with his small retinue; and having barbarously destroyed them, the Eagle's brother looked upon his throne, as surer than ever; and the Magpies, Jackdaws, and Cuckows, concluding that they had insured his favour, by this new merit, pressed on to destroy the Black-birds, and Nightingales. But all of a sudden, when they thought themselves secure, the Night-owls and Cormorants, with the Storks and Kites, their adherents, having been a long time dispossessed of their nests, by the Magpies and Jackdaws, and their followers, the Rooks and Cuckows, resolved to come to a trial of skill with them; upon which the Magpies came to have some remorse for their barbarous treatment of the innocent Black-birds; and, abating something of the usual harshness of their note, began to call, 'Mag, Mag, poor Mag, a cup of sack for poor fainting Mag:' and the Jackdaws cawed to the Black-birds, in a milder note than before, bewailed their former severity, and invited the Nightingales and Black-birds, to join with them, against the Kites, Cormorants, and Screech-owls. The Eagle's brother, being afraid of the consequences of such an union, came also to a parley with the Black-birds and Nightingales, and offered them fair quarter, provided they would concur towards the procuring of an authentic act, at the general dyet of the Winged Empire, to secure his followers in the possession of their nests, for all time coming: the amazed Black-birds, being surprized with this mighty change, and having been wretchedly torn by the talons of both parties, knew not whom to trust; but the Eagle's brother being possessed of the throne, decency obliged them to make civil replies; but some of the Bats, which frequented the company of the Black-birds, engaged too far with the Cormorant-interest, and by this time both parties owned the possessor of the throne, for a true Eagle. Having gained his point so far, he resolved to push on his fortune; and being provoked with the behaviour of the Magpies, he designed to put their pretensions of loyalty to the touchstone, and commanded them to publish his imperial edict⁸, giving liberty to all the subjects of the Airy Regions, to warble out the praises of their great Creator, in such notes as Nature had furnished them with: it being highly unreasonable to say, that the Canary-bird was no bird, because she could not croak like the Raven; or that the Nightingale was no subject of the Winged Empire, because she could not chatter like the Magpy.

The Magpies and Jackdaws were thunderstruck, at the hearing of this unlooked-for command, and most of them did sullenly refuse it; yet some of the Magpies and the Swallows, which nestled about the altars, thought fit to comply: but the metropolitan Magpy⁹, and six of the rest, did positively refuse to obey the Eagle, who did thereupon commit them to his imperial prison. Then nothing was to be heard, but, 'Alas, poor Mag, a cup of sack for Mag;' and on the other hand, the Cormorants and Kites cried, 'A rope for Mag, Mag, Mag; a halter for Mag:' and the Black-birds and Nightingales, though they were something concerned at the misfortune of the Magpies, yet could not but say, that Mag was served according to her deserts; but the Jackdaws and Cuckows, with their allies, the Rooks, did so much disturb the Eagle's quiet, with their cawing and croaking,

⁷ [Duke of Monmouth; who landed in the west of England with three small ships and about 150 men, in June 1685.]

⁸ [A declaration for liberty of conscience was first published in April 1687, and renewed in April 1688.]

⁹ [The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Saint Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol, refusing to order the above declaration to be read in the churches in their dioceses, were committed prisoners to the Tower.]

that he released the Magpies¹⁰, but pursued his design, of establishing a tyranny in the regions of the Air: and, in order to accomplish his design, did enter into a confederacy with the Vulture¹¹, resolved to disinherit the generous she-Eagle, of his own race, and to impose a counterfeit he-Eagle¹² upon the Nation of Birds; which did so much provoke the Feathered Commonwealth, that they agreed, with the assistance of a genuine Eagle¹³, of the true Imperial nest, (who had the generous she-Eagle, abovementioned, to his mate,) to curb the tyrannical Eagle, and prevent his imposing an Ostrich instead of an Eagle upon the Winged Empire. Many of the Magpies and Jackdaws¹⁴, with all the Black-birds and Nightingales, joined in the invitation to the young Eagle, who taking his flight from beyond sea, did happily alight, in the Imperial grove¹⁵; and being joined with a promiscuous flock of Black-birds, Jackdaws, Nightingales, and some Rooks; put the Kites, Cormorants, and old Eagle to flight; who, after he had roosted a while, in his imperial nest, abandoned the same, and fled beyond sea, with the Ostrich his mate, and the counterfeit Eagle, her supposed son, to the Vulture's grove.

The Eagle having thus taken his flight, the Magpies began to relent, and to wish that things had not come to that extremity; for the Jackdaws and they became now apprehensive, that they were in as much danger of losing their nests, by the Black-birds and Nightingales, as they had formerly been by the Kites and Cormorants; because the young Eagle, who came from beyond sea, was judged to have a mighty kindness for the Black-birds and Nightingales, and his mate¹⁶, the generous she-Eagle, had no aversion to them: and thus it came to pass, that the metropolitical Magpy¹⁷ (who had been the ringleader of those who opposed the old Eagle, and invited the young one to his nest) began to grow sullen, and his example infecting the rest of the Mags, the faction was divided amongst themselves; so that some of the Magpies and Jackdaws were for acknowledging the young Eagle as sovereign of the Birds; and others (chattering still upon the abdicated theme of passive obedience) alleged, that the old Eagle had injury done him, and did all that they could to obstruct the progress of the young Eagle's affairs; and having, by the interest of the Magpies, who owned his title, got an influence on his councils, they advised him to disband the Black-birds and Nightingales, who had flocked to him at his first coming over; and to govern his affairs, by the advice of the Magpies and Jackdaws: and, by this method, they got his court and his camp filled with Rooks, who did still retain a very great kindness for the old Eagle, and their ancient cronies, the Cormorants and Kites, and did them kindly offices, as opportunity offered.

In the mean time, the Nightingales and Black-birds of the Eagle's ancient grove, had been so terribly infested by the Magpies, Jackdaws, and Rooks, and so mischievously torn by the talons of the Kites and Cormorants, their allies, that they looked upon the Magpies as harpies; and in a general dyet of the Birds, held for that grove, voted, that the Magpies, and their underlings, the Jackdaws, were the great and insupportable grievance of the Winged Empire, and with one consent, dislodged them of their nests: so that the Mags and Jacks hopped away, in great numbers, to the neighbouring grove, chattered nothing, but passive obedience, and non-resistance, and the injury done to the old Eagle; which strengthened the faction of the Southern Magpies, and made the young Eagle very uneasy in his nest. Whence it came to pass, that the Magpy-faction procured a rebellion in the Northern grove, under the conduct of a mischievous Rook, who being joined by a rabble of the Jackdaws, Kites, Cormorants, and Solan Geese, gave the young Eagle's followers, in that grove, a considerable check; but the mischievous Rook being pecked to death in the scuffle, the rebellion was appeased there; but the Northern Jackdaws and Solan Geese, with the ab-

¹⁰ [The bishops were tried in the King's-bench, and acquitted, with the approval of all but the Court-party.]

¹¹ [Louis XIV. of France.]

¹² [The pretended prince of Wales.]

¹³ [William, prince of Orange.]

¹⁴ [Perhaps the presbyterians and clergy.]

¹⁵ [The prince of Orange with his forces landed in Torbay, Nov. 5, 1688.]

¹⁶ [Queen Mary.]

¹⁷ [The archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Gloucester, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, refused to take the oaths of supremacy to king William, for which they were suspended *ab officio*, and afterwards deprived.]

dedicated Harpies, filled the Southern grove with their querulous notes, that nothing was to be heard, but, 'Alas! poor Mag, Mag, Mag, is put out of her nest in the North, and must expect the same treatment in the South, except the old Eagle be recalled.' Whereupon that tyrannous bird, conceiving good hopes of his affairs, did, by the assistance of the Vulture, who lent him some bands of Storks, Kites, and Rooks, take his flight to St. Patrick's Grove¹⁸; where, being joined by some Cormorants, and the native Woodcocks, he quickly overspread the whole grove, excepting some small part of it, where a colony of their Northern Birds had fixed their nests, who made such a stout resistance against the tyrant-Eagle, and his Birds of Prey, that the fame thereof echoed through the regions of the Air; but the Southern Magpies and Jackdaws, being influenced by the Northern Harpies and Solan Geese, obstructed the relief of the Black-birds of St. Patrick's Grove so long, that they were well nigh undone; and the first relief they had sent them, being under the conduct of a villainous Rook, he was little less noisome to the Black-birds, than the Kites and Cormorants: so that the young Eagle¹⁹ was obliged to fly thither in person, and not long after his arrival, he gave the tyrant-Eagle, and his followers, such a terrible overthrow, by a purling brook²⁰, that the old-one fled from St. Patrick's Grove, and betook himself again to the Vulture's quarters²¹; whilst the colonies of the Northern Black-birds and Nightingales did, with inimitable courage, subdue the Woodcocks, and the young Eagle's followers dislodged the Vultures and Cormorants from their nests, so that, in a little time, St. Patrick's Grove was entirely recovered.

The Vulture (by whose counsels the abdicated Eagle had, all along, governed himself), perceiving that he was now quite driven from his nest, resolved to attack the Flemish cop-pice, which had formerly been the residence of the young Eagle; which obliged the generous bird to repair beyond sea²², for the defence of his ancient friends: but, though he acted wonders, yet his counsels were betrayed by the friends of the Mags and the Daws, and his troops being chiefly commanded by Rooks, the Birds of his retinue met with several disasters; and, at the same time, the Kites and Cormorants, and seditious Mags, did all that they could, to disturb the repose of the generous she-Eagle his mate, whom they would fain have destroyed in his absence; but the faithful Magpies, and moderate Jackdaws, with the Black-birds and Nightingales, did unite so cordially for her defence, that their designs were disappointed. Thus was the generous young Eagle perplexed by Vultures, Storks, and Cormorants abroad; and treacherous Magpies, Jackdaws, and Rooks at home; and chiefly, because they were apprehensive of being outed by the Black-birds; who, whatever privileges they had acquired in the North, they said they must content themselves to build nests, in the eaves of houses, in the South, where the churches were the proper habitation of the Magpies and Jackdaws. Nor would they suffer the Nightingales, and the Falcons, to have any command in the Winged army; that being the property of the Kites and Rooks, because they did annually swear allegiance to the Magpies and Jackdaws, at the altars, which the Falcons and Nightingales would never do.

In the mean time, the generous she-Eagle died²³; which did so much grieve her faithful mate, that the Kingdom of Birds had well nigh lost both their sovereigns at once. However, he generously plucked up his courage, and, considering that he was born for empire, did scorn to be conquered by passion; and therefore resolved, that as he had defeated²⁴ the Maws and the Gulls, belonging to the Vulture, by sea, he would have a trial of valour with him by land, notwithstanding his alliance with the overgrown Raven of the East; so that, taking another flight into the continent, he dislodged the Vulture from one of his chief nests²⁵, who, thereupon, became so much afraid of the young Eagle's talons, that he durst not adventure on a fair war with him any more; but resolved to suborn some Night-Owls, Buzzards, Kites, Cormorants, and Cuckows, to assassinate the generous Eagle in the

¹⁸ [King James landed at Kinsale in Ireland with 5000 French, in March 1689, and from thence proceeded to Dublin.] ¹⁹ [King William arrived at Ireland on June 14, 1690.] ²⁰ [The Boyne.]

²¹ [France.]

²² [King William arrived at the Hague, Jan. 21, 1691.]

²³ [Queen Mary died of the small-pox, Dec. 28, 1694; and was deeply mourned by her royal consort.]

²⁴ [In the signal naval victory over the French fleet, May 19, 1692.]

²⁵ [Namur.]

dark²⁶; which he had attempted several times before, but laid the design so craftily now, that he was sure it could not miscarry. And, this taking effect, he designed to have destroyed the Black-birds and Nightingales, with the faithful Magpies, and moderate Jackdaws, and all the other loyal Birds in St. George's, St. Andrew's, and St. Patrick's groves²⁷; and to have possessed them for ever, with Vultures, Kites, Storks, Ravens, Rooks, Cormorants, and Magpies, and Jackdaws of his own stamp. However, this conspiracy being happily discovered by the Parrots; many of the Owls, Buzzards, and Cormorants, who were employed to assassinate the young Eagle, were taken, and some of them suffered death, according to the laws of the Feathered Kingdom; three Cormorants first²⁸, and, a little after, a Cuckow, who being drawn in by the treacherous Magpies and Jackdaws, three of the latter attended them to the place of their exit; and, cawing to them in the old note of passive obedience, deluded the poor Cuckows, and telling them, that, by virtue of the authority which they had acquired, by a long possession of the steeples, where no Black-bird had any right to come, they were constituted lawful priests of the Winged Empire; and, therefore, absolved them from the false imputation of guilt, for endeavouring to cut the young Eagle's throat, for he was none of the birds of Jupiter's nest; and, though the Beetle had unluckily broke all the old Eagle's eggs, which were procreated betwixt him and the Italian Ostrich, yet there was a time coming, when they would find a safe repository, if not in Jove's, yet in St. Peter's lap; and oblige the pretended Eagle, who was no other than a Geneva bird (hatched among the shells, which one of the Roman emperors gathered together, as a mark of triumph, on the Dutch coast), to retire to the banks of lake Lemman; in the faith of which, the two silly Cuckows did cheerfully swallow their hempseed, and crying, 'Cuckow, cuckow;' the Jackdaws answered, 'Caw, caw, caw;' and then the Cuckows were choaked; at which the loyal Birds were so much incensed, that they have shut up two of the Jackdaws in a cage²⁹, and are hunting after the other, which is fled: so that, in a little time, we may hap to see these Jackdaws follow the fate of the Cuckows, while all the Winged Empire, from the Imperial Eagle to the Wren, are associated to defend the generous young Eagle, as a true bird of the Imperial nest, against the Vulture of the West, the overgrown Raven of the East, the traitorous Magpies, Jackdaws, Storks, Kites, Rooks, Ravens, and Cormorants; and the Larks, Nightingales, and Black-birds, do daily, with their harmonious notes, celebrate Jupiter's praises, for preserving his beloved Eagle.

²⁶ [This conspiracy was discovered by Messrs. Pendergrass and De la Rue.]

²⁷ [*i. e.* of England, Scotland, and Ireland.]

²⁸ [Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Key, were tried and convicted of high-treason, in compassing and imagining the death of the King; and were executed March 18, 1696. Sir William Perkins and sir John Friend suffered for the same crime in April following; when Messrs. Collier, Snatt, and Cook, Romish priests, gave them absolution.]

²⁹ [Snatt and Cook were committed to Newgate, April 8.]

Two Speeches, spoken by the Earl of Manchester, and John Pym, Esq. as a Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the City of London's Petition¹; sent from his Majesty, by Capt. Hearne, and read at the Common-hall, on Friday the Thirteenth of January, 1642. Also, a true Narration of the Passages of that Day.

‘ Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that these Speeches
‘ be forthwith printed and published.

‘ H. ELSING, Cler. Parl, D. Com.’

London, printed for John Norman, for the Good of the Commonwealth, 1642.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

A Speech, delivered by the Earl of Manchester.

‘ My Lord-Mayor and Gentlemen, you of the City of London ;
‘ **T**HIS assembly can never be looked upon by any members of both houses of parlia-
‘ ment, but there must be some offering of gratitude made to you, both of thanks
‘ and acknowledgment, for your former large-hearted expressions both of affection and
‘ care, for the preservation both of the parliament and kingdom. The occasion, why my
‘ lords and these gentlemen of the house of commons are come hither, is this: they have
‘ read an answer to an humble petition of the lord-mayor and common-council and
‘ citizens of London to his Majesty; in which answer they find many wounding asper-
‘ sions cast upon persons of very eminent authority in your city, and upon others of very
‘ great fidelity and trust among you. This answer they do find, as it is printed, to
‘ agree with that, which the gentleman from his Majesty hath here read; and they,
‘ owning themselves equally interested (in all things that concern you) with you, have
‘ commanded this gentleman to make some observations, by way of vindication, both of
‘ the proceedings of both houses of parliament, and of the proceedings of the city; with
‘ this assurance, that they will never desert you, but will stand by you, with their lives and
‘ fortunes, for the preservation of the city in general, and those persons in particular, who
‘ have been faithful, and deserved well, both of the parliament and kingdom; and they
‘ will pursue all means, both with their lives and fortunes, that may be for the preserva-
‘ tion of this city, and for the procuring of safety, happiness, and peace to the whole
‘ kingdom.’

The speech of this noble lord being entertained with loud expressions of joy and thankfulness by the commons, and after some time of silence being made, Mr. Pym (that worthy member of the house of commons, and patriot of his country) gave the sense of both houses, upon the several passages of his Majesty's answer, expressing it as follows:—

¹ [See this Petition, with an account of the occasion of these Speeches, in Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 116.]

A Speech, delivered by John Pym, Esq.²

‘ My Lord-Mayor, and you worthy Citizens of this noble and famous City of London ;

‘ I AM commanded by the Lords and Commons to let you know, that, in this answer, which hath been published to you, they do observe many things of great aspersion upon the proceedings of parliament, very scandalous and injurious to many particular members of this city: whereupon they think, that it becomes them (both in tenderness of their own honour, and in respect to you) to take away all those aspersions, and to let you know the truth of their proceedings, which have been full of honour and justice, as they stand in relation to their own duty; and full of humility and obedience towards his Majesty, and of care for the common good, and so shall ever be. And they have commanded me to let you know the true answer to most of those things that are imputed either to the parliament, or to the city, by observing some particulars of this book which hath been read to you, and to let you know the proceedings in their own native condition, clear from those misrepresentations, which make them appear in a quality much different from the truth; which before I enter into, I am to declare, as the sense of both houses, That your petition was so full of loyalty, humility, and obedience, that you might well have expected an answer of another kind.

‘ The first observation I am to make you is this: That it is said here, “That his Majesty was enforced by tumults to leave the parliament, and to go from Whitehall, and to withdraw himself into those courses, which now he hath taken.”

‘ I answer thereunto, I am commanded to tell you, that there was no occasion given, by any tumults rising out of this city, or the suburbs, which might justly cause his Majesty’s departure; and you may very well remember, that after his violent coming to the commons’ house of parliament in that unusual and unheard-of manner, (which was the beginning of these unhappy differences,) the very next day his Majesty came into the city without any guard; that he was present at the common-council, dined at the sheriff’s, and returned back again, with manifold evidences of fidelity on the part of the city, and without any such expressions, as were unbecoming the majesty of a king, or the duty of subjects; that he resided divers days at Whitehall, and afterwards at Hampton-court, Windsor, and places adjoining, with small forces about him, and yet never any attempt was made, which might give him any apprehension of fear. By all which it is manifest, that this is an unjust aspersion cast upon this city, that any tumultuous carriage of yours was the occasion of his Majesty’s leaving the parliament, and withdrawing himself to remoter parts.

‘ It is affirmed, “That the government of your city hath been managed by a few desperate persons; and that they do exercise an arbitrary power.” In answer to which, the two houses of parliament give you this testimony, That you have, in most of the great occasions concerning the government of the city, followed their direction; and that direction, which they have given, and you have executed, they must and will maintain to be such, as stands with their honour in giving it, and your trust and fidelity in the performance of it.

‘ It is objected, in the third place, “That contributions have been publicly made for the maintenance of that army, which did join battle with the King, and did, by all the means that treason and malice could suggest, endeavour to take away his life, and destroy his issue.” To this I am commanded to say, that the design of bringing up the English armies, the gathering together of the Cavaliers about Whitehall, the violent coming to the house of commons, the King’s going into the North, and raising armies there; are clear evidences, that violence was first intended, and divers practices were

² [See, in the present Volume, a reply to this speech by alderman Garroway, at a common-hall, on the 17th of January following.]

made against the parliament, before they took any course, or made any preparation to take up arms for their defence. For the danger of his Majesty's person, they were sorry for it; and did, by divers humble petitions, ~~showing to~~ ^{and as touching the} royal issue, they have sufficiently declared to the world their good affections to ~~the~~ them, by the care they have taken, both for the safety and maintenance of those who are left here.

It is further expressed, in this answer, "That the King demands the lord-mayor, Mr. alderman Fowke, colonel Ven, and colonel Manwaring to be delivered up, as guilty of schism and high-treason." Concerning which, I am commanded to tell you, (as the sense of both houses of parliament,) that this demand is against the privilege of parliament, (two of them being members of the commons' house,) and most dishonourable to the city, that the lord-mayor of London should be subjected to the violence of every base fellow, be assaulted, seized on, without due process or warrant, which the law doth afford every private man; and that you should be commanded to deliver up your chief magistrates, and such eminent members of the city to the King's pleasure, only because they have done their duty, in adhering to the parliament for the defence of the kingdom; and that it is against the rules of justice, that any men should be imprisoned upon such a general charge, when no particulars are proved against them: and this you are to take notice of, as the answer to those scandals, and to that disgrace upon my lord-mayor and the other members of the city.

And I am further to tell you, that there is little cause for his Majesty to make this demand; considering that he himself doth, by force, keep away many accused in parliament, (as my lord Digby, and many more impeached of high-treason,) besides divers other great delinquents, that stand charged there for heinous crimes: all which, by force, are kept from the due proceedings and legal trial in parliament.

It is alleged, in this answer, "That my lord-mayor, and those other persons named, are countenancers of Brownists, and Anabaptists, and all manner of sectaries." To this I am commanded to say, that hereof there is no proof: it doth not appear, that they give any such countenance to sectaries of any kind whatsoever; and, if it did, his Majesty hath little reason to object it, while, notwithstanding the profession, he hath often made, "That he will maintain the Protestant reformed religion," he doth in the mean time raise an army of Papists; who, by the principles of their religion, are bound, if power be put into their hands, to destroy and utterly to root out the Protestants, together with the truth which they profess.

It is affirmed, "That men's persons have been imprisoned, and their houses plundered, because they will not rebel against his Majesty." To this I am commanded to declare, that no men's houses have been plundered by any direction of the parliament, but that they have been very careful to restrain all such violent courses, so far as they were able; and that they have never committed any man, but such as, by due information, they conceived to be seditious persons, and like to trouble the peace of the state.

It is objected further, "That the property of the subject is destroyed by taking away the twentieth part, by an arbitrary power." To this they say, that that ordinance doth not require a twentieth part, but doth limit the assessors, that they shall not go beyond a twentieth part, and that this is done by a power derived from both houses of parliament: the lords, who have an hereditary interest in making laws in this kingdom; and the commons, who are elected and chosen to represent the whole body of the commonalty, and trusted for the good of the people, whenever they see cause to charge the kingdom. And they say further, that the same law that did enable the two houses of parliament to raise forces to maintain and defend the safety of religion, and of the kingdom; doth likewise enable them to require contributions, whereby these forces may be maintained: or else it was a vain power to raise forces, if they had not a power likewise to maintain them in that service for which they were raised.

And to this point I am commanded to add this further answer: that there was little rea-

son for this to be objected, on his Majesty's behalf, when it is well known that, from the subjects which are within the power of his army, his Majesty doth take the full yearly value of the same, and in some cases more; that not only particular houses, but whole towns have been plundered by command and design; and that, by proclamations men are declared to forfeit all their estates, because they will not obey arbitrary commands: and this is commonly practised by his Majesty, and on his part, and therefore there was little reason to charge the parliament with so necessary and moderate a contribution as the twentieth part.

It is declared, "That the King expects to be kept from tumults and affronts." Upon which, I am commanded to observe, that his Majesty's expressions, in his answer, tend to the making of a division in this city, and to the raising of a party, which may make some disturbance in that orderly government, which is now established: both which will certainly prove equally destructive to him and both houses of parliament, and more prejudicial to his quiet abode here, than any thing that hath ever been acted by the houses of parliament, or the present governors of the city.

They observe further, that in this answer, "His Majesty doth profess, that he will seize upon the estates of those that shall contribute any thing towards the maintenance of the parliament's army, and will put them out of his protection; and by his ministers in foreign states, will take such course, that they may be proceeded against as enemies; that is, destroyed and spoiled." To which the lords and commons do declare, that this is an excess of rigour and injustice beyond all example, that particular men should lose their private estates here, without law, or judicial proceeding; and that our Prince, who owes protection to the kingdom, as well as to particular persons, should suffer the wealth thereof to be robbed and spoiled by foreign states: upon due consideration whereof, they hope his Majesty will be induced, by better counsel, to forbear the execution, than that, by which he hath been persuaded to publish such a resolution.

Besides these observations, out of the answer, I am to observe one out of a narrative that was received from the common-council, that the King did declare, "That he would send some messengers here, to observe your carriage in the city, and what was done amongst you:" the parliament have just cause to doubt, that these will be messengers of sedition and trouble, and therefore desire you to observe them and find them out, and that they may know, who they are.

I am, for a conclusion, to commend to your considerations, that you see by the proceedings to which the King is drawn by the ill council now about him, that religion, the whole kingdom, this glorious city, and the parliament, are all in great danger; and that this danger cannot be kept off in all likelihood, but by the army, that is now a-foot: and that the lords and commons are so far from being frightened by any thing, that is in this answer, that they have for themselves, and the members of both houses, declared a further contribution towards the maintenance of this army; and cannot but hope and desire, that you that have shewed so much good affection in the former necessities of the state, will be sensible of your own, and of the condition of the whole kingdom; and add to that, which you have already done, some further contribution, whereby this army may be maintained for all your safeties.

At the end of every period of this speech, the applause was so great, that he was fain to rest, till silence was again made; and at last, (the company ready to be dissolved,) after some pause and consultation with the committees of lords and commons, then present, and by their direction, silence being made, he closed all with the words following:

Worthy citizens, you have understood the sense of both houses of parliament, concerning my lord-mayor here, and those worthy members of your city, that are demanded; you have heard the parliament declare, that they will protect them in that which they have done by direction of both houses; and they expect, that you should express it yourselves likewise, that if any violence be offered to them, you will secure and defend

‘ them with your uttermost force ; and you shall always find, that this protection of the
‘ parliament shall not only extend to these, but to all others that have done any thing by
‘ their command.’

Which words were no sooner uttered, but the citizens, with one joint harmony of minds and voices, gave such an acclamation, as would have drowned all the former, if they had been then breathing ; which, after a long continuance, resolved itself into this more articulate and distinct voice, ‘ We will live and die with them ; We will live and die
‘ with them ;’ and the like.

So that in the managing of this day’s work, God was so pleased to manifest himself, that the well-affected went away not strengthened only, but rejoicing ; but the Malig-nants, as they have been called, some convinced, others silenced, many ashamed ; it fully appearing how little power they had to answer their desires of doing mischief ; whilst instead of dividing the city, they were exceedingly united ; instead of a dissipa-tion, thousands were unexpectedly brought, as it were, into an unthought-of association, to live and die in the defence of those zealous and honourable assertors of the peace and liberties : all which we may sum up in that triumph of the man of God, ‘ In the thing
‘ wherein they dealt proudly, God was above them.’

The Negotiations of Thomas Wolsey, the great Cardinal of England ; containing his Life and Death ; viz.

- I. The Original of his Promotion.
- II. The Continuance in his Magnificence.
- III. His Fall, Death, and Burial.

Composed by (Mr. Cavendish) one of his own Servants, be-
ing his Gentleman-Usher.

London, printed by William Sheers, 1641.¹

[Quarto ; containing one-hundred twenty-six pages.]

IT seemeth no wisdom to credit every light tale, blazed abroad in the mouths of vul-gars ; for we daily hear, how, with their blasphemous trump, they spread abroad innume-rable lies, without either shame or honesty, which, *primâ facie*, shew forth a visage of truth, as though it were an absolute verity, though indeed nothing less ; and, amongst the better sort, those babblings are of no validity.

¹ [Sir William Cavendish, the author of these Memoirs, a great favourite and privy-counsellor of three different princes, was the second son of Thomas Cavendish, clerk of the pipe in the reign of Henry VIII. and was born about the year 1505. Having received a liberal education, he was admitted into the splendid establishment of Cardinal Wolsey, who took him early into his confidence, and shewed him very particular marks of kindness and respect. Mr. Cavendish proved grateful ; being one of the few who adhered to him after his fall, when he had neither office nor salary to bestow. This singular fidelity, joined to his abilities, recommended him to his Sovereign, who took him into his own service. In 1540, he was appointed one of the auditors of the court of Augmentation, and six years after treasurer of the chamber ; had the honour of knight-

I have read the allegations of divers worthy authors against such false rumours and opinions of the common people, who delight in nothing more, than to hear strange things, and to see new alterations of authority; rejoicing sometimes in such novelties, which afterwards do produce repentance. Thus, may all men of understanding conceive the madness of the rude multitude, and not give too much credence to every sudden rumour, until the truth be perfectly known, by the report of some approved and credible persons, that commonly have the best intelligence.

I have heard, and also seen set forth in divers printed books, some untrue imaginations, after the death of divers persons, who in their lives were in great estimation; invented rather to bring their honest names in question than otherwise.

Now, forasmuch as I intend to write here some special proceedings of Cardinal Wolsey, the great Archbishop, his ascending unto honour and great promotion, his con-

hood conferred on him, and was sworn of the privy-council. He continued to enjoy these honours during the reign of Edward VI; nor does it appear that he was less in credit or favour with queen Mary, under whose reign he died in the year 1557. He appears from his writings to have been a man of great honour and integrity, a good subject to his prince, a true lover of his country, and one who preserved, to the last, a very high reverence and esteem for his old master, and first patron, Cardinal Wolsey; as is fully evident from the work now before us.—See further in Kennett's *Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish*, and Dr. Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*.

The original MS. of the *Life of Wolsey* was some years ago in the hands of the Duke of Kingston: supposed to be given by the author to his daughter, who married into that family. A very fair manuscript copy is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, thus entered in the catalogue. N^o. 428. 'A book in folio bought of Mr. Strype. A discourse of the lyffe and deathe of Cardynalle Woolsey, written by Mr. George Cavendish in the reign of K. Philipp and Q. Mary.—This antient copy agrees with what John Stowe had borrowed from this author; which makes the best part of the account he gives of that great prelate; and it is much more large and correct than the printed editions.' Of this MS. Mr. Strype writes thus, in his *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 128: 'An ancient MS. of this life, which seemed to be original, I once bought of Mr. Woodward; which I afterwards parted with to Secretary Harley, afterwards lord-high-treasurer and earl of Oxford and Mortimer.' Many other manuscript copies of Cavendish's *Memoir* exist, of which there are two in the Bodleian library, one in the public library at Cambridge, one in the College of Arms, and several in private libraries. It is remarkable, that nearly all the manuscript copies are mistaken in the Christian name of our author; William, and not George, being the writer of these *Memoirs*.

It is much to be doubted whether there was any earlier printed edition than the present: Bishop Nicholson mentions one so early as 1590, but this was probably a mistake; no such edition being known to exist. The edition here reprinted, has escaped the observation of Collins, in his account of Sir W. C. in the 'Noble Families,' and of Dr. Campbell in the *Biographia Britannica*. The first impression, there registered, is that of 1667; which was printed with all the errors and inaccuracies of the former, and with the following title: 'The life and death of Thomas Woolsey, Cardinal, once archbishop of York, and lord-chancellor of England; containing, I. The origin of his promotion, and the way he took to obtain it. II. The continuance of his magnificence. III. His negotiations concerning the peace with France and the Netherlands. IV. His fall, death and buriall: Wherein are many things remarkable for those times. Written by one of his own servants, being his gentleman-usher. London; printed for Dorcas Newman,' &c. 12mo. An epistle dedicatory, probably by the publisher, to Henry, marquis of Dorchester, has these remarks: 'Great men are set in the world like diamonds in a ring, and the first thing the vulgar look at, is to observe their flaws; which made them think the Cardinal's prosperity might have been more than double, had it been more moderate: but, rickets-like, growing too big in the head, it enfeebled its supporters; yet not so much as to make his magnificence or memory to be forgotten. May it therefore please your Honour to countenance this *new edition*, since the old one hath survived his greatest enemies, and now hath expired, phoenix-like, to give place to this.'

This book was reprinted again *anno* 1706, with another title, viz. 'Memoirs of the great favourite Cardinal Wolsey: with remarks on his rise and fall, and other secret transactions of his ministry. Together with a memorial presented to queen Elizabeth by Will. Cecil lord Burghley, to prevent her Majesty's being engrossed by any particular favourite.' But this, Mr. Strype has proved, could not be the production of lord Burleigh. See *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 128.

Bishop Nicholson makes the following honourable mention of this work: 'The figure that Cardinal Wolsey made in the reign of Henry VIII. (says he) very justly challenged the pains of a special historian: such was Cavendish, his menial servant, who was also in good favour with the King. He has left us an impartial account of his master's life, which has gone through several editions.'—To this may be added, the observation of Dr. Samuel Pegge; that though Cavendish was liable to the same errors as other biographers, in such incidents as he was not actually privy too; and consequently has been contradicted upon some points; 'yet in those matters where he was personally present, there is no room to suspect his fidelity; for in them he is a most competent witness, very fair, and very impartial.' *Gent. Mag.* Jan. 1755.]

tinuance in it, and sudden falling from the same : a great part thereof shall be of mine own knowledge, and some part from credible persons' informations.

This Cardinal was my lord and master, whom, in his life-time, I served ; and so remained with him in his fall continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the south and north parts, until he died. In all which time, I punctually observed all his demeanours, as also in his great triumph and glorious estate.

And, since his departure, I have heard divers surmised and imagined tales concerning his proceedings and dealings, which I myself have certainly known to be most untrue ; unto which I could have sufficiently answered according to truth. But conceiving it to be much better to be silent, than to reply against their untruths, whereby I might, perhaps, have rather kindled a great flame of displeasure, than have quenched one spark of their untrue reports ; therefore I did refer the truth thereof to the Almighty, who knows the truth of all things.

Nevertheless, whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or since his death ; thus much, I dare say, without offence to any, that, in my judgment, I never saw this realm in better obedience, and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority, nor justice better administered, without partiality ; as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much affection.

I will therefore here desist to speak any further, by the way of apology ; and proceed. Now to speak of his original, and ascending (through fortune's favour) to high dignity and abundance of wealth.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

WHO pleaseth to read this history advisedly, may well perceive the mutability of honour, the tottering state of earthly dignity, the deceit of flattering friends, and the instability of princes' favours.

This great Cardinal having experience of all this ; witness his fleeting from honour, the loss of friends, riches and dignities, being forgotten of his prince, whilst fortune smiled, having satiety of all these ; and she, bending her brow, deprived him of all terrestrial joys, who, by twenty years study and pains, had obtained so great wealth and dignity ; and, in less than one year, lost all.

And thus was his honour laid in the dust.

CHAP. I.

Of the Cardinal, his Original, and who he was.

TRUTH it is, Cardinal Wolsey was an honest poor man's son in the town of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, and there born² ; who being but a child, was very apt to learn : wherefore, by means of his parents, and other his good friends, he was maintained at the university of Oxford ; where, in a short time, he prospered so well, that in a small time (as he told me with his own mouth) he was made bachelor of arts, when he was but fifteen³ years of age ; and was most commonly called the Boy-bachelor. Thus, prospering in learning, he was made fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford : after that, he was made master of Magdalen-school ; at which time were the lord-marquis of Dorset's sons there at school, committing unto him as well their education as their instructions and learning.

It pleased this lord-marquis, against Christmas⁴, to send as well for the Schoolmaster as for the scholars home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honourable forest⁵. They being a while there, the lord-marquis their father perceiving them to be

² [Anno 1471.]

³ [Fiddes says *fourteen*.]

⁴ [1500.]

⁵ [A misprint for *feast*.]

well improved in learning for the time; he was so well contented, that he, having a benefice in his gift⁶, being at that present void, gave the School-master the same, in regard of his diligence. After Christmas, at his departure to the university, he having the presentation thereof, repaired to the ordinary for his institution; and, being then furnished with all his instruments, at the ordinary's hands, for his preferment; made haste, without any further delay, to his benefice, to take possession thereof. Now you shall understand, that the School-master had not been long there, but one sir James⁷ Pawlet, knt. dwelling in the country thereabouts, took an occasion of displeasure against him, (but upon what ground I know not⁸), insomuch, that sir James was so bold as to set the School-master by the heels during his displeasure; which affront was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven: for, when the School-master mounted so high as to be lord-chancellor of England, he was not forgetful of his old displeasure most cruelly ministered unto him by sir James; but sent for him, and after a very sharp reproof, enjoined him not to depart out of London, without licence first obtained: so that he continued in the Middle-Temple the space of five or six years, and afterwards lay in the Gatehouse next the stairs, which he re-edified, and sumptuously beautified the same all over on the outside, with the cardinal's arms, his hat, his cognisance and badges, with other devices, in so glorious a manner, as he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

This may be a good precedent for men in authority, which work their own wills without wit, to remember that greatness may decay: and those, whom they do punish more of humour than justice, may afterwards be advanced to great honour, as this Cardinal was; and they abased as low as this sir James was, which seek revenge. Who would have thought, when sir James Pawlet punished this poor School-master, that ever he should have mounted to so great dignity as to be chancellor of England, considering his mean parentage and friends? These be the wonderful works of God's Providence. And I would wish, that all men in authority would fear God, in all ages, in the time of their triumph and greatness; considering, that advancement and authority are not permanent, but many times slide and vanish suddenly away, as princes' pleasures alter and change; or, as all living creatures must, of necessity, pay the debt due to nature, which no earthly creature can resist.

Shortly after, it chanced the said lord-marquis died⁹; after whose decease, the School-master thinking himself but a weak-beneficed man, and that he had left his fellowship in the college; (for, as I understand, if a fellow of that house be once promoted to a benefice, he shall, by the rules of the same house, be dismissed of his fellowship;) and now, being also destitute of his singular good lord, as well as of his fellowship, which was most of his relief, thought long to be provided of some other help, to defend him from all such storms as he might meet with. In his travel thereabouts, he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient knight¹⁰, who had a great place in Calais, under king Henry the Seventh. This knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, that he obtained the special favour of his said master; insomuch, that for his wit and gravity, he committed all the care and charge of his said office to his said Chaplain. And, as I understand, his office was the treasurership of Calais, who, in regard of his great age, shortly after was discharged of his said office, and so returned into England, intending to live a more private life; but, through his instant labour and good favour, his Chaplain was preferred to be the King's chaplain. And, when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he then bestirred himself, I shall now declare.

⁶ [Lymington, in Somersetshire.]

⁷ [Read *Amias*.]

⁸ [There is a traditionary report, that Wolsey being at a fair in the neighbourhood of Lymington, drank to such an excess as to occasion some disorder; which Sir Amias Paulet, as justice of the peace, thought fit to punish by committing the offender to the stocks.]

⁹ [September 1501.]

¹⁰ [Sir John Nafant, a gentleman of Worcestershire, who is said to have brought Wolsey to court, hoping that if he became a favourite, he might counterbalance the credit of the prodigal earl of Surrey.—Burnet, Fiddes.]

He having, then, just occasion to be daily in sight of the King in his closet, (not spending the rest of the day in idleness,) would attend those men, whom he thought to bear most rule in the council, and were most in favour with the King; which, at that time, was Dr. Fox, bishop of Winchester, and lord privy-seal; and also sir Thomas Lovell¹¹, knight, a very sage and wise counsellor, being master of the Wards and constable of the Tower.

These ancient and grave counsellors, in process of time, perceiving this Chaplain to be a man of a very acute wit, thought him a meet instrument to be employed in greater affairs.

Not long after, it happened that the King had an urgent occasion¹², to send an ambassador to Maximilian the emperor; who lay, at that present, in the Low-countries, at Flanders, and not far from Calais.

Now the bishop of Winchester and sir Thomas Lovell, whom the King most esteemed, as the chiefest of his council, one day, advising and debating with themselves upon this ambassage; and, by this time, they saw they had a convenient occasion to prefer the King's Chaplain, whose excellent eloquence, and learning¹³, they highly commended unto the King's Highness; who giving ear unto them, and being a prince of an excellent judgment and modesty, he commanded them to bring his Chaplain, whom they so commended, before his Grace; and being come, his Majesty, to prove his ability, entered into discourse with him, concerning matters of state, whereby, the King had so well informed himself, that he found him to be a man of a sharp wit, and of such excellent parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in trust with matters of greater consequence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Cardinal's speedy Dispatch, in his first Ambassage to the Emperor Maximilian.

THE King, being now resolved to employ him in this ambassage, commanded him, thereupon, to prepare himself for his journey; and, for his dispatch, wished him to repair to his Grace, and his council, of whom he should receive his commission and instruction. By means whereof, he had then a fit occasion to repair, from time to time, into the King's presence; who had, thereby, daily experience of his singular wisdom, and sound judgment. Thus having his dispatch, he took his leave of the King at Richmond, about four o'clock in the afternoon, where he launcheth forth in a Gravesend barge, with a prosperous wind and tide; and his happy speed was such, that he arrived at Gravesend in little more than three hours, where he tarried no longer, than the post-horses were provided; and he travelled so speedily, that he came to Dover the next morning, where the passengers were under sail to pass to Calais; so that, long before noon, he arrived there, and having post-horses prepared, departed from thence, without tarrying, making such hasty speed, that he was, that night, with the emperor; who, understanding of the arrival of the King of England's Ambassador, would, in no wise, delay time, but sent for him incontinently: for his affection to the King of England was such, that he was glad of any opportunity to do him a courtesy.

The Ambassador declares the sum of his embassy unto the Emperor, of whom he craved speedy expedition, which was granted him; so that, the next day, he was clearly dispatched, and all the King's requests fully accomplished and granted. At which time,

¹¹ [Chancellor of the exchequer, treasurer of the household, and president of the council.]

¹² [The intended treaty of marriage between Henry VII. and the duchess-dowager of Savoy.]

¹³ [Eloquence constituted a part of the Cardinal's real character. Thus Shakspeare's Henry VIII.

‘ ———— This Cardinal,—

‘ Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading.’

In the charges exhibited against him, it was alleged that at the privy-council ‘ he would have all the words to ‘ himself, and consumed much time with a fair tale.’ See 4 Inst. 91.]

he made no further stay, but took post-horses that night, and rode, without intermission, to Calais; being conducted thither by divers nobles, appointed by the Emperor: and at the opening of the gates of Calais, he came thither, where the passengers were ready to return for England; insomuch, that he arrived at Dover between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

And, having post-horses in readiness, he came to the court at Richmond that same night; where, taking his repose until morning, he presented himself unto his Majesty, at his first coming out of his bed-chamber to his closet, to mass; whom, when he saw, he checked, for that he was not on his journey.

"Sir, (quoth he,) if it may please your Highness, I have already been with the Emperor, and dispatched your affairs, I trust, to your Grace's contentation:" and, thereupon, presented the King with his letters of credence from the Emperor. The King, wondering at his speedy return, he being so well furnished with all his proceedings; for the present, dissembled his admiration and imagination in that matter, and demanding of him, whether he encountered with his pursuivant, which he sent unto him with letters, (imagining him to be scarce out of London,) which concerned very material passages, which were omitted in their consultation; which the King earnestly desired should have been dispatched in his ambassage.

"Yes, forsooth, (quoth he,) I met with him yesterday, by the way; and though I had no knowledge thereof, yet, notwithstanding, I have been so bold, upon my own discretion, perceiving the matter to be very necessary in that behalf, that I dispatched the same. And, forasmuch as I have been so bold to exceed my commission, I most humbly crave your royal remission and pardon."

The King, inwardly rejoicing, replied, "We do not only pardon you, but give you our princely thanks, both for your good exploit, and happy expedition:" and dismissed him for that present, and bade him return to him again after dinner, for a further relation of his ambassage; and so the King went to mass.

It is not to be doubted, but this Ambassador had, all this while, visited his great friends, the bishop of Winchester and sir Thomas Lovell, to whom he had declared the effect of his ambassage; and, also, his Majesty's commendations of him did not a little rejoice the worthy counsellors, forasmuch as he was of their preferment: and, shortly after, the King gave him, for his diligent service, the deanery of Lincoln¹⁴, which was, in those days, one of the greatest promotions, that he gave, under the degree of a bishop; and he grew more and more in estimation and authority, and was, afterwards, promoted to be almoner.

Now, not long after, when death, that favoureth no estates, nor king, nor emperor, had taken away the wise king Henry the Seventh out of this present life, it was a wonder to see, what practices and devices were then used about the young prince, Henry the Eighth; the great provision, that was then made, for the funeral of the one, and for the coronation of the other, by the now queen Catharine, and mother, after the Queen's Highness that now is, whose virtuous life Jesu long preserve!

After the solemnizations, and costly triumphs; our natural, young, courageous, lusty prince, and sovereign, lord king Henry the Eighth, (entering into his flower, and lusty youth,) took upon him the royal sceptre, and imperial diadem of this fertile nation, the twenty-second of April, *anno Dom.* 1509; which, at that time, flourished with all abundance of riches, wherewith the King was most inestimably furnished, called then 'the Golden World.'

Now, shortly after, the Almoner, seeing he had a plain path-way to promotion, behaved himself so politicly, that he was made one of the King's privy-council, and increased in favour daily; to whom he gave a house, at Bridewell, near Fleet-street¹⁵, where he kept his house for his family; and so he daily attended upon the King, being in special favour.

¹⁴ [February 1508.]

¹⁵ [This house was formerly sir Richard Empsom's, and was no inconsiderable present, since the patent mentions thirteen gardens belonging to it. See the Collection of Public Acts, xiii. p. 267, 269.]

His sentences in the Star-chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that upon all occasions, they assigned him, for the fluent eloquence of his tongue, to be the expositor to the King in all their proceedings; in whom the King received so great content, that he called him still nearer to his person; and the rather, because he was most ready to advance the King's own will and pleasure, having no respect to the case.

Now the King being young, and much given to his pleasure, his old counsellors advised him to have recourse, sometimes, to the council, about his weighty affairs; but the Almoner, on the contrary, persuaded him to mind his pleasure, and he would take his care and charge upon himself, if his Majesty would countenance him with his authority; which the King liked well: and thus none was, like to the Almoner, in favour with the King.

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's Invading France, in his own Person, with the Cardinal's Assistance.

THUS the Almoner continuing in high favour, till, at last, many presents, gifts, and rewards came in so plentifully, that, I dare say, he wanted nothing; for he had all things in abundance, that might either please his fancy, or enrich his coffers; for the times so favourably smiled upon him, but to what end, you shall hereafter hear. Therefore, let all men, to whom fortune extendeth her favour and grace, take heed, they trust not her subtle and fair promises; for, under colour thereof, she carrieth an envious gall; for, when she seeth her servant in highest authority, she turneth her favour and pleasant countenance into frowns.

This Almoner climbed up fortune's wheel, so that no man was in estimation with the King, but only he, for his witty qualities and wisdom.

He had an especial gift of natural eloquence, and a filed tongue to pronounce the same; so that he was able, therewith, to persuade and allure all men to his purposes, in the time of his continuance in fortune's favour.

In the fifth year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, it chanced, that the realms of England and France were at variance; but upon what ground, or occasion, I know not; insomuch that the King was fully resolved, in his own person, to invade France with a puissant army. It was, therefore, thought very necessary, that his royal enterprises should be speedily provided; and furnished, in every degree, in things apt and convenient for the same. For expedition thereof, the King thought no man's wit so meet for policy, and painful travel, as the Almoner, to whom he committed his whole affiance and trust therein: and he being nothing scrupulous, in any thing that the King would command, although it seemed very difficult; took upon him the whole charge of the business; and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good effect, in direct order, for all manner of victuals and provisions, convenient for so noble a voyage and army.

All things being thus prepared, by him, in order; the King, not intending to neglect, or delay any time, but with noble and valiant courage, to advance his royal enterprise, passed the seas between Dover and Calais, where he prosperously arrived¹⁷. And, after he had there made his arrival, and landed all his provision, and ammunition, and sat in consultation about his weighty affairs, marched forth, in good order of battle, till he came to the strong town of Turwine, to the which he laid strong siege, and made a sharp assault, so that, in short space, it was yielded unto him; unto which place, the emperor Maximilian resorted to him with a great army, like a mighty prince; taking of the King wages¹⁸.

Thus, after the King had taken this strong town, and taken possession thereof, and set all things in good order, for the defence and preservation thereof, to his Majesty's use; then he retired from thence, and marched towards Tournay, and there laid siege in like manner; to which he gave so fierce assault, that the enemies were constrained to render the town to

¹⁶ [A. D. 1513.]
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¹⁷ [June, 1513.]

¹⁸ [viz. 100 crowns a day.]

his Majesty. At which time, the King gave unto the Almoner the bishoprick of the same see¹⁹, towards his pains and diligence sustained in that journey. And when he had established all things, according to his princely mind and pleasure; and furnished the same with men, and captains of war, for the safeguard of the town; he prepared for his return to England.

But now you shall understand, by the way, that whilst the King was absent with a great power in France, the Scottish king invaded England, against whom the queen sent a great army, the earl of Surrey being general, where he overthrew the Scots at Blamston, called Hoddenfield²⁰; where the king of Scots was slain, with divers of his nobility, and eighteen-thousand men, and they took all his ammunition for war.

By this time, the King returned into England, and took with him divers noble personages of France, being prisoners; as the duke of Longuido, viscount Clermont, with divers others, that were taken in a skirmish.

And, thus, God gave him victory at home, and victory abroad, being in the fifth year of his reign, *anno Dom.* 1513.

CHAP. IV.

The King's Promoting his Almoner; being made Cardinal, and Lord-Chancellor of England.

THE King being returned into England, the see of Lincoln became void by the death of Dr. Smith, late bishop there; which bishoprick the King gave to the Almoner-elect of Tournay²¹, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, but made all speed for his consecration. The solemnization thereof being ended, he found a way to get into his hands all his predecessor's goods; whereof I have seen divers parts that furnished his house.

It was not long after, but Dr. Bambridge²², archbishop of York, died at Rohan in France, being there the King's ambassador: unto which see the King presented the last new Bishop of Lincoln; so that he had three bishopricks in his hands at one time, all in one year given him. Then prepared he again for his translation from the see of Lincoln, to that of York, as he did before to his installation.

After which solemnization done, and being then archbishop, and *primas Angliæ*, thought himself sufficient to compare with that of Canterbury; and did thereupon advance his crosses in the courts, and every other place, as well in the precinct and jurisdiction of Canterbury, as any other place: and, forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth a superiority over York, as well as over any other bishoprick within England, and for that cause, claimeth an acknowledgment, as in ancient obedience of York, to abate advancement of his crosses, to the crosses of Canterbury. Notwithstanding, York not desisting to bear the same, although Canterbury gave York a check for the same, and told him, it was presumption; by reason whereof, there ingendered some grudge between them. But shortly after, he obtained to be made Cardinal²³ and *legatus de latere*; unto whom the pope sent the cardinal's cap, and certain bulls, for his authority in that behalf; whereupon he was installed at Westminster in great triumph, which was executed by all bishops with their mitres, caps, and other ornaments; and, after all this, he was made chancellor of England, and Canterbury, who was the chancellor, was dismissed.

Now, he being in the chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of Archbishop and Cardinal *de latere*, thought himself so fully furnished, that he was now able to surmount Canterbury in all jurisdictions; and, in all ecclesiastical powers, to convocate Canterbury, and all other bishops, and spiritual persons, to assemble at his convocations; where he would assign to take upon him the convention of all ministers, and others within their

¹⁹ [See Act. Pub. xiii. 584.]

²⁰ [Or Flodden-field.]

²¹ [See Act. Pub. xiii. 390, 394.]

²² [Or Bainbridge. He was poisoned by Rinaldo de Modena his chaplain, to revenge a blow given him by his master. Stow, p. 496.]

²³ [Sept. 1515.]

jurisdictions, and visited all the spiritual houses in their diocess, and all manner of spiritual ministers; as commissioners, scribes, apparitors, and all other necessary officers to furnish his courts: and did convene, by convention, whom he pleased through this realm and dominion, and all other persons, to the glory of his dignity. Then he had two great crosses of silver (whereof one was of his archbishoprick, and the other of his legateship) borne before him wheresoever he rode, or went, by two of the tallest priests that he could get in this realm²⁴.

And, to the increase of his gain, he had in his hand the bishoprick of Durham, and St. Albans, *in commendam*: also when Dr. Fox, bishop of Winchester, died; he did surrender Durham to the King, and took himself to Winchester. He had also, as it were in farm, the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford; for the incumbents of them were strangers²⁵. He had also, attending upon him, men of great possessions, and the tallest yeomen, for his guard, in the realm.

CHAP. V.

Of the Orders and Offices of his House and Chapel.

AND first, for his house, you shall understand, that he had in his hall three boards, kept with three several officers: that is to say, a steward, that was always a priest; a treasurer, that was ever a knight; and a comptroller, that was an esquire; also a confessor, a doctor, three marshals, three ushers in the hall, besides two almoners and grooms.

Then had he in the hall-kitchen two clerks, a clerk-comptroller, and a surveyor over the dresser, with a clerk in the spicery, which kept continually a mess together in the hall; also he had in the kitchen two cooks, labourers, and children, twelve persons; four men of the scullery, two yeomen of the pastry, with two other paste-layers under the yeomen.

Then had he in his kitchen a master-cook, who went daily in velvet or satin, with a gold chain; besides two other cooks, and six labourers in the same room. In the larder, one yeoman and a groom; in the scullery, one yeoman and two grooms; in the buttery, two yeomen and two grooms; in the ewry, so many; in the cellar, three yeomen and three pages; in the chandery, two yeomen; in the wayfary, two yeomen; in the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe, and twenty persons besides; in the laundry, a yeoman, groom, and thirteen pages, two yeomen-purveyors, and a groom-purveyor; in the bake-house, two yeomen and grooms; in the wood-yard, one yeoman and a groom; in the barn, one yeoman; porters at the gate, two yeomen and two grooms; a yeoman in his barge, and a master of his horse; a clerk of the stables, and a yeoman of the same; a farrier, and a yeoman of the stirrup; a maltlour and sixteen grooms, every one of them keeping four geldings.

Now will I declare unto you the officers of his chapel, and singing-men of the same. First, he had there a dean, a great divine, and a man of excellent learning; and a sub-dean, a repeater of the choir, a gospeller, an epistler of the singing-priests, and a master of the children. In the vestry, a yeoman, and two grooms; besides other retainers that came thither at principal feasts.

And, for the furniture of his chapel, it passeth my weak capacity to declare the number

²⁴ [This peculiar piece of ostentation did not pass unnoticed in Roy's nervous satire on Wolsey, which it is the intention of the Editor to reprint in his supplemental volumes:

Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they beare two crosses right longe,
Gapinge in every man's face:
After them folowe two lay-men secular,
And each of them holdinge a pillar
In their hondes, instead of a mace.

At the end of Fiddes' Life of Cardinal Wolsey, is a curious letter of Mr. Anstis's on the subject of the two silver pillars usually borne before Cardinal Wolsey.]

²⁵ [The incumbents were Italians residing at Rome.]

of the costly ornaments and rich jewels that were occupied in the same; for I have seen, in procession about the hall, forty-four rich copes of one settle worn, besides the rich candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same.

Now you shall understand, that he had two cross-bearers, and two pillar-bearers, in his great-chamber; and in his privy-chamber, all these persons, the chief-chamberlain, a vice-chamberlain, a gentleman-usher, besides one of his privy-chamber; he had also twelve waiters, and six gentlemen-waiters; also he had nine or ten lords, who had each of them two or three men to wait upon him, except the earl of Derby, who had five men.

Then he had gentlemen cup-bears, and carvers; and of the sewers, both of the great-chamber, and of the privy-chamber, forty persons; six yeomen-ushers, eight grooms of his chamber; also he had of alms, who were daily waiters of his board at dinner, twelve doctors and chaplains, besides them of his, which I never rehearsed; a clerk of his closet, and two secretaries, and two clerks of his signet; four counsellors, learned in the law.

And, for that he was Chancellor of England, it was necessary to have officers of the chancery to attend him, for the better furniture of the same.

First, he had a riding-clerk, a clerk of the crown, a clerk of the hamper, and a chafer; then he had a clerk of the check, as well upon the chaplains, as upon the yeomen of the chamber; he had also four footmen, garnished with rich running-coats, whensoever he had any journey. Then he had a herald of arms, a serjeant of arms, a physician, an apothecary, four minstrels, a keeper of his tents, an armourer, and instructor of his wards, an instructor of his wardrobe of robes, a keeper of his chamber continually; he had also in his house a surveyor of York, a clerk of the Green-cloth. All these were daily attending, downlying and uprising. And at meat, he had eight continual boards for the chamberlains, and gentlemen-officers; having a mess of young lords, and another of gentlemen: besides this, there was never a gentleman, or officer, or other worthy person, but he kept some two, some three persons to wait upon them; and all others, at the least, had one, which did amount to a great number of persons.

Now, having declared the order according to the chain-roll, use of his house, and what officers he had daily attending to furnish the same, besides retainers, and other persons, being suitors, dined in the hall: and, when shall we see any more such subjects that shall keep such a noble house? Therefore here is an end of his household: the number of persons in the chain were eight-hundred persons²⁶.

CHAP. VI.

Of his second Ambassage to the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

AFTER he was thus furnished, in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice on ambassage to the emperor Charles the Fifth, that now reigneth; and father to king Philip, now our lord and sovereign. Forasmuch as the old emperor Maximilian was dead, and, for divers other urgent occasions, touching his Majesty; it was thought fit that about such weighty matters, and to so noble a prince, the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on this ambassage; and he, being one ready to take the charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every respect most like a great prince, which was much to the

²⁶ [The persons who procured the publication of this work, seem to have been little solicitous about the means they employed, if they could but obtain their end, which was that of rendering] archbishop Laud odious, by shewing how far church-power had been extended by Wolsey, and how dangerous that prelate was, who, in the opinion of many, followed his example. Among many other unwarrantable sophistications, they took care that the number 'of troops who waited on Wolsey's smiles' should be sufficiently magnified, and instead of *one-hundred and eighty*, which was the real number of his household, they printed *eight-hundred*. This appears from two MSS. of this work in the Museum; MSS. Harl. N^o. 428; and MSS. Birch. 4233. In another manuscript copy in the public library at Cambridge, the number of the Cardinal's household, by the addition of a cypher, is made 1800.]

honour of his Majesty, and of this realm. For, first, he proceeded forth like to a cardinal, having all things correspondent; his gentlemen, being very many in number, were clothed in livery-coats of crimson velvet of the best, and chains of gold about their necks; and his yeomen, and all his mean officers, were clad in fine scarlet, guarded with black velvet one hand-breath. Thus furnished, he was twice sent in this manner to the emperor in Flanders, then lying at Bruges, whom he did most nobly entertain; discharging all his own charges, and his men's. There was no house in the town of Bruges, wherein any of my Lord's gentlemen were lodged or had recourse, but that the owners of the houses were commanded by the emperor's officers, upon the pain of their lives, to take no money for any thing that the Cardinal's men did take of any kind of victuals; no, although they were disposed to make costly banquets; further commanding their said hosts, that they should want nothing which they honestly required, or desired to have.

Also the emperor's officers every night went through the town from house to house, where any Englishman had recourse, or lodged, and served their livery for all night, which was done on this manner. First, the officers brought into the house a casteel of fine manchet, then two silver pots of wine, and a pound of sugar, white lights, and yellow lights, a bowl of silver, and a goblet to drink in, and every night a staff-torch. This was the order of their livery every night; and then, in the morning, when the officers came to fetch away their stuff, they would account for the gentlemen's costs the day before.

Thus the emperor entertained the Cardinal and his train, during the time of his embassy. And, that done, he returned into England with great triumph, being no less in estimation with the King than he was before, but rather much more; for he increased daily in the King's favour, by reason of his wit and readiness to do the King pleasure in all things.

In the one-and-twentieth year of king Henry the Eighth's reign, *anno Dñm.* 1529, this emperor Charles the Fifth came into England, who was nobly entertained.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Manner of his going to Westminster-Hall.

NOW must I declare the manner of his going to Westminster-hall in the term-time. First, when he came out of his privy-chamber, he most commonly heard two masses in his chapel or chamber. And I heard one of his chaplains say since, (that was a man of credit, and excellent learning,) that what business soever the Cardinal had in the day-time, he never went to bed with any part of his service unsaid; no, not so much as one collect: in which, I think, he deceived many a man. Then, going into his chamber again, he demanded of some of his servants, if they were in readiness, and had furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting-chamber? He, being then advertised, came out of his privy-chamber about eight of the clock, ready apparelled, and in red, like a cardinal; his upper vesture was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffata, or crimson satin ingrained; his pillion scarlet, with a black velvet tippet of sables about his neck; holding in his hand an orange, the meat or substance thereof being taken out, and filled again with a part of sponge, with vinegar, and other confections against pestilent airs; the which he most commonly held to his nose, when he came to the presses, or when he was pestered with many suitors. And before him was borne the broad-seal of England, and the cardinal's hat, by some lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnly. And, as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, (where there were daily attending on him as well noblemen of this realm, as other worthy gentlemen of his own family,) his two great crosses were there attending upon him; then cry the gentlemen-ushers that go before him bare-headed: "On, masters, before, and make room for my lord." Thus, when he went down into the hall with a serjeant of arms before him, bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying two great plates of silver; and, when he came to the hall-door, there his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same.

Then were attending him, when he was mounted, his two cross-bearers, and his two pillar-bearers, all upon great horses, and in fine scarlet; then he marched on with a train of gentry, having four footmen about him, bearing every one of them a pole-ax in his hand. And thus passed he forth, till he came to Westminster; and there alighted and went in this manner up to the chancery, and staid a while at a bar, made for him beneath the chancery; and there he communed sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons, and then went up to the chancery, and sat there till eleven of the clock to hear suits, and to determine causes; and from thence he would go into the Star-chamber, as occasion served him: he neither spared high nor low, but did judge every one according to right.

Every Sunday he would resort to the court, being then at Greenwich, with his former rehearsed train and triumph; taking his barge at his own stairs, furnished with yeomen standing upon the sails, and his gentlemen within and about, and landed at the 'Three Cranes' in the Vine-tree; and from thence he rode upon his mule with his crosses, his pillars, his hat, and his broad seal carried before him on horseback along Thames-street until he came to Billingsgate; and there he took his barge, and so went to Greenwich; where he was nobly entertained by the lords in the King's house, being there with staves in their hands, (as the treasurer, comptroller, with many others,) and conveyed into the King's chamber; and so went home again in the like triumph²⁷.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's Magnificence in his Houses.

HE lived a long season ruling all things in this realm, appertaining to the King, by his wisdom; and all other matters of foreign regions, with whom the King had any occasion to meddle. All ambassadors of foreign potentates were ever disposed by the Cardinal's wisdom, to whom they had continual access for their dispatch.

His house was always resorted unto like a king's house, with noblemen and gentlemen; and when it pleased the King's Majesty, (as many times it did,) he would, for his recreation, resort unto the Cardinal's house; against whose coming there wanted no preparations or goodly furnitures, with victuals of the finest sort that could be had for money or friendship.

Such pleasures were here devised for the King's delight, as could be invented or imagined; banquets set with masquers and mummers, in such a costly manner, that it was glorious to behold: there wanted no damsels meet to dance with the masquers, or to garnish the place, for the time, with variety of other pastimes. Then were there divers kinds of musick, and many choice men and women singers appointed to sing, who had excellent voices. I have seen the King come suddenly thither in a masque, with a dozen masquers all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and silver wire, and six torch-bearers, besides their drummers, and others attending on them with vizards; and clothed all in satin. And, before his entering into the hall, you shall understand that he came by water to the water-gate without any noise, where were laid divers chambers and guns charged with shot; and at his landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling noise in the air, that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen,

²⁷ [Of the pomp with which Wolsey appeared publicly, a curious account may be found in Stow's Chronicle, p. 502, edit. 1631. And his magnificence and pride were not overlooked by Skelton.

' Set up the wretche on hye,
' In a trone triumphantly,
' Make him a great state,
' And he will play check-mate
' With royall majestie,
' Count himself as good as hee;
' A prelatt potential, &c.
' Why come ye not to court?']

gentlemen, and ladies, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly; they sitting quietly at a banquet. In this sort you shall understand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence covered, and my lord Cardinal sitting under his cloth of state, and there having all his service alone; and then were there set a lady and a nobleman, a gentleman and a gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chambers on the one side, which were made all joining, as it were, but one table. All which order was done by my lord Sands, then lord-chamberlain to the King; and by sir Henry Guildford, then comptroller of the King's house.

Then, immediately after this great shot of guns, the Cardinal desired the lord-chamberlain to see what it did mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter; they then looked out of the window into the Thames, and, returning again, told him, that they thought they were noblemen and strangers arrived at the bridge, and coming as ambassadors from some foreign prince: with that, said the Cardinal, "I desire you, because you can speak French, to take the pains to go into the hall, there to receive them into the chamber, where they shall see us, and all those noble personages, being merry at our banquet; desiring them to sit down with us, and take part of our fare."

Then went they incontinently into the hall, where they were received with twenty torches, and conveyed up into the chamber with such a number of drums and flutes, as I have seldom seen together at one time and place.

Then, at their arrival into the chamber, they went two and two together directly before the Cardinal where he sat, and saluted them very reverently: to whom the lord-chamberlain, for them, said; "Sir, forasmuch as they are strangers, and cannot speak English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they, having understanding, at this your triumphant banquet, were assembled such a number of fair dames, they could do no less (under the supportation of your Grace) than to view as well their incomparable beauties, as to accompany them at mumchance, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better acquaintance. And, furthermore, they require of your Grace licence, to accomplish this cause of their coming."

When the Cardinal said he was willing, and very well content they should do so: then went the masquers, and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthy, and there opened the great cup of gold, filled with crowns, and other pieces, to cast at.

Thus perusing all the gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And, having viewed all the ladies, they returned to the Cardinal with great reverence, pouring down all their gold, which was above two-hundred crowns. "At all," quoth the Cardinal: and, casting the dye, he won it; whereat was made great joy.

Then quoth the Cardinal to my lord-chamberlain, "I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth, that there should be a nobleman amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this place than I; to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knew him."

Then spoke my lord-chamberlain to them in French, declaring my lord Cardinal's words; and, they rounding him again in the ear, the lord-chamberlain said unto my lord Cardinal: "Sir, (quoth he,) they confess that among them is such a noble personage; whom, if your Grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your place most willingly."

With that the Cardinal, taking good advice, went amongst them; and at the last, quoth he, "It seemeth to me, that the gentleman with the black beard should be he:" and with that he rose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman with the black beard, with the cup in his hand. But the Cardinal was mistaken; for the person to whom he then offered his chair was sir Edward Nevill, a comely knight, and of a goodly personage, who did more resemble his Majesty's person than any other in that masque.

The King, seeing the Cardinal so deceived in his choice, could not forbear laughing; but pulled down his vizard, and sir Edward Nevill's also, with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all the noble estates desired his Highness to take his place. To

whom the King made answer, that "he would first go and shift him." And thereupon he went into the Cardinal's bed-chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him, and there he newly apparelled himself with rich and princely garments; and, in the King's absence, the dishes of the banquet were clean taken away, and the tables covered again with new and perfumed cloths; every man sitting still, until the King's Majesty, with his masquers, came in among them, every man new apparelled.

Then the King took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding every person to sit still as they did before; and then came in a new banquet before his Majesty of two-hundred dishes; and so they passed the night in banqueting and dancing until morning; which much rejoiced the Cardinal, to see his sovereign lord so pleasant at his house²⁸.

CHAP. IX.

Of the original Instrument of the Cardinal's Fall, Mistress Anne Bullen.

NOW you shall understand, that the young lord of Northumberland attended upon my lord Cardinal, who, when the Cardinal went to court, would ever have conference with mistress Anne Bullen (who then was one of the maids of honour to queen Catharine), insomuch, that at last they were contracted together; which when the King heard, he was much moved thereat, (for he had a private affection to her himself, which was not yet discovered to any,) and then advised the Cardinal to send for the earl of Northumberland, his father, and take order to dissolve the contract made between the said parties; which the lord Cardinal did, after a sharp reprehension²⁹, in regard he was con-

²⁸ [This account of the masquerade was first given by Cavendish, from whom Stowe and Holinshed copied it.]

²⁹ [The words of this reprehension have been thus transmitted in an account of queen Anne Bullen; of which a few copies were lately printed, from a manuscript in the hand-writing of sir Roger Twysden, 1623. "I marveile not a little (quod the Cardinal) at thy folly, that thou wouldest thus attempt to assure thy selfe with a foolishe gyrl yonder in the court, Anne Bullen: doest thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world; for after thy father's death thou art like to inherite and enjoye one of the noblest earldomes in this kingdome, and therefore it had bene most meete and convenient for thee to have had thy father's consent in this case, and to have acquainted the king's majestie therewith, requiring his princely favoure, and in all such matters submitting thy proceedings unto his highenesse, who would not only thankfully have excepted thy submission, but I am assured would have so provided for the purpose, that hee would have advanced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thy degree and honor; and so by thy wise behaviour mightest have growne into his highe favoure to thy greate advancement: But now see what you have done; through your wilfulnesse you have not only offended your father, but also your lovinge soveraigne lorde, and matched your selfe with such a one as neyther the king nor your father will consent unto; and hereof I put thee out of doubt that I will send for thy father, who at his cominge shall eyther breake this unadvised bargain, or else disinherit thee for ever: The king's majestie will also complayne on thee to thy father, and require no lesse than I have sayd, because he intended to prefer Anne Bullen to another, wherein the king had allreadie travilled, and being almost at a poynt with one for her; though shee knewe it not, yet hath the king, like a politique prince, conveyed the matter in such sort, that she will bee, I doubt not, upon his grace's mention gladd and agreeable to the same." "Sir, (quod the lord Percy weeping,) I knewe not the king's pleasure, and am sorry for it; I considered I am of good yeares, and thought my selfe able to provide me a convenient wife, as my fancie should please me, not doubting but that my lord and father would have bene right well content, though shee but a simple maide and a knight to her father; yet is she descended of right noble blood and parentage; for her mother is nighe of the Norfolks blood, and her father descended of the earle of Ormound, being one of the earle's heires generall: Why then, sir, should I be any thing scrupulous to match with her in regard of his estate and descent equall with myne, even when I shall bee in most dignitie: Therefore I most humbly beseech your grace's favoure herein, and also to entreate the king's majestie on my behalfe for his princely favoure in this matter, which I cannot forsake." "Loe, sirs, (quod the Cardinall to us,) yee may see what wisdom is in this willfull boyes heade; I thought, that when thou heardest the king's pleasure and intendment herein, thou wouldest have relented, and put the selfe and thy voluptuous act wholly to the king's will and pleasure, and by him to have bene ordered, as his grace should have thought good." "Sir, (quod the lord Percy,) so I would; but in this matter I have gone soe farre before soe many worthy wittneses, that I knowe not, how to discharge my selfe and my conscience." "Whye, (quod the Cardinall,) thinkest thou, that the king and I knowe not, what wee have to doe in as weightie a matter as this, yees I warrant thee; but I see no submission in thee to that purpose." "Forsooth, my lord, (quod my lord Percy,) if it please your grace, I will submitte meselfe wholly to the king and your grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the

tracted without the King and his father's knowledge. He sent for his father, who came to London very speedily, and came first to my lord Cardinal; as all great personages did, that in such sort were sent for, of whom they were advertised of the cause of their sending for: and when the earl was come, he was presently brought to the Cardinal into the gallery. After whose meeting, my lord Cardinal and he were in secret communication a long space: after their long discourse, and drinking a cup of wine, the earl departed; and, at his going away, he sat down at the gallery-end in the hall, upon a form, and, being set, called his son unto him, and said:

"Son, (quoth he,) even as thou art, and ever hast been, a proud, disdainful, and very unthrifty master, so thou hast now declared thyself. Wherefore what joy, what pleasure, what comfort, or what solace can I conceive in thee? That thus, without discretion, hast abused thyself; having neither regard to me thy natural father, nor unto thy natural sovereign lord, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful obedience, nor yet to the prosperity of thy own estate; but hast so unadvisedly ensnared thyself to her, for whom thou hast purchased the King's high displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustain. And, but that the King doth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person; his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my posterity, into utter ruin and destruction. But he, being my singular good lord and favourable prince, and my lord Cardinal my very good friend, have, and do clearly excuse me in thy lewdness; and do rather lament thy folly, than malign thee³⁰; and have advised³¹ an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, than we conceive of. I pray to God! that this may be a sufficient admonition unto thee, to use thyself more wisely hereafter: for, assure thyself, that, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last earl of our house. For thy natural inclination, thou art masterful³² and prodigal, to consume all that thy progenitors have, with great travel, gathered and kept together with honour: but, having the King's Majesty my singular good lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

"For I do not intend, I tell thee truly, to make thee heir; for, thanks be to God! I have more boys, that, I trust, will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wise and honest men; of whom I will choose the most likely to succeed me.

"Now, good masters and gentlemen, (quoth he unto us,) it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see those things, that I have spoken to my son, prove as true as I now speak them; yet, in the mean time, I desire you all to be his friends, and tell him his faults in what he doth amiss; wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly to him: and so I take my leave of you. And, son, go your ways unto my lord your master, and serve him diligently:" and so parted; and went down into the hall, and took his barge.

Then, after long and large debating the matter, about the lord Piercy's assurance to Mrs. Anne Bullen; it was devised, that the contract should be infringed and dissolved, and that the lord Piercy should marry one of the earl of Shrewsbury's daughters. And so, indeed, not long after he did: whereby the former contract was broken and dissolved: wherewith Mrs. Anne was greatly displeased, promising, "That, if ever it lay in her power, she would do the Cardinal some displeasure:" which indeed she afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing, but what the King commanded; whereby the lord Piercy was charged to avoid her company. And so was she, for a time, discharged the court, and sent home to her father; whereat she was much troubled and perplexed: for all this time she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose. But we may see, when fortune doth begin to frown, how she can compass a

weightie burthen thereof." "Well then (quod my lord Cardinal) I will send for your father out of the North, and he and wee shall take such order, as in the meane season I charge thee, that thou resort no more into her company, as thou wilt abye the king's indignation;" and soe he rose up and went into his chamber.]

³⁰ [Read, *me.*]

³¹ [Devised.]

³² [*i. e.* wasteful.]

matter of displeasure, through a far-fetched mark. Now, therefore, of the grudge, how it began, that in process of time wrought the Cardinal's utter destruction.

CHAP. X.

Of Mrs. Anne Bullen's Favour with the King.

OH Lord, what a great God art thou! that workest thy wonders so secretly, that they are not perceived, until they be brought to pass and finished.

Attend now, good reader, to this story following, and note every circumstance; and thou shalt, at the end, perceive a wonderful work of God against such as forget him and his benefits.

Therefore, I say, consider: after this my lord Piercy's troublesome business was over, and all things brought to an end, then Mrs. Anne Bullen was again admitted to the court; where she flourished in great estimation and honour; having always a prime grudge against my lord Cardinal, for breaking the contract between the lord Piercy and herself, supposing it had been his own device, and no other's: and she, at last, knowing the King's pleasure, and the depth of his secrets, then began to look very haughtily and stout; lacking no manner of rich apparel, or jewels, that money could purchase. It was, therefore, imagined by many through the court, that she, being in such favour, might do much with the King, and obtain any suit of him for her friends.

All this while, she being in this estimation in all places, there was no doubt, but good queen Catharine, having this gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by report, and saw with her eyes, how all things tended against her good ladyship: although she seemed neither to Mrs. Anne Bullen, nor the King, to carry any spark of discontent, or displeasure; but accepted all things in good part, and with great wisdom, and much patience dissembled the same; having Mrs. Anne Bullen in more estimation for the King's sake, than when she was with her before; declaring herself indeed to be a very patient Grissel, as, by her long patience in all her troubles, shall hereafter most plainly appear.

For the King was now so enamoured of this young gentlewoman, that he knew not how sufficiently to advance her.

This being perceived by all the great lords of the court, who bore a secret grudge against my lord Cardinal, for that they could not rule in the kingdom as they would, for him; because he was *dominus fac-totum* with the King, and ruled as well the great lords, as the mean subjects; whereat they took an occasion to work him out of the King's favour, and consequently themselves into more estimation.

And, after long and secret consultation with themselves, how to bring this matter to pass; they knew very well, that it was somewhat difficult for them to do absolutely of themselves: wherefore, they perceiving the great affection and love, the King bore to Mrs. Anne Bullen, (supposing in their judgments, that she would be a fit instrument to bring their earnest intentions to pass,) therefore they often consulted with her to that purpose; and she, having both a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure against my lord Cardinal, was ever as ready to accomplish their desires, as they were themselves: wherefore, there was no more to do, but only to imagine an occasion to work their malice by some pretended circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers devices how to effect their purpose; but the enterprise thereof was so dangerous, that though they would fain have attempted the matter with the King, yet durst they not, for they knew the great zeal the King did bear unto the Cardinal: and this they knew very well, that if the matter, they should propound against him, was not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the King's love was such towards him, and his wit such withal; that he could with his policy vanquish all their enterprises, and then, after that, requite them in the like nature, to their utter ruin.

Therefore, they were compelled to forbear their plots, till they might have some better

ground to work upon. And now the Cardinal, perceiving the great zeal the King bore to this gentlewoman, framed himself to please her, as well as the King. To that end, therefore, he prepares great banquets and feasts, to entertain the King and her, at his own house; she, all this while, dissembling the secret grudge in her breast. Now the Cardinal began to grow into wonderful inventions not heard of before in England; and the love between this glorious lady and the King grew to such perfection, that divers things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speak, until I come to the proper place.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Variance between the French King and the Duke of Bourbon, who fled to the City of Pavia, where the King besieged him.

THEN began a certain grudge between the French king and the duke of Bourbon to break out; insomuch, that the duke, being now at variance with the house of France, was compelled, for safeguard of his life, to fly and forsake his country, fearing the king's malice and indignation.

The Cardinal, having intelligence hereof, contrived, that the King our sovereign lord should obtain the duke to be his general in his wars against the French king, with whom our King had then an occasion of war; and the rather, because the duke of Bourbon was fled to the emperor to invite him to the like purpose, where he moved the King in this matter. And after the King was advised thereof, and conceived the Cardinal's invention, he mused more and more of this matter, until it came into a consultation amongst the council; so that it was concluded, that an ambassador should be sent to the emperor about this matter. And it was further concluded, that the King and the emperor should join in those wars against the French king; and that the duke of Bourbon should be the King of England's champion, and general in the field; who had a number of good soldiers, over and besides the emperor's army, which was not small; and that the King should pay the duke monthly wages for himself and his retinue.

For which purpose, John Russel, who was afterwards created earl of Bedford, lay continually beyond the seas in a secret place; both to receive money from the King, and to pay the same monthly to the duke; so that the duke began the wars with the French king, in his own territories and dukedom, which the king had gotten into his own hands; being not perfectly known to the duke's enemies, that he had any aid from our sovereign lord: and thus he wrought the French king much displeasure, insomuch that the French king was constrained to prepare a present army, and, in his own person, to resist the duke's power. And, battle being joined, the king drove him to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host of men for his security; where the king encamped himself wonderfully strong, intending to close the duke within the town, lest he should issue out, and skirmish with him.

The French king in his camp sent secretly into England a private person (being a very witty man) to treat of a peace between his master and our sovereign lord. His name was John Jokin, who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having intelligence of his arrival; for he was no Frenchman born, but an Italian, a man of no great estimation in France, nor known to be much in his master's favour, but taken to be a merchant; and, for his subtle wit, was elected to treat of such an ambassage, as the French king had given him in commission.

This Jokin was secretly conveyed to Richmond, and there staid, until such time as the Cardinal resorted thither to him; where, after Easter-term was ended, he kept his feast of Whitsontide very solemnly; in which season, my lord Cardinal caused this Jokin divers times to dine with him, who seemed to be both witty, and of good behaviour. He continued long in England after this; till at the last, as it should seem, he had brought the matter, which he had in commission, to pass. Whereupon, the King sent out immediately

a restraint unto sir John Russel, that he should retain that month's pay still in his hands, until the King's pleasure should be further made known ; which should have been paid to the duke, being then encamped within the town of Pavia. For want of which money, the duke and his men were much dismayed, when they saw no money come, as it was wont to do ; and being in this dangerous case, where victuals began to grow scanty and very dear, they imagined many ways what should be the reason that the King's money came not : some said this, and some said that, mistrusting nothing less than the true cause thereof.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Duke of Bourbon's Stratagem, and Victory ; wherein the French King was taken Prisoner.

NOW the duke and his soldiers were in great misery, for want of victuals, and other necessities, which they could, by no means, get within the town. Hereupon, the captains and soldiers began to grudge and murmur, being, for want of victuals, all like to perish ; and, being in this extremity, came before the duke, and said, " Sir, we must, of force and necessity, yield to our enemies ; and better were it for us so to do, than to starve like dogs." But, when the duke heard this, he replied, with weeping tears, " Sirs, you have proved yourselves valiant men, and of noble hearts, in this service ; and, for your necessity, whereof I myself do participate, I do not a little lament ; but I shall desire you, as you are noble in heart and courage, so to take patience, for two or three days, and if succour come not then from the King of England, (as I doubt nothing less,) I will then consent to you all, to put ourselves and lives unto the mercy of our enemies : " whereunto they all agreed, and tarried till two days were passed, expecting relief from the King. Then, the duke, seeing no remedy, called his noble captains and soldiers before him, and, weeping, said, " You noblemen, and captains, we must yield ourselves unto our enemies, or else famish ; and, to yield the town and ourselves, I know well the cruelty of our enemies : as for my part, I pass not for their cruelties, for I shall suffer death, I know very well, most cruelly, if I come once into their hands. It is not, therefore, for myself that I do lament ; it is for your sakes, it is for your lives, and for the safeguard of your persons ; for, so that you might escape your enemies' hands, I would willingly suffer death. Good companions, and noble soldiers, I do require you all, considering the miserable calamities and dangers we are in, at this present, to sell our lives most dearly, rather than to be murdered like beasts : therefore, if you all consent with me, we will take upon us, this night, to give our enemies assault, and, by that means, we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow ; for it were better to die in the field, like men, than to live, prisoners, miserably in captivity : " to which they all agreed.

" Then (quoth the duke) you all perceive the enemies' camp is strong, and there is no way to enter upon them, but one, and that entry is planted with great ordnance, and strength of men, so that it is impossible to attain to our enemies, that way, to fight with them in their camp ; and also, now of late, you perceive, they have had but small doubt of us, in regard they have kept but slender watch.

" Therefore, my advice is, there shall issue out of the town, in the dead-time of the night, from us, a certain number of you, that be the most likely to assault the camp ; and they shall give the assault, secretly, against the place of the entry, which is most strong and invincible ; which force, and valiant assault, shall be to them, of the camp, so doubtful, that they will turn the strength of the entry, that lieth over-against your assault, to beat you from your purpose : then will I enter out, at the postern-gate, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there, before they be aware, will I enter, and fight with them in the camp, and win their ordnance, which they have newly turned, and beat them with their own pieces ; and then may you come and join with me in the field."

This device pleased them all wonderful well; who did then prepare themselves, all that day, for that device, and kept themselves secret and close, without any noise, or shot of pieces, in the town, which gave the enemy the less fear of the assault; for, at night, they went all to their tents, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting what after happened: so, in the dead of the night, when they were all at rest, the assailants issued out of the town, and there (according to the duke's appointment) they gave so cruel and fierce an assault, that they, in the camp, had much ado to withstand them; and then, as the duke before declared, they, within, were compelled to turn the shot, that lay at the entry, against the assault: then issued out the duke, and, with him, about fifteen or sixteen hundred men, or more, secretly in the night; the enemy being ignorant of his coming, until he entered the field: and, at his entry, he took all the ordnance that lay there, and slew the gunners; then charged the pieces against the enemies, and slew them wonderfully, and cut down their tents and pavilions, and murdered many therein, before they were aware of his coming, suspecting nothing less than his entry: so that he won the field, before the king could arise, and the king was taken in his lodging, before he was harnessed. And, when the duke had won the field, the French king taken, and his men slain; his tents robbed and spoiled, and the king's coffers searched; the duke of Bourbon found the league, under the great-seal of England, newly made, between the King of England and the French king, whereby he perceived the impediment of his money, which should have come to him from the King; having, upon due search of this matter, further intelligence, that all this business was devised by the Cardinal of England. Whereupon, the duke conceived such indignation against the Cardinal, that he went immediately to Rome, and there intended to sack the town, and to have taken the pope; but, at the first assault of the town, the duke was the first man that was there slain: notwithstanding, the captains continued their assaults, and, at last, many of the town fled, with the pope, to the castle of Angelo, where he continued in great calamity.

I have written this history more at large, because it was thought the cause of all this mischief; wherefore, you may see, whatsoever a man doth purpose, be he prince or prelate, yet God dispatcheth all things at his pleasure and will; it being a folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprise of his own will, without calling upon God, for his grace and assistance in all his proceedings.

I have seen princes, either when they would call a parliament, or any other great assembly, that they would first call to God, most reverently, for his grace therein; and now I see the contrary: as it seems, they trust more to their own minds and wills, than to God's good grace, and, even thereafter, oftentimes do their matters take effect; whereof, not only in this history, but divers others, may be perceived most evident examples. Yet I see no man, almost, in authority, or high estate, regard the same; which is the greater pity, and the more to be lamented. Now here I desist to speak any further of this matter, and do proceed to others.

CHAP. I.

Of the French King's Redemption out of Captivity, and the Cardinal's Ambassage into France.

UPON the taking of the French king, there were divers consultations, and various opinions amongst the council: some held, that our sovereign lord the King could invade the realm of France, and might easily conquer the same; forasmuch as the king, with the most part of the noblemen of France, were in captivity: some said again, that the King, our master, ought to have had the French king prisoner, forasmuch as he was taken by our King's champion, and captain-general, the duke of Bourbon, and the emperor; insomuch that the King was advised, thereby, to occasion of war against the emperor, because he kept the king of France out of our King's possession: with divers imaginations and devices, as their fancies served, which were too long here to relate.

Thus were they in long consideration, whereof every man in the court talked as his fancy served him; until, at the last, divers ambassadors, from the realm of France, came to the King our lord, desiring him to take order with the emperor for the French king's delivery, as his Highness's wisdom should think best, wherein my lord Cardinal bore great rule: so that, after great deliberation and advice taken, it was thought good by the Cardinal, that the emperor should deliver the French king out of his ward, upon sufficient pledges.

And, afterwards, it was thought meet, that the king's two sons, (that is to say, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans,) should be delivered, in hostage, for security of the emperor, and the King our sovereign lord; upon all such demands and requests, as should be demanded of the French king, as well by the emperor, as by our sovereign lord.

The Cardinal lamenting the French king's captivity, and the pope's great adversity, who yet remained in the castle of Angelo, either as prisoner, or else for defence against his enemies; endeavoured, and laboured all that he could, with the King and his council, to take some order, for the quietness of them both.

At the last, (as you heard before,) divers of the great states, and lords of the council, with my lady Anne, lay in continual wait, to espy a convenient occasion, to take the Cardinal in a snare.

Therefore, they consulted with the Cardinal, and informed him, that they thought it a necessary time for him, to take upon him the King's commission, to travel beyond the seas; and, by his wisdom, to compass a present peace amongst these great princes and potentates; encouraging him thereto, and alleging, that it was more meet for his wisdom, discretion, and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to pass, than any other within this realm: their intent was no other, but to get him from the King, that they might adventure, by the help of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the King; and so, in his absence, bring him into disgrace, or, at the least, to be in less estimation.

Well; the matter was so handled, that the Cardinal was commanded to prepare himself for the journey, which he took upon him; but, whether willingly or not, I cannot say: but this I know, that he made so short abode, after the perfect resolution thereof, that he caused all things to be prepared speedily for his journey, and every one of his servants were appointed, that should attend him in the same.

When all things were concluded, and provided for this noble journey, he advanced forwards, in the name of God. My Lord had with him such of the lords and bishops, as were not of the conspiracy.

Then marched he forward from his new house at Westminster, through all London, over London-bridge; having a great many gentlemen, in a rank, before him, in velvet coats; and, the most part of them, with chains of gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him, with noblemen, and great men's servants, all in orange-tawny coats; and the cardinal's hat, with *T.* and *C.* for *Thomas Cardinal*, embroidered upon them; as well upon his own servants' coats, as all the rest of the gentlemen, and his sumpter-mules, which were twenty, and more, in number. And when all his carriages and carts, and other his train, were passed before; he rode very sumptuously, like a cardinal, with the rest of his train, on his mule; with his spare mule, and his spare horse, covered with crimson velvet, and gilded stirrups, following him. And, before him, he had his two great silver crosses, his two pillars of silver, the king's broad-seal of England, and his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his balance, otherwise called his cloke-bag; which was made of fine scarlet, all embroidered, very richly, with gold. Thus he passed through London, as I said before; and, all the way in his said journey, he was thus furnished; having his harbingers, in every place, before, which prepared lodgings for him, and his said train.

The first journey he made was two miles beyond Deptford in Kent, to sir Richard Wiltshire's house: the rest of his train were lodged in Deptford, and in the country thereabouts.

The next day he marched to Rochester, where he lay in the bishop's palace; and the rest were lodged in the city.

The third day, he rode from thence to Feversham, and there lodged in the abbey ; and his train in the town, and some about in the country.

The fourth day, he rode to Canterbury, where he was kindly entertained by the bishop of the city ; and there he continued four or five days. In which season was the jubilee, and a great fair in the town, by reason it was the feast of St. Thomas, their patron ; upon which day, there was a solemn procession, wherein my lord Cardinal was in his legantine ornaments, with his hat upon his head, who commanded the monks and the quire, to sing the Latin after this sort, ‘ *Sancta Maria, ora pro papà nostro Clemente ;*’ and, in this manner, perused the Latin through ; my lord Cardinal kneeling at a stool before the quire-door, prepared for him, with carpets and cushions. All the monks, and the quire, stood in the body, singing the Litany : at which time, I saw my lord Cardinal weep tenderly ; which James, I, and others, conceived to be for grief, that the pope was in such calamity, and danger of the lance-knights.

The next day, I was sent with letters from my Lord, to a cardinal in Calais, in post ; so that I was, the same night, in Calais. At my arrival, I found, standing upon the pier, without the Lanthorn-gate, all the council of the town, to whom I delivered up my message, and my letters, before I entered the town ; where I lay until my Lord came thither, who arrived two days after my coming thither, before eight o’clock in the morning, and was received of all the noble officers and council of the town, and the mayor of the staple, with procession ; the clerks being in rich copes, having many rich crosses.

In the Lanthorn-gate, a stool, with cushions and carpets, was set for him, where he kneeled, and made his prayers. At which time, they fenced him in with seizures of silver, and sprinkled water : that done, they passed on before him, in procession, until he came unto St. Mary’s church, where, at the high-altar, turning him to the people, he gave them his benediction and pardon ; and then he repaired, with a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, to a place in the town, called the Chequer, where he kept his house, so long as he abode in the town, going immediately into his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness, by reason of his passage by sea.

That night he called unto him Monsieur de Bees, captain of Bulloigne, with divers others gallants and gentlemen, who had dined with him that day ; and, having some further consultation with my lord Cardinal, he and the rest of the gentlemen departed again to Bulloigne.

Thus my Lord was daily visited with one or other of the French nobility.

When all his train and carriage were landed, and all things prepared for his journey, his Grace called all his noblemen and gentlemen, into the privy-chamber, where being assembled before him, he said : “ I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the duty you owe to me ; and the good will I seemably bear to you for the same. Your intendment of service is to further the authority I have by commission from the King, which diligent observance of yours I will hereafter recommend to his Majesty ; as also to shew you the nature of the Frenchmen, and withal to instruct you with the reverence you shall use me, for the high honour of the King’s Majesty ; and to inform you, how you shall entertain, and accompany, the Frenchmen, when you meet at any time.

“ Concerning the first point, you shall understand for divers weighty affairs of his Grace’s, and for mere advancement of his royal dignity, he hath assigned me in this journey to be his lieutenant : what reverence therefore belongeth to me, for the same, I will shew you.

“ By virtue therefore of my commission and lieutenantship, I assume and take upon me to be esteemed in all honour and degrees of service, as unto his Highness is meet and due, and that by me nothing be neglected that to his state is due and appertinent ; for my part, you shall see that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, one of the chief causes of your assembly, at this time, is to inform you, that you be not ignorant of your duty in this : I wish you therefore, as you would have my favour, and also charge you all in the King’s name, that you do not forget the same in time and place ; but that every of you do observe his duty to me, according as you will, at your return, avoid the King’s

indignation, or deserve his Highness's thanks; the which I will set forth at our return, as each of you shall deserve.

"Now to the second point; the nature of the Frenchmen is such, that at their first meeting, they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long acquaintance; and will commune with you in their French tongue, as if you knew every word: therefore, use them in a kind manner, and be as familiar with them, as they are with you; if they speak to you in their natural tongue, speak to them in English; for if you understand not them, no more shall they you." Then speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen, being a Welchman, "Rice, (quoth he,) speak thou Welch to them; and doubt not, but thy speech will be more difficult to them, than their French shall be to thee." Moreover, he said unto them all, "Let your entertainment and behaviour be according to all gentlemen's in humility, that it may be reported, after our departure from thence, that you were gentlemen of very good behaviour and humility; that all men may know, you understand your duties to your King, and to your master. Thus shall you not only obtain to yourselves great commendations and praises, but also greatly advance your prince and country.

"Now being admonished of these things, prepare yourselves against to-morrow, for then we purpose to set forward."—Therefore, we his servants, being thus instructed, and all things being in a readiness, proceeded forward; the next day being Mary Magdalen's day, my lord Cardinal advanced out of Calais, with such a number of black coats, as hath been seldom seen: with the Ambassador, went all the peers of Calais, and Groynes. All other gentlemen, besides those of his train, were garnished with black velvet coats, and chains of gold. Thus passed he forward, with his troop before, three in a rank; which compass extended three quarters of a mile in length; having his crosses, and all other his accustomed glorious furniture, carried before him, (as I have formerly related,) except the broad-seal; the which he left with doctor Taylor, then master of the rolls, until his return.

Thus passing on his way, we had scarce gone a mile, but it began to rain so vehemently, that I have not seen the like for the time, which endured until we came to Bulloigne; and before we came to Standingfield, the cardinal of Lorrain, a goodly young gentleman, gave my Lord a meeting, and received him with much joy and reverence, and so passed forth with my Lord in communication, until we came near the said Standingfield; which is a religious place, standing between the English, French, and imperial dominions; being a neuter, holding of neither of them. Then there we waited for my lord Le Count Brian, captain of Picardy, with a great number of stradigats or arboncies standing in array, in a great piece of green oats, all in harness upon light horses; passing on with my Lord in a wing into Bulloigne, and so after into Picardy, for my Lord doubted, that the emperor would lay some ambushment to betray him; for which cause, he commanded them to attend my Lord for the safety of his own person, to conduct him from the danger of his enemies.

Thus rode he accompanied, until he came nigh to Bulloigne, within an English mile, where all the worshipful citizens of Bulloigne came and met him, having a learned man that made an oration in Latin to him, unto the which my Lord made answer: and that done, Monsieur de Bees, captain of Bulloigne, with his retinue, met him on horseback, with all his assembly. Thus he marched into the town, lighting at the abbey-gate, from whence he was conveyed into the abbey with procession, and there they presented him with the image of our Lady, commonly called, 'Our Lady of Bulloigne,' where were always great offerings: that done, he gave his blessing to the people, with certain days of pardon. Then went he into the abbey to his lodging; but all his train were lodged in the high base town.

The next day, after he had heard mass, he rode to Muterel³⁴, where he was in like manner saluted by the worshipful of the town, all in livery alike; where also a learned oration was made to him in Latin, which his grace answered again in Latin. And as he

³⁴ [Montreuil.]

entered in at the gate, there was a canopy of silk, embroidered with like letters, as his men had on their coats: and when he was alighted, his footmen had it, as due to their office. There were also made pageants for joy of his coming, who was called in the French tongue, whither he rode or came, *Le Cardinal de Patifagus*, and in Latin, *Cardinalus Patifagus*, and was accompanied all that night, with the gentlemen of the country thereabouts.

The next day he took his journey towards Aboville³⁵, where he was in like manner entertained, and conveyed into the town, and most honourably welcomed with divers kinds of pageants, both costly, and wittily contrived to every turning of the streets, as he rode through the town; having a canopy borne over him, richer than at Muterel: and so conveyed him to his lodging, which was a fair house, newly built with brick; at which house, the French king, Lewis, was married to the king's sister, which was married after to the duke of Suffolk. In this town of Aboville he remained eight or nine days, where resorted unto him divers of the French king's council; every day continually feasting; and entertaining him, and the other lords.

At the time of his departing out of the town, he rode to a castle beyond the water, called by some, *Le Channel Percequeine*, standing and adjoining to the said water, upon a great hill and rock, within the which, there was a college of priests. The situation whereof was like to the castle of Windsor in England: and there he was received with a solemn procession, conveying him first to the church, and then to the castle upon the bridge, over the water of Some, where king Edward the Fourth met with the French king; as you may read at large in the Chronicles of England.

My Lord was no sooner seated in his lodging, but I heard, that the French king would come that day to the city of Amience³⁶, which was not above six English miles from thence. And being desirous to see his coming thither, I took with me two of my Lord's gentlemen, and rode presently thither: and being but strangers, we took up our lodging, at the sign of the Angel, directly over-against the west door of the cathedral church, *de nostre Dame*, where we staid in expectation of the king's coming. And about four of the clock, came madam regent, the king's mother, riding in a very rich chariot; and with her, within, was the queen of Navarre, her daughter; attended with a hundred or more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white palfrey; also her guard, which was no small number. And within two days after, the king came in, with a great shot of guns; and there were divers pageants, made only for joy of his coming; having about his person, and before him, a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, in three companies. The first were Switzers and Burgonians, with guns; the second were Frenchmen, with bows; the third were *Le Carpe-fall*, Scotchmen, who were more comely persons than all the rest. The French guard and Scotch had all one livery; being apparelled with rich coats of white cloth, with a guard of silver bullion of a handful broad. The king came riding on a rich jennet, and did alight at the said great church, and was conveyed with procession to the bishop's palace, where he was lodged. The next morning, I rode again to Picquigny, to attend upon my Lord; and when I came, my Lord was ready to go on horseback, to ride towards Amience; and, passing on his way, he was saluted by divers noble personages, making him orations in Latin, to whom my Lord made answer, *ex tempore*.

Then was word brought him, that the king was ready to meet him; wherefore he had no other shift, but to light at an old chapel, that stood hard by the high-way, and there he newly apparelled himself in rich array; and so mounted again upon another mule, very richly trapped with a foot-cloth of crimson velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about the edges with a fringe of gold very costly, his stirrups of silver gilt, bosses of the same, and the cheeks of his mule's bit were all gilt with fine gold³⁷; and by that time he

³⁵ [Abbeville.]

³⁶ [Amiens.]

³⁷ [Thus in Roy's Satire on Wolsey:

' Whose mule yf it shulde be solde,
' So gayly trapped with velvet and golde,
' And geven to us for our schare;

was mounted again in this gorgeous manner, the king was come very near, within less than an English quarter of a mile; his guard standing in array upon the top of an high hill, expecting my Lord's coming; to whom my Lord made as much haste, as conveniently he could, until he came within a pair of butts length; and there he staid. The king, perceiving that, caused monsieur Van de Mount to issue from him, and to ride to my lord Cardinal, to know the cause of his tarrying; and so monsieur Van de Mount, being mounted upon a very fair jennet, took his race with his horse, till he came even to my Lord; and then he caused his horse to come aloft twice or thrice so near my Lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse, and so alighted, and in humble reverence, did his message to my Lord: that done, he repaired to the king.

And then the king advanced forward, seeing my Lord do the like, and in the mid way they meet, embracing each other with amiable countenances. Then came into the place all noblemen and gentlemen, on both parts, who made a mighty press.

Then the king's officers cried, *Penant de la vant*, i. e. 'March, march.' So the king, with the lord Cardinal on his right hand, rode towards Amience; every English gentleman being accompanied with another of France. The train of these two great princes was two miles in length; that is to say, from the place of their meeting, unto Amience, where they were nobly received with guns, and pageants, until the king had brought my Lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night; the king being lodged in the bishop's palace. And the next day, after dinner, my Lord rode with a great train of English noblemen and gentlemen, unto the court to the king; at which time, the king kept his bed; yet nevertheless, my Lord came into his bed-chamber, where on the one side of the bed sat the king's mother, and on the other side, the cardinal of Lorrain, accompanied with divers other gentlemen of France; and after some communication, and drinking of wine, with the king's mother, my Lord departed, and returned to his own lodging, accompanied with divers other lords and gentlemen.

Thus continued my Lord at Amience, and also the king, fourteen days feasting each other divers times; and there, one day at mass, the king and my Lord received the holy sacrament, as also the queen-regent, and the queen of Navarre: after that it was determined, that the king and my Lord should remove; and so they rode to a city, called Champaigne, which was more than twenty miles from Amience, unto which town I was sent to provide lodging for my Lord; and in my travel, I having occasion to stay by the way, at a little village, to shoe my horse, there came to me a servant from the castle there, perceiving me to be an Englishman, and of my lord Legate's servants, as they then called my Lord; and desired me to go into the castle, to the lord his master, who he thought would be very glad to see me. To whom I consented; because I desired acquaintance with strangers, especially with men of authority, and honourable rank: so I went with him, who conducted me to the castle, and at my first entrance, I was among the watchmen, who kept the first ward, being very tall men, and comely persons, who saluted me very kindly; and knowing the cause of my coming, they advertised their lord and master: and forthwith the lord of the castle came out unto me, whose name was monsieur Crooksley, a nobleman born; and at his coming, he embraced me, saying, "that I was heartily welcome; and thanked me, that I was so gentle as to visit him, and his castle; saying, that he was preparing to meet the king, and my lord Cardinal, and to invite them to his castle:" and when he had shewed me the strength of his castle, and the walls (which were fourteen feet broad), and I had seen all the houses; he brought me down into a fair inner court, where his jennet stood ready for him, with twelve other of the fairest jennets, that ever I saw, especially his own, which was a mare; which jennet,

' I durst ensure the one thyng,
' As for a competent lyvyng
' This seven yeare we shulde not care.'

Again:—

' The bosses of his mulis brydles
' Myght buy Christ and his disciples,
' As farre as I coulde ever rede.']

he told me, he had four-hundred crowns offered for her : upon these twelve jennets, were mounted twelve goodly gentlemen, called pages of honour ; they rode all bare-headed, in coats of cloth of gold, guarded with black velvet, and they had all of them boots, of red Spanish leather.

Then took he his leave of me, commanding his steward, and other of his gentlemen, to conduct me to his lady to dinner : so they led me up to the gate-house, where then their lady and mistress lay, for the time that the king and the Cardinal should tarry there. And after a short time, the lady Crooksley came out of her chamber, into her dining-room, where I attended her coming, who did receive me very nobly, like herself ; she having a train of twelve gentlemen, that did attend on her. " Forasmuch (quoth she) as you are an English gentleman, whose custom is to kiss all ladies and gentlewomen in your country without offence, yet it is not so in this realm ; notwithstanding, I will be so bold, as to kiss you, and so shall you salute all my maids." After this we went to dinner, being as nobly served, as ever I saw any in England ; passing all dinner-time in pleasing discourses.

And shortly after dinner I took my leave, and was constrained, that night, to lie short of Champagne, at a great walled town, called Moundrodrey, the suburbs whereof my lord of Suffolk had lately burned ; and early in the morning I came to Champagne, (being Saturday, and market-day,) where at my first coming I took up my inn, over-against the market-place, and being set at dinner in a fair chamber, that looked out into the street, I heard a great noise, and clattering of bills ; and looking out, I saw the officers of the town bringing a prisoner to execution, and with a sword, cut off his head. I demanded what was the offence ? They answered me, " for killing of red deer in the forest near adjoining." And incontinently they held the poor man's head upon a pole in the market-place, between the stags' horns ; and his four quarters, set up in four places of the forest.

Having prepared my Cardinal's lodging in the great castle of the town, and seen it furnished, my Lord had the one half assigned, and the king the other half, and in like manner they divided the gallery between them ; and in the midst thereof, there was made a strong wall, with a window and a door, where the king and my Lord did often meet and talk, and divers times go one to the other, through the same door. Also there was lodged in the same castle madam regent, the king's mother, and all the ladies and gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the lord-chancellor of France, a very witty man, with all the king's grave counsellors, where they took great pains daily in consultation. At which time, I heard my lord Cardinal fall out with the chancellor of France ; laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the league which was before his coming concluded upon, by the King our sovereign lord, and the French king their master. Insomuch, that my Lord stomached him stoutly, and told him, " It was not he that should infringe the amiable friendship. And if the French king his master, being there present, would follow his (the chancellor's) counsel, he should not fail, shortly after his return, to feel the smart, what it was, to maintain war against the King of England ; and thereof he should be well assured." Insomuch, that his angry speech and bold countenance made them all doubt, how to quiet him to the council, who was then departed in a great fury.

Now here was sending, here was coming, here was entreating, and here was great submission and intercession, made unto him to reduce him to his former communication ; who would in no ways relent, until madam regent came to him herself, who handled the matter so well, that she brought him to his former communication, and by that means, he brought all things to pass, that before he could not compass ; which was more out of fear than affection, the French king had to the matter in hand ; for now he had got the heads of all the council under his girdle.

The next morning, early after this conflict, the Cardinal arose, about four of the clock, and sat him down to write letters into England, unto the King ; commanding one of his

chaplains to prepare him ready; insomuch that the chaplain stood ready in his vestures until four of the clock in the afternoon. All which season, my Lord never rose to eat any meat, but continually writ letters with his own hand; and about four of the clock in the afternoon, he made an end of writing, commanding one Christopher Gunner, the king's serjeant, to prepare himself without delay, to ride post into England, with his letters; whom he dispatched away before ever he drank. That done, he went to mass and matins, and other devotions with his chaplains, as he was accustomed to do; and then went to walk in a garden, the space of an hour and more, and then said evening-song; and so went to dinner and supper, making no long stay; and so went to bed.

The next night following, my Lord caused a great supper to be made, or rather a banquet, for madam regent, and the queen of Navarre, and other noble personages, lords and ladies. At which supper was madam Lewis, one of the daughters of Lewis, the last king, whose sister lately died: these two sisters were by their mother inheritors of the duchy of Bretagne. And, forasmuch as king Francis had married one of the sisters, by which he had one moiety of the said duchy, he kept the said madam Lewis, the other sister, without marriage; to the intent the whole duchy might descend to him, or his successors after his death, for lack of issue of her.

But now let us return to the supper or banquet, where all those noble personages were highly feasted. And in the midst of the said banquet, the French king, and the king of Navarre, came suddenly in, who took their places in the lowest part thereof. There was not only plenty of fine meats, but also much mirth and solace, as well in merry communion, as also the noise of my Lord's musick, who played there all that night so cunningly, that the two kings took great delight therein; insomuch that the French king desired my Lord to lend them unto him for the next night. And after the supper or banquet ended, the lords fell to dancing, amongst whom one madam Fountain had the praise. And thus passed they the most part of the night before they parted.

The next day the king took my Lord's musick, and rode to a nobleman's house, where was some living image, to whom he had vowed a night's pilgrimage; and to perform his devotion when he came there, which was in the night, he danced, and caused others to do the same, and the next morning he returned to Champaigne.

The king being at Champaigne, gave order that a wild boar should be lodged for him in the forest, whither my lord Cardinal went with him to see him hunt the wild boar, where the lady regent, with a number of ladies and damsels, were standing in chariots, looking upon the toil; amongst these ladies stood my lord Cardinal to regard the hunting, in the lady regent's chariot. And within the toil was the king, with divers ladies of France, ready furnished for the high and dangerous enterprise of hunting of this perilous wild swine.

The king being in his doublet and hose all of sheep's colour cloth, richly trimmed, in his slip, a brace of very great greyhounds, who were armed as their manner there is, to defend them from the violence of the beast's tusks. And the rest of the king's gentlemen, that were appointed to hunt, were likewise in their doublets and hose, holding each of them a very sharp boar's spear. Then the king commanded the keepers to uncouch the boar; and that every person within the toil should go to a standing, among whom were divers gentlemen of England.

The boar presently issued out of his den, and being pursued by a hound, came into the plain, where he staid awhile gazing upon the people, and the hound drawing near him, he espied a bush upon a bank; under the bush lay two Frenchmen, who fled thither, thinking there to be safe; but the boar smelling them, and thrusting his head into the bush, these two men came away from thence, as men use to fly from the danger of death.

Then was the boar, by violence of the hunters, driven from thence, who ran straight to one of my Lord's footmen, being a very tall man, who had in his hand an English javelin, with which he defended himself a great while. But the boar continued foaming at him, with his great tusks; at the last, the boar broke in sunder his javelin, so that he

was glad to draw his sword, and therewith stood upon his guard, until the hunters came and rescued him; and put the boar once again to flight to another gentleman of England, one Mr. Ratcliff, who was son and heir to the lord Fitzwalter, now earl of Sussex, who, by his boar's spear, rescued himself. There were many other passages, but I forbear prolixity, and return to the matter in hand.

Many days were spent in consultation, and expectation of Christopher Gunner's return, who was formerly sent post into England with letters, as I said before. At last he returned with letters, upon receipt whereof my Lord prepared, with all expedition, to return to England.

The morning, that my Lord intended to remove, being at mass in his closet, he consecrated the chancellor of France a cardinal, and put his hat on his head, and his cap of scarlet, and then took his journey, and returned into England with all the expedition he could, and came to Sayne; and was there nobly entertained of my lord Staines, who was captain of that place; and from thence went to Calais, where he staid a while for shipping of his goods, and, in the mean time, he established a work to be there kept for all nations. But how long, or in what sort, it continued, I know not; for I never heard of any great good it did, or of any assembly of merchants, or traffick of merchandise, that were brought thither for so great and mighty a matter, as was intended for the good of the town. This being established, he took shipping for Dover, and from thence rode post to court.

The King being then in his progress at sir Henry Wyat's house in Kent; of whom I and others of his servants thought he should have been nobly entertained, as well of the King himself, as of the nobles: but we were all deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding, he went immediately to the King after his return, with whom he had long talk, and continued two or three days after in the court, and then retired to his house at Westminster, where he remained till Michaelmas-term, which was within a fortnight after; and there he exercised his place of chancellorship, as he had done before.

And immediately after the beginning of the term, he caused to be assembled in the Star-chamber all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire throughout England, that were at Westminster-hall then present. And there he made a long oration, declaring the cause of his ambassage into France, and of his proceedings therein; saying, "That he had concluded such an amity and peace, as was never heard of in this realm, between our sovereign lord the King's Majesty, the emperor, and the French king, for a perpetual peace; which shall be confirmed in writing, under the seals of both realms, engraven in gold: offering further, that our King should receive yearly, by that name, out of the duchy of Normandy, all the charges and losses he had sustained in the wars.

"And also, forasmuch as there was a restraint made of the French queen's dowry (whom the duke of Suffolk had married) for many years together during the wars, it was concluded, that she should not only receive the same, according to her just right, but also the arrearages, being unpaid during the said restraint, should be perfected shortly after. The resort of ambassadors out of France should be such a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, to confirm the same, as hath not been seen, heretofore, repair hither out of one realm.

"This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between them of each realm, and intercourse of merchandise, that it shall be seen to all men to be but one monarchy. Gentlemen and others may travel from one country to another, for their recreations and pleasure; and merchants of either country may traffick safely, without fear of danger; so that this realm shall ever after flourish.

"Therefore may all Englishmen well rejoice, and set forth the truth of this ambassy in the country. Now, my masters, I beseech you and require you, in the King's behalf, that you shew yourselves as loving and obedient subjects, in whom the King may much rejoice, &c." And so he ended his oration, and broke up the court, for that time.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the French Ambassadors' Entertainment and Dispatch.

NOW the great long-looked-for ambassadors are arrived, being in number eight persons, of the noblest and most worthy gentlemen in all France; who were nobly received from place to place, and so conveyed, through London, to the bishop's palace in Paul's church-yard, where they were lodged; to whom divers noblemen resorted, and gave them noble presents, (especially the mayor of the city of London,) as wines, sugars, beeves, muttens, capons, wild fowl, wax, and other necessary things in abundance, for the expences of his house.

They resorted to the court, being then at Greenwich, on Sunday; and were received of the King's Majesty, of whom they were entertained highly.

They had a commission to establish our King's Highness in the order of France: to whom they brought, for that intent, a collar of fine gold, with a Michael hanging thereat, and robes appertaining to the said order, which were of blue velvet, and richly embroidered; wherein I saw the King pass to the closet, and afterwards in the same to mass.

And, to gratify the French king for his great honour, he sent incontinently noblemen here in England, of the order of the Garter; which garter the herald carried into France unto the French king, to establish him in the order of the Garter, with a rich collar and garter, and robes according to the same; the French ambassadors still remaining here, until the return of the English.

All things being then determined and concluded concerning the perpetual peace, upon solemn ceremonies and oaths, contained in certain instruments concerning the same; it was concluded there should be a solemn mass sung in the cathedral church of Paul in London, by the Cardinal; the King being present at the same in his traverse to perform all things determined.

And, for the preparation thereof, there was a gallery from the west-door of Paul's church, through the body of the same, up to the choir; and so to the high altar into the traverse. My lord Cardinal prepared himself to sing the mass, associated with twenty-four mitres of bishops and abbots, who attended him with such ceremonies, as to him were then due, by reason of his legative prerogative.

And, after the last *Agnus*, the King rose out of the traverse, and kneeled upon a carpet and cushions before the high altar; and the like did the great-master of France, chief ambassador, that here represented the king's person of France; between whom the lord Cardinal divided the blessed sacrament, as a perfect oath and bond for security of the said covenants of the said perpetual peace.

That done, the King went again into the traverse, this mass being ended, which was solemnly sung both by the choir of the same church, and all the King's chapel.

Then my Lord took and read the articles of peace openly before the King and all others, both English and French; and there, in sight of all the people, the King put his hand to the gold seal, and subscribed with his own hand, and delivered the same to the grand-master of France, as his deed; who semblably did the like. That done, they departed, and rode home with the Cardinal, and dined with him; passing all the day after in consultation of weighty affairs, touching the articles and conclusion of the said peace.

Then the King departed to Greenwich by water; at whose departure it was concluded, by the King's device, that all the Frenchmen should remove to Richmond, and hunt there; and from thence to Hampton-Court, and there to hunt likewise; and the lord Cardinal there to make a banquet, or supper, or both; and from thence they should ride to Windsor, and there hunt; and afterwards return to the King at Greenwich, and there to banquet with him before their departure.

This determined, they all repaired to their lodgings: then was there no more to do, but to make preparation in all things for the entertainment of this great assembly at Hampton-

Court, at the time appointed by my lord Cardinal, who called before him all his chief officers, as stewards, treasurers, clerks, and comptrollers of his kitchen; to whom he declared his whole mind touching the entertainment of the Frenchmen at Hampton-Court; to whom he also gave command neither to spare for any cost, or expence, nor pains, to make them such a triumphant banquet, that they might not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious report, to the great honour of our King and this realm.

Thus, having made known his pleasure, to accomplish his commandment, they sent out all the carriers, purveyors, and other persons to my Lord's friends to prepare. Also they sent to all expert cooks, and cunning persons in the art of cookery in London, or elsewhere, that might be gotten, to beautify the noble feast.

Then the purveyors provided, and my Lord's friends sent in such provision, that it was a wonder to see it.

The cooks wrought both day and night in many curious devices, where was no lack of gold, silver, or any other costly thing; the yeomen and grooms of his wardrobe were busied in hanging the chambers with costly hangings, and furnishing the same with beds of silk, and other furniture for the same in every degree.

Then my Lord sent me (being his gentleman-usher) and two others of my fellows, to foresee all things touching our rooms to be richly garnished; wherein our pains was not small; but daily we travelled up and down from chamber to chamber, to see things fitted.

Then wrought joiners, carpenters, painters, and all other artificers needful, that there was nothing wanting to adorn this noble feast. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuff, and other rich implements; so that there was nothing lacking, that could be devised or imagined for that purpose. There were also provided two-hundred and eighty beds, with all manner of furniture to them, too long here to be related.

The day assigned to the Frenchmen being come, they were ready assembled before the hour of their appointment; wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworth, a park of the King's within three miles of Hampton-Court, there to spend the time in hunting till night; which they did, and then returned; and every of them were conveyed to their several chambers, having in them good fires, and store of wine, where they remained till supper was ready.

The chambers, where they supped and banqueted, were adorned thus:

First, the great waiting-chamber was hung with very rich cloth of arras; and so all the rest, some better than others; and furnished with tall yeomen to serve. There were set tables round about the chambers, banquetwise, covered; also a cupboard, garnished with white plate, having also in the same chamber four great plates, to give the more light, set with great lights; and a great fire of wood and coals.

The next chamber was the chamber of presence; richly hanged, also, with cloth of arras, and a sumptuous cloth of state, furnished with many goodly gentlemen to serve. The tables were ordered, in manner as the others were, save only the high table was removed beneath the cloth of state, towards the midst of the chamber, with six desks of plate, garnished all over with fine gold, saving one pair of candlesticks of silver, and gilded, with lights in the same; the cupboard was barred about, that no man could come very near it, for there were divers pieces of great store of plate to use; besides, the plates that hung on the walls, to give light, were silver and gilt, with wax lights.

Now were all things in readiness, and supper fit; the principal officers caused the trumpets to blow to warn them to supper. Then the officers conducted the noblemen where they were to sup; and, they being set, the service came up, in such abundance, both costly and full of devices, with such a pleasant noise of musick, that the Frenchmen, as it seemed, were wrapped up in a heavenly paradise. You must understand, that my lord Cardinal was not there all this while; but the French monsieurs were very merry with their rich fare, and curious cates and knacks: but, before the second course, my lord Cardinal came in, booted and spurred, suddenly amongst them; at whose coming, there was great joy, every man rising from his place, whom my lord Cardinal caused to sit

still, and keep their places; and, being in his riding-apparel, called for his chair, and sat him down in the midst of the high table, and was there as merry and pleasant as ever I saw him in my life.

Presently after, came up the second course, which was above one-hundred several devices, which were so goodly and costly, that I think the Frenchmen never saw the like.

But the rarest curiosity of all the rest, they all wondered at, (which, indeed, was worthy of wonder,) were castles, with images in the same, like St. Paul's church, for the model of it; there were beasts, birds, fowls, personages, most excellently made; some fighting with swords, some with guns, others with cross-bows; some dancing with ladies, some on horseback, with complete armour, justling with long and sharp spears, with many more strange devices, which I cannot describe; amongst all, I noted there was a chess-board made of spice-plate, with men of the same, and of good proportion.

And, because the Frenchmen are very expert at that sport, my lord Cardinal gave that same to a French gentleman; commanding, that there should be made a good case, to convey the same into his country.

Then called my Lord for a great bowl of gold, filled with hippocras, and, putting off his cap, said, "I drink a health to the King, my sovereign lord; and next unto the king, your master." And when he had drunk a hearty draught, he desired the grand-master to pledge him a cup, which cup was worth five-hundred marks; and so all the lords, in order, pledged these great princes. Then went the cup merrily about; so that many of the Frenchmen were led to their beds: then went my Lord into his privy-chamber, making a short supper, or rather a short repast, and then returned again into the presence-chamber, amongst the Frenchmen; behaving himself in such a loving sort, and so familiarly towards them, that they could not sufficiently commend him.

And, while they were in communication and pastime, all their livery were served to their chambers; every chamber had a bason and ewer of silver, and a great livery-pot, with plenty of wine, and sufficient of every thing.

Thus furnished was every room about the house: when all was done, then were they conducted to their lodgings.

In the morning, after they had heard mass, they staid and dined with my Lord, and so departed towards Windsor; and, as soon as they were gone, my Lord returned to London, because it was in the midst of the term.

You must conceive, the King was privy to this magnificent feast, who then intended far to exceed the same; which I refer to the Frenchmen's return. Now the King had given command to his officers, to provide a far more sumptuous banquet for the strangers, than they had at the Cardinal's, which was not neglected. After the return of these strangers from Windsor (which place they much commended for the situation thereof), the King invited them to the court, where they dined; and, after dinner, they danced, and had their pastime till supper-time.

Then was the banquet-chamber, in the little yard at Greenwich, furnished for the entertainment of these strangers, to which place they were conducted by the greatest personages then being in the court, where they did both sup and banquet: but to describe to you the order hereof, the variety of costly dishes, and the curious devices, my weak ability, and shallow capacity, would much eclipse the magnificence thereof. But thus much take notice of, that, although that banquet at Hampton-Court was marvellous sumptuous, yet this banquet excelled the same, as much as gold doth silver in value; and, for my part, I never saw the like.

In the midst of the banquet, there were turning³⁸ at the barriers lusty gentlemen in complete armour, very gorgeous, on foot, and the like on horseback: and, after all this, there was such an excellent interlude, made in Latin, that I never saw or heard the like; the actors' apparel being so gorgeous, and of such strange devices, that it passeth my poor capacity to relate them.

³⁸ [Qu. running?]

This being ended, there came a great company of ladies and gentlewomen, the chiefest beauties in the realm of England, being as richly attired, as cost could make, or art devise, to set forth their gestures, proportions, or beauties; that they seemed, to the beholders, rather like celestial angels, than terrestrial creatures, and, in my judgment, worthy of admiration; with whom the gentlemen of France danced and masqued, every man choosing his lady, as his fancy served. That done, and the masquers departed; came in another masque of ladies and gentlewomen, so richly attired; as I cannot express: these ladies-masquers took each of them one of the Frenchmen to dance; and here note, that these noble women spoke all of them good French, which delighted them much, to hear the ladies speak to them in their own language.

Thus, triumphantly, did they spend the whole night, from five o'clock in the night, until two or three o'clock in the morning; at which time the gallants drew all to their lodgings, to take their rest.

As neither health, wealth, nor pleasure, can always last, so ended this triumphant banquet; which, being passed, seemed, in the morning, to the beholders, as a phantastic dream.

Now, after all this solemn banqueting, they prepared, with bag and baggage, to return; and, thereupon, repaired to the King, and, in order, every man took his leave of his Majesty, and the nobles; by whom the King sent his princely pleasure and commendations to the king their master, thanking them for their pains: and, after great communication had with the great-master of that ambassage, he bade them *adieu*.

Then they came to Westminster, to my lord Cardinal, to do the like; of whom he received the King's reward, which I shall hereafter relate.

First, every man, of honour and estimation, had plate; some to the value of two or three hundred pounds, and some of four-hundred pounds; besides the great gifts before received of his Majesty, as gowns of velvet, with rich furs, great chains of gold; and some had goodly horses of great value, with divers other gifts of great value, which I cannot call to remembrance; but the worst of them had the sum of twenty crowns: and thus, being nobly rewarded, my Lord (after humble commendations to the French king) bade them farewell, and so they departed.

The next day, they were conveyed to Dover, to the sea-side, with all their furniture, being accompanied with many English young gallants; and what report of their royal entertainment they made in their own country, I never heard.

CHAP. XV.

Of the King's Discovery of his Love to Mrs. Anne Bullen to the Cardinal, with the Cardinal's Dislike; and also the Opinions of all the learned Bishops in England, and foreign Universities.

AFTER this, began new matters, which troubled the heads and imaginations of all the court, wherewith all their stomachs were full, but little digestion; *viz.* the long-concealed affection of the King to Mrs. Anne Bullen now broke out, which his Majesty disclosed to the Cardinal; whose often persuasions, on his knees, took no effect.

My Lord, thereupon, being compelled to declare to his Majesty his opinion and wisdom, in the advancement of the King's desires; thought it not safe for him to wade too far alone, or to give rash judgment in so weighty a matter; but desired leave of the King to ask counsel of men of ancient and famous learning, both in the divine and civil laws.

Now this being obtained, he, by his legantine authority, sent out his commissions for the bishops of this realm, who, not long after, assembled all at Westminster, before my lord Cardinal; and not only these prelates, but also the most learned men of both universities,

and some from divers cathedral colleges in this realm, who were thought sufficiently able to resolve this doubtful question.

At this learned assembly was the King's case consulted of, debated, argued, and judged, from day to day. But, in conclusion, when these ancient fathers of law and divinity parted, they were all of one judgment; and that contrary to the expectation of most men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, "The King's case was too obscure for any man, and the points therein were too doubtful, to have any resolution therein:" and so, at that time, with a general consent, departed, without any resolution or judgment.

In this assembly of bishops, and divers other learned men, it was thought very expedient, that the King should send out his commissioners into all universities in Christendom, as well here in England, as foreign regions, there to have this case argued substantially, and to bring with them, from thence, every definition of their opinions of the same, under the seal of every university; and thus much, for this time, were their determinations.

And, thereupon, divers commissioners were presently appointed for this design: so some were sent to Cambridge, some to Oxford, some to Lorrain, others to Paris, some to Orleans, others to Padua, all at the proper costs and charges of the King, which, in the whole, amounted to a great sum of money; and all went out of this realm, besides the charge of the ambassage, to those famous and notable persons of all the universities; especially such as bore the rule, or had the custody of the university-seals, who were fed by the commissioners with such great sums of money, that they did easily condescend to their requests, and grant their desires.

By reason whereof, all the commissioners returned with their purpose, (furnished, according to their commissions, under the seal of every several university,) whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principal parties; insomuch that ever after, the commissioners were had in great estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded, far beyond their worthy deserts. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the matter went still forward; having now, as they thought, a sure staff to lean upon.

These proceedings being declared unto my lord Cardinal, he sent again for the bishops, to whom he declared the effect of these commissioners' pains; and, for assurance thereof, shewed them the instruments of each university, under their several seals; and the business being thus handled, they went again to consultation, how things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded, that it was very meet the King should send unto the pope's Holiness the opinions of both universities of England, and also foreign universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common seals: and it was also thought fit, the opinions of the worthy prelates of England should be sent to the pope, comprised in an instrument, which was not long time in finishing.

Nor was it long after, that the ambassadors were assigned for this design, who took their journey accordingly; having certain instruments, that if the pope would not, thereupon, consent to give judgment, definitively in the King's case, then to require another commission from his Holiness, to be granted to his legate, to establish a court here in England, for that purpose only; to be directed to my lord Cardinal, legate of England, and to cardinal Campaine, bishop of Bath; which the King gave him at a certain time, when he was sent ambassador hither from the pope's Holiness, to determine, and rightly judge according to their consciences. To the which, after long suit made, and for the good-will of the said cardinal, the pope granted their suit.

Then they returned into England, relating unto the King, that his Grace's pleasure should be now brought to pass substantially; being never more likely, considering the state of the judges.

Long was the expectation, on both sides, for the coming over of the legate from Rome; who, at last, arrived in England, with his commission; and, being much troubled with the gout, his journey was long and tedious, before he could get to London, who should have been most solemnly received at Blackheath: but he desired not to be so entertained with pomp and vain-glory, and, therefore, he came, very privately, on his own horse,

without Temple-Bar, called Bath-place, where he lay; the house being furnished with all manner of provision of my Lord's. So, after some deliberation and consultation, in the ordering of the King's business, now in hand, by his commission, and articles of his ambassage, which being read, it was determined, that the King, and the good Queen, his lawful wife, should be judged at Bridewell, and in Blackfriars, and some place thereabouts; the court to be kept, for the disputation and determination of the causes, and differences, between the King and the Queen; where they were to repair before these two legates, who sat as judges: before whom the King and Queen were cited, and summoned to appear; which was a strange sight, and the newest device that ever was heard or read of in any story or chronicle. A king and a queen to be compelled to appear in a court, as common persons, within their own realm and dominions; and to abide the judgments and decrees of their subjects, being a prerogative belonging to the royal diadem.

CHAP. XVI.

A new Court erected to determine the King's Case, two Cardinals being Judges, having Power to convene the King and Queen; and the Issue thereof.

IT is a wonderful thing to consider the strength of princes' wills, when they are bent to have their pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable persuasions will serve the turn: how little do they regard the dangerous sequels that may ensue as well to themselves as to their subjects. And, amongst all things, there is nothing that makes them more wilful than carnal love, and various affecting of voluptuous desires; wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what laws were enacted, what costly edifices of noble and ancient monasteries were there overthrown, what diversities of opinions then arose, what extortions were then committed, how many learned and good men were then put to death, and what alterations of good ancient laws, customs, and charitable foundations, were turned from the relief of the poor, to the utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion, of this noble realm.

It is a thousand pities to understand the things that since have happened to this land; the proof whereof hath taught all us Englishmen lamentable experience. If men's eyes be not blind, they may see; and if their ears be not stopped, they may hear; and if pity be not exiled, their hearts may relent and lament at the sequel of this inordinate love, although it lasted but a while. 'O Lord God, withhold thine indignation from us!'

You shall understand, as I said before, that there was a court erected at Blackfriars, London, where these two cardinals sat as judges. Now will I describe unto you the order of the court.

First, There were many tables and benches set in manner of a consistory, one seat being higher than another, for the judges aloft; above them, three degrees high, was a cloth of estate hanged, and a chair-royal under the same, wherein sat the King; and some distance off sat the Queen; and at the judges' feet, sat the scribes and officers for the execution of the process: the chief scribe was Dr. Stevens, after bishop of Winchester; and the apparitor, who was called Doctor of the court, was one Cooke of Westminster. Then before the King and the judges sat the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Warham, and all other bishops; there stood, at both ends within, counsellors learned in the spiritual laws, as well on the King's side, as the Queen's side, Dr. Sampson, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Hall, after bishop of Worcester, with divers others; and proctors in the same law were Dr. Peter, who was afterwards chief secretary, and Dr. Tregunmill, with divers others.

Now, on the other side, there were council for the Queen, Dr. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Standish, bishop of St. Asaph in Wales, two brave noble divines, especially the bishop of Rochester, a very godly man, whose death many noblemen and many worthy divines much lamented, who lost his head about this cause, before it was ended, upon

Tower-hill; as also another ancient doctor called Doctor Ridley, a little man, but a great divine.

The court being thus ordered (as is before expressed), the judges commanded the crier to proclaim silence; whilst the commission was both read to the court and to the people there assembled. That done, and silence being again proclaimed, the scribes commanded the crier to call King Henry of England; whereunto the King answered and said, 'Here.' Then called he again the Queen of England, by the name of 'Catharine, queen of England, come into the court,' &c. Who made no answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her chair where she sat; and, because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the court to the King, and kneeled down at his feet, saying these words in broken English, as followeth:

"Sir, (quoth she,) I beseech you do me justice and right, and take some pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions; having here no indifferent council, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! Sir, how have I offended you? What offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of life in this sort? I take God to witness, I have been to you a true and loyal wife; ever conformable to your will and pleasure: never did I contrary or gainsay your mind, but always submitted myself in all things, wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging or any sign of discontent. I have loved for your sake all men whom you have loved, whether I had cause or not, were they friends or foes; I have been your wife this twenty years, by whom you had many children. And, when I first came to your bed, I take God to witness, I was a virgin: whether it were true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any cause that you can allege, either of dishonesty, or of any other matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with shame and rebuke; but, if there be none, then I pray you let me have justice at your hands.

"The King your father was a man of such an excellent wit in his time, that he was accounted a second Solomon; and the King of Spain, my father Ferdinand, was taken for one of the wisest kings that reigned in Spain these many years. So they were both wise men and noble princes: and it is no question but they had wise counsellors of either realm, as be now at this day, who thought not, at the marriage of you and me, to hear what new devices are now invented against me, to cause me to stand to the order of this court. And I conceive you do me much wrong; nay, you condemn me for not answering; having no council but such as you have assigned me. You must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my part, being your own subjects, and such as you have made choice of out of your own council, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your pleasure.

"Therefore, I most humbly beseech you, to spare me, until I know how my friends in Spain will advise me. But, if you will not; then let your pleasure be done."

And with that she arose, making a curtesy to the King, and departed from thence; all the people thinking she would have returned again to her former seat; but she went presently out of the court, leaning upon the arm of one of her servants, who was her general-receiver, one Mr. Griffith.

The King, seeing that she was ready to go out of the court, commanded the crier to call her again by these words, 'Catharine, queen of England, come into court.' "Lo, (quoth Mr. Griffith,) you are called again." "Go on, (quoth she,) it is no matter. It is no, indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry; go on your way." And so they departed, without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other court after that.

The King, seeing she was departed thus, and considering her words, said to the audience these few words in effect: "Forasmuch (quoth he) as the Queen is gone, I will in her absence declare unto you all: she hath been to me a true obedient wife, and as comfortable as I could wish or desire; she hath all the virtues and good qualities that belong to a woman of her dignity, or in any of meaner estate; her conditions will well declare the same."

"Then (quoth the Cardinal) I humbly beseech your Highness, to declare unto this

audience, whether I have been the first and chief mover of this matter unto your Highness, or no; for I am much suspected of all men."

"My lord Cardinal, (quoth the King,) you have rather advised me to the contrary, than been any mover of the same. The special cause, that moved me in this matter, is a certain scruple that pricked my conscience, upon certain words spoken by the bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador, who came hither to consult of a marriage between the princess our daughter, the lady Mary, and the duke of Orleans, second son to the king of France; and, upon resolution and determination, he desired respite to advertise the king his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of my marriage with this woman; being sometime my brother's wife. Which words I pondering, begot such a scruple in my conscience, that I was much troubled at it; whereby I thought myself in danger of God's heavy displeasure and indignation; and the rather, because he sent us no issue male: for all the issue male that I have had by my wife, died incontinently after they came into the world; which caused me to fear God's displeasure in that particular. Thus, my conscience being tossed in that wave of troublesome doubts, and partly in despair to have any other issue, than I had already by this lady, my now wife; it behoved me to consider the estate of this realm, and the danger it stands in for lack of a prince to succeed me. I thought it therefore good, in release of this mighty burthen on my conscience, as also for the quiet estate of this realm, to attempt a trial in the law herein: whether I might lawfully take another wife, without stain of carnal concupiscence, by which God may send more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good? I not having any displeasure in the person, or age of the Queen, with whom I could be well contented to continue, if our marriage may stand with the law of God, as with any woman alive; in which point consisteth all the doubt that we go about, now to know by the learned wisdom of you, our prelates and pastors of this realm and dominion, now here assembled for that purpose; to whose consciences and learning I have committed the care and judgment, according to which I will (God willing) be well contented to submit myself, and obey the same. And when my conscience was so troubled, I moved it to you, my lord of Lincoln, in confession, then being my ghostly father: and, forasmuch as you were then in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsel of the rest of the bishops; whereupon I moved it to you, my lord Cardinal²⁹, to have your licence (forasmuch as you are metropolitan) to put this matter in question: and so I did to all you, my lords, to which you all granted under your seals, which is here to shew." "That is truth, (quoth the bishop of Canterbury,) and, I doubt not, but my brothers will acknowledge the same." "No, sir, not so, under correction, (quoth the bishop of Rochester,) for you have not my hand and seal." "No! (quoth the King;) Is not this your hand and seal?" and shewed it to him in the instrument with seals. "No, forsooth;" (quoth the bishop.) "How say you to that?" (quoth the King, to the bishop of Canterbury.) "Sir, it is his hand and seal;" quoth the bishop of Canterbury. "No, my lord, (quoth the bishop of Rochester;) indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and seal, as other of the lords had done; but I answered, that I would never consent to do any such act, for it was much against my conscience. And, therefore, my hand and seal shall never be set to such an instrument (God willing);" with many other words to that purpose. "You say truth, (quoth the bishop of Canterbury;) such words you used: but you fully resolved at the last, that I should subscribe your name, and put to your seal, and you would allow of the same." "All which, (quoth the bishop of Rochester,) under correction, my lord, is untrue." "Well, (quoth the King,) we will not stand in argument with you, you are but one." And so the King arose up, and the court was adjourned until the next day; at which time the cardinals sat again, and the council on both sides were there present to answer.

The King's council alleged the matrimony not good, nor lawful at the beginning, because of the carnal copulation that prince Arthur had with the Queen. This matter was

²⁹ [Holinshed says, 'My lord of Canterbury.']

very narrowly scanned on that side, and to prove the carnal copulation, they had many reasons and similitudes of truth : and being answered negatively again, on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were doubtful to be tried, and that no man knew. " Yes, (quoth the bishop of Rochester,) I know the truth." " How can you know the truth, (quoth the Cardinal,) more than any other person?" " Yes, forsooth, my lord, (quoth he,) I know that God is the Truth itself, and never saith but truth, and he saith thus: *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*. And, forasmuch as this marriage was joined, and made by God to a good intent ; therefore, I said, I knew the truth, and that man cannot break upon any wilful action, which God hath made and constituted." " So much do all faithful men know, (quoth my lord Cardinal,) as well as you ; therefore, this reason is not sufficient in this case : for the King's council do allege many presumptions, to prove that it was not lawful at the beginning ; *ergo*, it was not ordained by God ; for God doth nothing without a good end ; therefore, it is not to be doubted : but, if the presumptions be true which they allege to be most true, then the conjunction neither was, nor could be of God ; therefore I say unto you, my lord of Rochester, you know not the truth, unless you can avoid their presumptions upon just reasons."

" Then (quoth Dr. Ridley) it is a great shame and dishonour to this honourable presence, that any such presumptions should be alleged in this open court." " What? (quoth my lord Cardinal,) *domine doctor reverende*. No, my lord, there belongs no reverence to this matter ; for an unreverent matter may be unreverently answered : " and so left off, and then they proceeded to other matters.

Thus passed this court from session to session, and day to day, till a certain day the King sent for the Cardinal to Bridewell, who went into the privy-chamber to him where he was, about an hour, and then departed from the King, and went to Westminster in his barge ; the bishop of Carlisle, being with him, said, " It is a hot day to-day." " Yes, (quoth the Cardinal,) if you had been as well chafed, as I have been within this hour ; you would say you were very hot." My Lord no sooner came home, but he went to bed, where he had not laid above two hours, but my lord of Wiltshire, Mrs. Anne Bullen's father, came to speak with him from the King. My Lord commanded he should be brought to his bed's-side, who told him, it was the King's mind he should forthwith go, with the Cardinal, to the Queen (being then at Bridewell, in her chamber), and to persuade her, through their wisdoms, to put the whole matter into the King's own hands, by her consent ; which should be much better for her honour, than stand to the trial at law, and, thereby, be condemned ; which would tend much to her dishonour and discredit.

To perform the King's pleasure, my Lord said he was ready, and so prepared to go : " But (quoth he further to my lord of Wiltshire) you, and others of the lords of the council, have put fancies into the head of the King, whereby you trouble all the realm ; but, at the length, you will get but small thanks, both of God and the world : " with many other earnest words and reasons, which did cause my lord of Wiltshire to be silent, kneeling by my Lord's bed's-side ; and, in conclusion, departed.

And then my Lord rose, and took his barge, and went to Bath-house, to cardinal Campaine's, and so went together to Bridewell, to the Queen's lodgings ; she being then in her chamber of presence : they told the gentleman-usher, that they came to speak with the Queen's Grace ; who told the Queen, the cardinals were come to speak with her : then she rose up, (having a skain of red silk about her neck, being at work with her maids,) and came to the cardinals, where they staid, attending her coming ; at whose approach, quoth she : " Alack, my lords, I am sorry that you have attended on me so long ; what is your pleasures with me ? " " If it please your Grace (quoth the Cardinal) to go to your privy-chamber, we will shew you the cause of our coming."

" My lord, (said she,) if you have any thing to say to me, speak it openly before all these folk ; for I fear nothing that you can say to me, or against me, but that I am willing all the world should both see and hear it ; and, therefore, speak your minds openly."

Then began my Lord to speak to her in Latin : " Nay, good my lord, speak to me in English, (quoth she,) although I do understand some Latin." " Forsooth, (quoth my

Lord,) good madam, if it please your Grace, we come both to know your mind, what you are disposed to do in this matter, and also to declare to you, secretly, our counsels and opinions; which we do, for very zeal and obedience to your Grace."

"My lords, (quoth she,) I thank you for your good-wills, but to make answer to your requests I cannot so suddenly; for I was set amongst my maids at work, little thinking of any such matter, wherein is requisite some deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer: for I need counsel in this case, which concerns me so near; and friends here I have none; they are in Spain, in my own country. Also, my lords, I am a poor woman, of too weak a capacity to answer such noble persons of wisdom as you are, in so weighty a matter. And, therefore, I pray you, be good to me, a woman destitute of friendship here in a foreign region, and your counsel I also shall be glad to hear:" and therewith she took my Lord by the hand, and led him into her privy-chamber, with the other cardinal; where they staid a while, and I heard her voice loud; but what she said, I know not.

This done, they went to the King, and made a relation unto him of the passages, between the Queen and them; and so they departed.

This strange case proceeded, and went forward from court-day to court-day, until it came to that, that every man expected to hear judgment given; at which time, all their proceedings were openly read in Latin: that done, the King's council, at the bar, moved for judgment. Quoth cardinal Campaine, "I will not give judgment; until I have related the whole proceedings to the pope, whose counsel and commandment, I will, in this case, observe. The matter is too high for us to give hasty judgment; considering the persons, and the doubtful occasions alleged, and also whose commissioners we are, by whose authority we sit.

"It is good reason, therefore, that we make our chief lord of council acquainted with the same, before we proceed to judgment definitive. I came not to please for any favour, reward, or fear, of any person alive, be he king, or otherwise; I have no such respect to the person, that I should offend my conscience. And the party-defendant will make no answer here, but rather doth appeal from us; I am an old man, both weak and sickly, and look, every day, for death: what shall it avail me, to put my soul in danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince in this world? My being here is only to see justice administered, according to my conscience.

"The defendant supposeth that we be not indifferent judges, considering the King's high dignity and authority within this realm. And, we being both his subjects, she thinks we will not do her justice; and, therefore, to avoid all these ambiguities, I adjourn the court, for the time, according to the court of Rome, from whence our jurisdiction is arrived: for, if we should go further than our commission doth warrant us, it were but a folly, and blame-worthy; because then we shall be breakers of the orders, from whom we have, as I said, our authority derived:" and so the court was dissolved, and no more done.

Thereupon, by the King's commandment, stepped up the duke of Suffolk, and, with a haughty countenance, uttered these words: "It was never thus in England, until we had cardinals amongst us." Which words were set forth with such vehemency, that all men marvelled what he intended; the duke further expressing some opprobrious words.

My lord Cardinal, perceiving his vehemency, soberly said; "Sir, of all men in this realm, you have least cause to dispraise cardinals; for, if I, poor Cardinal, had not been, you should not, at this present, have had a head on your shoulders, wherewith to make such a brag in despite of us; who wish you no harm, neither have given you such cause to be offended with us. I would have you think, my lord, I and my brother wish the King as much happiness, and the realm as much honour, wealth, and peace, as you, or any other subject, of what degree soever he be, within this realm; and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desires.

"And now, my lord, I pray you, shew me what you would do in such a case as this, if you were one of the King's commissioners, in a foreign region, about some weighty

matter, the consultation whereof was very doubtful to be decided. Would you not advertise the King's Majesty, before you went through with the same? I doubt not but you would; and, therefore, abate your malice and spite, and consider that we are commissioners for a time, and cannot, by virtue of a commission, proceed to judgment, without the knowledge and consent of the head of the authority, and licence obtained from him, who is the pope.

"Therefore, do we neither more nor less, than our commission allows us; and, if any man will be offended with us, he is an unwise man: therefore pacify yourself, my lord, and speak like a man of honour and wisdom, or hold your peace: speak not reproachfully of your friends; you best know what friendship I have shewn you: I never did reveal to any person, till now, either to my own praise, or your dishonour⁴⁰." Whereupon the duke went away, and said no more; being much discontented.

This matter continued thus a long season, and the King was in displeasure against my lord Cardinal, because his suit had no better success to his purpose.

Notwithstanding, the Cardinal excused himself, by his commission, which gave him no authority to proceed to judgment, without the knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himself. At last, they were advertised, by a post, that they should take deliberation in the matter, until his council were opened, which should not be till Bartholomew-tide next.

The King, thinking it would be too long before it would be determined, sent an ambassador to the pope, to persuade him to shew so much favour to his Majesty, as that it might be sooner determined.

On this ambassage went Dr. Stephen Gardener, (then called by the name of Dr. Steven,) secretary to the King, afterwards bishop of Winchester. This ambassador staid there till the latter end of summer; of whose return you shall hereafter hear.

CHAP. XVII.

Of certain Passages conducing to the Cardinal's Fall.

NOW the King commanded the Queen to be removed from the court, and sent to another place; and presently after the King rode on progress, and had in his company mistress Anne Bullen: in which time cardinal Campaine made suit to be discharged, and sent home to Rome; and, in the interim, returned Mr. secretary: and it was concluded, that my Lord should come to the King to Grafton in Northamptonshire; as also cardinal Campaine, being a stranger, should be conducted thither by my lord Cardinal. And so, the next Sunday, there were divers opinions that the King would not speak with my Lord: whereupon there were many great wagers laid.

These two prelates being come to the court, and alighting, expected to be received of the great officers, as the manner was, but they found the contrary. Nevertheless, because the cardinal Campaine was a stranger, the officers met him with staves in their hands in the outward court, and so conveyed him to his lodging prepared for him; and, after my Lord had brought him to his lodging, he departed, thinking to have gone to his chamber, as he was wont to do. But it was told him, he had no lodging or chamber appointed for him in the court: which news did much astonish him.

Sir Henry Norris, who was then groom of the stool, came unto him, and desired him

⁴⁰ [It has been often questioned what it was that the Cardinal alluded to; when and on what occasion he had saved the duke's life. Dr. Fiddes, when he comes to this passage, professes himself ignorant of his meaning; his words are, 'But that the charge itself had some foundation, though the fact upon which it is founded is unknown.' Dr. Pegge of Litchfield, who had paid much attention to the life of Wolsey, has shewn that the intercession of the Cardinal proved the means of abating the anger of the imperious Henry, on the clandestine marriage of the duke of Suffolk with his sister queen Mary of France; which marriage might have been made treason by the laws of England, had not the friendly offices of the Cardinal prevented. See *Gent. Mag.* for March 1755.]

to take his chamber for a while, until another was provided for him: "for I assure you, here is but little room in this house for the King; and therefore, I humbly beseech your Grace, accept of mine for a season." My Lord, thanking him for his courtesy, went to his chamber, where he shifted his riding-apparel.

In the mean time came divers noblemen of his friends to welcome him to the court, by whom my Lord was advertised of all things touching the King's favour or displeasure: and, being thus informed of the cause thereof, he was more able to excuse himself.

So my Lord made him ready, and went to the chamber of presence with the other cardinal, where the lords of the council stood all of a row in order in the chamber, and saluted them both. And there were present many gentlemen, which came on purpose to observe the meeting and countenance of the King to my lord Cardinal. Then, immediately after, the King came into the chamber of presence, standing under the cloth of state.

Then my lord Cardinal took cardinal Campaine by the hand, and kneeled down before the King, but what he said unto him, I know not; but his countenance was amiable, and his Majesty stooped down, and with both his hands took him up, and then took him by the hand, and went to the window with him, and there talked with him a good while.

Then, to have beheld the countenance of the lords and noblemen that had laid wagers, it would have made you smile; especially those that had laid their money, that the King would not speak with him.

Thus they were deceived; for the King was in earnest discourse with him, insomuch that I could hear the King say, "How can this be; is not this your hand?" And pulled a letter out of his own bosom, and shewed the same to my Lord. And, as I perceived, my Lord so answered the same, that the King had no more to say; but said to my Lord, "Go to your dinner, and take my lord cardinal to keep you company; and after dinner I will speak further with you:" and so they departed. And the King that day dined with mistress Anne Bullen in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the presence-chamber a table for my Lord, and other lords of the council, where they dined together; and sitting at dinner telling of divers matters, "The King should do well (quoth my lord Cardinal) to send his bishops and chaplains home to their cures and benefices." "Yea, marry, (quoth my lord of Norfolk,) and so it were meet for you to do also." "I would be very well contented therewith, if it were the King's pleasure to license me, with his Grace's leave, to go to my cure at Winchester." "Nay, (quoth my lord of Norfolk,) to your benefice at York, where your greatest honour and charge is." "Even as it shall please the King;" quoth my lord Cardinal: and so they fell upon other discourses. For, indeed, the nobility were loth he should be so near the King, as to continue at Winchester. Immediately after dinner they fell to council, till the waiters had also dined.

I heard it reported by those that waited on the King at dinner, that Mrs. Anne Bullen was offended as much as she durst, that the King did so graciously entertain my lord Cardinal; saying, "Sir; Is it not a marvellous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you, with all your subjects?" "How so?" quoth the King. "Forsooth, (quoth she,) there is not a man in all your whole realm of England, worth a hundred pounds, but he hath indebted you to him:" meaning of loan, which the King had of his subjects. "Well, well, (quoth the King,) for that matter there was no blame in him; for I know that matter better than you, or any else." "Nay, (quoth she,) besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts and places of this realm, to your great slander and disgrace? There is never a nobleman, but, if he had done half so much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my father, or any other man, had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads before this." "Then I perceive, (quoth the King,) you are none of my lord Cardinal's friends." "Why, sir, (quoth she,) I have no cause, nor any that love you. No more hath your Grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings."

By that time the waiters had dined, and took up the table; and so for that time ended their communication.

You may perceive by this, how the old malice was not forgotten; but begins to kindle and be set on fire, which was stirred by his ancient enemies; whom I have formerly named in this treatise.

The King, for that time, departed from mistress Anne Bullen, and came to the chamber of presence, and called for my Lord; and, in the great window, had a long discourse with him; but of what, I know not. Afterwards the King took him by the hand, and led him into the privy-chamber, and sat in consultation with him all alone, without any other of the lords, till it was dark night; which blanked all his enemies very sore, who had no other way but by mistress Anne Bullen, in whom was all their trust and affiance for the accomplishment of their enterprises: for without her, they feared all their purposes would be frustrated.

Now at night was warning given me, that there was no room for my Lord to lodge in the court; so that I was forced to provide my Lord a lodging in the country, about Easton, at one Mr. Empston's house, where my Lord came to supper by torch-light, being late before my Lord parted from the King; who willed him to resort to him in the morning, for that he would talk further with him about the same matter; and in the morning my Lord came again, at whose coming the King's Majesty was ready to ride, willing my Lord to consult with the lords in his absence, and said he would not talk with him; commanding my Lord to depart with cardinal Campaine, who had already taken his leave of the King.

This sudden departure of the King's was the especial labour of mistress Anne Bullen, who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because he should not return till the departure of the cardinals. The King rode that morning to view a piece of ground to make a park of, (which was afterwards, and is at this time, called Harewell-park,) where mistress Anne had provided him a place to dine in; fearing his return before my lord Cardinal's departure.

So my Lord rode away after dinner with cardinal Campaine, who took his journey towards Rome, with the King's reward; but what it was I am not certain.

After their departure, it was told the King, that cardinal Campaine was departed, and had great treasure with him of my lord Cardinal's of England, to be conveyed in great sums to Rome, whither they surmised he would secretly repair out of this realm. Insomuch, that they caused a post to ride after the cardinal to search him; who overtook him at Calais, and staid him until search was made: but there was found no more than was received of the King for a reward.

Now, after cardinal Campaine was gone, Michaelmas-term drew on; against which time my lord Cardinal repaired to his house at Westminster; and when the term began, he went into the hall in such manner as he was accustomed to do, and sat in the chancery, being then lord-chancellor of England, after which day he never sat more: the next day he staid at home for the coming of my lords of Norfolk and Suffolk, who came not that day, but the next: and did declare unto my Lord, that it was the King's pleasure he should surrender up the great-seal of England into their hands, and that he should depart unto Ashur⁴¹; which is a house near unto Hampton-Court, belonging unto the bishoprick of Winchester.

The Cardinal demanded of them to see their commission that gave them such authority: who answered again, they were sufficient commissioners, and had authority to do no less from the King's own mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree to their demand in that behalf, without further knowledge of their authority; telling them, that the great-seal was delivered to him by the King's own person, to enjoy the ministration thereof, together with the chancellorship, during the term of his life, whereof, for surety, he had the King's letters-patents to shew: which matter was much debated between him and the dukes, with many great words, which he took patiently; insomuch that the dukes were fain to depart without their purpose at that time, and returned to Windsor to the

⁴¹ [*i. e.* Eshur.]

King : and, the next day, they returned to my Lord with the King's letters ; whereupon, in obedience to the King's command⁴², my Lord delivered to them the broad-seal, which they brought to Windsor to the King.

Then my Lord called his officers before him, and took account of all things they had in their charge⁴³ ; and in his gallery were set divers tables, upon which were laid divers and great store of rich stuffs, as whole pieces of silk of all colours, velvets, satins, musks, taffaties, grograms, scarlets, and divers rich commodities. Also, there were one-thousand pieces of fine holland, and the hangings of the gallery with cloth of gold, and cloth of silver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours, which were hanged in expectation of the King's coming.

Also, of one side of the gallery, were hanged the rich suits of copes of his own providing, which were made for colleges at Oxford and Ipswich : they were the richest that ever I saw in all my life. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one most commonly called the Gilt-chamber, the other the Council-chamber, wherein were set two broad and long tables, whereupon were set such abundance of plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed ; a great part being all of clean gold ; and upon every table and cupboard where the plate was set, were books ; importing every kind of plate, with the contents, and the weight thereof.

Thus were all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of the said stuff, with other things remaining in every office, to be delivered to the King, as he gave charge : all things being ordered (as is before rehearsed), my Lord prepared to depart, and resolved to go by water ; but, before his going, sir William Gascoigne, being his treasurer, came unto him, and said, " Sir, (quoth he,) I am sorry for your Grace, for I hear you are straight to go to the Tower." " Is this the best comfort, (quoth my Lord,) you can give to your master in adversity ? It hath always been your inclination to be light of credit, and much lighter in reporting of lies : I would you should know, sir William, and all those reporters too, that it is untrue ; for I never deserved to come there : although it hath pleased the King to take my house ready furnished, for his pleasure, at this time ; I would all the world should know, I have nothing but it is of right for him, and of him I received all that I have ; it is therefore convenient and reasonable to tender the same to him again."

Then my Lord, with his train of gentlemen and yeomen, which was no small company, took his barge at his privy-stairs, and went by water to Putney ; at which time, upon the water, were abundance of boats filled with people, expecting to have seen my lord Cardinal go to the Tower, which they longed to see. — Oh ! wondering and new-fangled world ! Is it not a time to consider the mutability of this uncertain world ? For the common people ever desire things for novelty's sake, which after, turn to their small profit or advantage. For, if you mark the sequel, they had small cause to rejoice at his fall. I cannot see, but all men in favour are envied by the common people, though they do minister justice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at Ashur, three or four weeks ; without either beds, sheets, table-cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in, or wherewith to buy any. But there were good store of all kind of victuals, and of beer and wine plenty : but afterwards my Lord borrowed some plate and dishes of the bishop of Carlisle.

Thus continued my Lord in this strange state till after Allhallows-tide ; and being one day at dinner, Mr. Cromwell told him, " That he ought in conscience to consider the true and good service, that he and other of his servants had done him, who never forsook him in weal nor woe." Then quoth my Lord, " Alas ! Tom, you know I have nothing to give you nor them ; which makes me both ashamed and sorry that I have nothing to requite your faithful services." Whereupon Mr. Cromwell told my Lord, " That he had abundance of chaplains, that were preferred by his Grace to benefices of some one-thousand pounds, and others five-hundred pounds ; some more and some less ; and we, your

⁴² [Wolsey delivered the seals on the 18th of November, 1529.]

⁴³ [Among the Harl. MSS. there is one intitled, 'An Inventorie of Cardinal Wolsey's rich Housholde Stuffe.' *Temp. Hen. VIII.* The original book as it seems, kept by his own officers." See Catal. N^o. 599.]

poor servants, take more pains in one day's service, than all your idle chaplains have done in a year: and therefore, if they will not impart liberally to you in your great indigence, it is a pity they should live; and all the world will have them in indignation for their great ingratitude to their master."

Afterwards, my Lord commanded me to call all his gentlemen and yeomen up in the great chamber; commanding all the gentlemen to stand on the right-hand, and the yeomen on the left side: at last, my Lord came out in his rochet, upon a violet gown, like a bishop, who went with his chaplains to the upper end of the chamber, where was a great window, beholding his goodly number of servants, who could not speak to them, until the tears ran down his cheeks; which, being perceived of his servants, caused fountains of tears to gush out of their sorrowful eyes in such sort, as would cause any heart to relent.

At last my Lord spoke to them to this effect and purpose, saying; "Most faithful gentlemen, and true-hearted yeomen; I much lament that in my prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, and was in my power to do: I consider that, if in my prosperity I should have preferred you to the King, then should I have incurred the King's servants' displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my back, that there could no office in the court escape the Cardinal and his servants, and by that means I should have run into open slander of all the world; but now it is come to pass, that it hath pleased the King to take all that I have into his hands, so that I have now nothing to give you; for I have nothing left me but the bare clothes on my back:" with many other words in their praise. And so he, giving them all hearty thanks, went away: and afterwards many of his servants departed from him; some to their wives, some to their friends, and Mr. Cromwell to London, it being then the beginning of the parliament.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Cardinal is accused of High-treason in the Parliament-house; against which Accusation, Mr. Cromwell (late Servant to him), being a Burgess in the Parliament, made Defence.

THE aforesaid Mr. Cromwell, after his departure from my Lord, devised with himself to be one of the burgesses of the parliament: and, being at London, he chanced to meet one sir Thomas Russel, knight, a special friend of his, whose son was one of the burgesses of the parliament, of whom, by means, he obtained his room, and so put his feet into the parliament-house: and, three days after his departure from my Lord, he came again to Ashur, and I being there with my Lord, he said unto me, with a pleasant countenance: "I have adventured my feet where I will be better regarded, before the parliament be dissolved." And, after he had some talk with my Lord, he made haste to London, because he would not be absent from the parliament; to the intent he might acquaint my Lord what was there objected against him, thereby the better to make his defence; inso-much, that there was nothing at any time objected against my Lord, but he was ready to make answer thereunto: by means whereof, he, being earnest in his master's behalf, was reputed the most faithful servant to his master of all others, and was generally, of all men, highly commended.

Then was there brought a bill of articles into the parliament-house, to have my Lord condemned of high-treason; against which bill, Mr. Cromwell did inveigh so discreetly, and with such witty persuasions, that the same would take no effect⁴⁴. Then were his enemies constrained to indict him of a *præmunire*, and all was to entitle the King to all

⁴⁴ [Dr. Pegge is of opinion, that in relation to the charges brought against the Cardinal in parliament, the house of commons could do no otherwise than acquit him; because, though several of the articles alledged against him might be true, and doubtless were so; yet he had either suffered the law for them already, or they were not sufficiently proved, or too inconsiderable or improper to ground any censure upon them. Of this last nature was the sixth article, the verity of which Dr. Pegge has fully proved. See Gent. Mag. July and August, 1755.]

his goods and possessions ; which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, which were both most sumptuous buildings. To the judges, that were sent to take my Lord's answer herein, he thus answered :

" My lords Judges, (quoth he,) the King knoweth, whether I have offended or no, in using my prerogative for the which I am indicted. I have the King's licence in my coffer to shew, under his hand and broad-seal, for the executing and using thereof in a most large manner, the which now are in the hands of mine enemies ; but, because I will not here stand to contend with his Majesty in his own case, I will here presently before you confess the indictment, and put myself wholly to the mercy and grace of the King ; trusting that he hath a conscience and reason to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience ; wherein I might well stand to my trial with justice. Thus much may you say to his Highness, that I wholly submit myself under his obedience in all things, to his princely will and pleasure, whom I never disobeyed or repugned ; but was always contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent. I most heartily desire you to have me commended to him, for whom I shall, during my life, pray to God to send him much prosperity, honour, and victory over his enemies." And so they left him.

After which, Mr. Shelley, the judge, was sent to speak with my Lord ; who, understanding he was come, issued out of his privy-chamber, and came to him to know his business ; who, after due salutation, did declare unto him, " That the King's pleasure was, to demand my Lord's house, called York-place, near Westminster, belonging to the bishoprick of York ; and that you do pass the same according to the laws of this realm. His Highness hath sent for all his judges and learned council, to know their opinions for your assurance thereof ; who be fully resolved, that your Grace must make a recognisance, and before a judge, acknowledge and confess the right thereof to belong to the King and his successors, and so his Highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore, it hath pleased the King to send me hither to take of you the recognisance, having in your Grace such affiance, that you will not refuse to do so : therefore, I do desire to know your Grace's pleasure therein."

" Master Shelley, (quoth my Lord,) I know the King of his own nature is of a royal spirit ; not requiring more, than reason shall lead him to by the law : and therefore I counsel you, and all other judges and learned men of his council, to put no more into his head, than law, that may stand with conscience : for, when you tell him, that although this be law, yet it is not conscience ; for law without conscience is not fit to be ministered by a king, nor his council, nor by any of his ministers ; for every council to a king ought to have respect to conscience before the rigour of the law : *Laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet*. The King ought, for his royal dignity and prerogative, to mitigate the rigour of the law : and therefore, in his princely place, he hath constituted a chancellor to order for him the same ; and therefore the court of Chancery hath been commonly called the Court of Conscience ; for that it hath jurisdiction to command the law, in every case, to desist from the rigour of the execution. And now I say to you, master Shelley, Have I a power, or may I with conscience give that away, which is now mine, for me and my successors ? If this be law and conscience, I pray you, shew me your opinion."

" Forsooth, (quoth he,) there is no great conscience in it : but, having regard to the King's great power, it may the better stand with conscience ; who is sufficient to recompense the church of York with the double value."

" That I know well, (quoth my Lord,) but there is no such condition, but only a bare and simple departure of others' rights. If every bishop should do so, then might every prelate give away the patrimony of the church ; and so, in process of time, leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignities ; which would be but little to the King's honour."

" Well, (quoth my Lord,) let me see your commission : " which was shewed to him : then quoth my Lord, " Tell his Highness, that I am his most faithful subject, and obedient beadsman, whose command I will in no wise disobey ; but will in all things fulfil

his pleasure, as you, the fathers of the law, say I may. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me; and shew his Highness, from me, that I must desire his Majesty to remember, there is both heaven and hell." And thereupon the clerk took and wrote the recognisance; and, after some secret talk, they departed.

Thus continued my Lord at Ashur; receiving daily messages from the court, some good and some bad, but more ill than good: for his enemies, perceiving the good affection the King bore always to him, devised a means to disquiet his patience, thinking thereby to give him occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue, than otherwise; which they most desired. For they feared him more after his fall, than they did in his prosperity; fearing, if he should, by reason of the King's favour, rise again, and be again in favour, and great at the court, they his enemies might be in danger of their lives, for their cruelty wrongfully ministered unto him, and, by their malicious surmises, invented and brought to pass against him; and did continually find new matters against him, to make him vex and fret: but he was a wise man, and did arm himself with much patience.

At Christmas he fell very sore sick, most likely to die. The King, hearing thereof, was very sorry, and sent Dr. Butts, his physician, unto him; who found him very dangerously sick in bed, and returned to the King: the King demanded, saying, "Have you seen yonder man?" "Yes, sir;" (quoth he). "How do you like him?" quoth the King. "Sir, (quoth he,) if you will have him dead, I will warrant you, he will be dead within these four days; if he receive no comfort from you shortly."

"Marry! God forbid, (quoth the King,) that he should die; for I would not lose him for twenty-thousand pounds. I pray you, go to him, and do your care to him."

"Then must your Grace (quoth Dr. Butts) send him some comfortable message." "So I will (quoth the King) by you; therefore make speed to him again, and you shall deliver him this ring from me, for a token." [In the which ring was the King's image engraven, with a ruby, as like the King as might be devised.] "This ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the same: and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my heart for any thing; and that shall be known shortly: therefore, bid him pluck up his heart, and be of good comfort. And I charge you, come not from him, till you have brought him out of the danger of death, if it be possible."

Then spoke the King to Mrs. Anne Bullen: "Good sweetheart, as you love me, send the Cardinal a token at my request; and, in so doing, you shall deserve our thanks." She, being disposed not to offend the King, would not disobey his loving request, but took incontinently her tablet of gold, that hung at her side, and delivered it to Dr. Butts, with very gentle and loving words; and so he departed to Ashur with speed. And after him the King sent Dr. Cromer, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Wotton, to consult and advise with Dr. Butts for my Lord's recovery.

Now, after Dr. Butts had been with him, and delivered him the tokens from the King and Mrs. Anne Bullen, with the most comfortable words, he could devise, on the King's and Mrs. Anne's behalf; he advanced himself in his bed, and received the tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for his pains and good comfort. He told him further, "That the King's pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health. And, for the better and more assured ways, he hath also sent Dr. Cromer, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Wotton, all to join for his recovery: therefore, my Lord, (quoth Dr. Butts,) it were well they were called to visit you, and to consult with me for your disease." At which motion my Lord was contented, and sent for them to hear their judgments: but he trusted more to Dr. Cromer, than all the rest, because he was the very means to bring him from Paris to England, and gave him, partly, his exhibition in Paris. To be short, in four days they set him again upon his feet, and he had gotten him a good stomach to meat.

All this done, and my Lord in a right good way of amendment, they took their leaves, and departed. To whom my Lord offered his reward; but they refused, saying, "the King had given a special commandment, that they should take nothing of him; for, at their return, he would reward them of his own cost."

After this, my Lord continued at Ashur till Candlemas; before, and against which feast, the King caused to be sent to my Lord three or four loads of stuff; and most thereof, except beds and kitchen-stuff, was loaded in standers, wherein were both plate, and rich hangings, and chapel-stuff, which was done without the knowledge of the lords of the council: for all which he rendered the King most humble and hearty thanks, and afterwards made suit to the King to be removed from Ashur to Richmond; which request was granted.

The house of Richmond, a little before, was repaired by my Lord, to his great cost; for the King had made an exchange with him for Hampton-Court. Had the lords of the council known of these favours from the King to the Cardinal, they would have persuaded the King to the contrary; for they feared, lest his now abode near the King might move the King at some season to resort unto him, and to call him home again; considering the great and daily affection the King bore unto him. Therefore they moved the King, that my Lord might go down to the North, to his benefice there, where he might be a good stay, as they alleged, to the country. To which the King condescended: thinking no less, but that all had been true, according to their relation; being with such colour of deep consideration, that the King was straightway persuaded to their conclusion. Whereupon, my lord of Norfolk ordered Mr. Cromwell, who daily did resort to my Lord, that he should say to him, "That he must go home to his benefice." "Well, then, Thomas, (quoth my Lord,) we will go to Winchester." "I will, then, (quoth Mr. Cromwell,) tell my lord of Norfolk what you say." And so he did, at his next meeting of him. "What should he do there?" (quoth the duke:) let him go to the rich bishoprick of York, where his greatest honour and charge lie; and so shew to him." The lords, who were not his friends, perceiving that my Lord was disposed to plant himself so nigh the King, thought then to withdraw his appetite from Winchester; moved the King to give my Lord a pension of four-thousand marks out of Winchester, and all the rest to be distributed amongst the nobility and his servants; and so, likewise, to divide the revenues of St. Albans; whereof some had two-hundred pounds; and all the revenues of his lands, belonging to his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, the King took into his own hands; whereof Mr. Cromwell had the receipt and government before, by my Lord's assignment. Wherefore it was thought very necessary, that he should have the same still, who executed all things so well and exactly, that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein.

Now it came to pass, that those to whom the King had given any annuities, or fees for term of life, or by patent, could not be good, but only for and during my Lord's life; forasmuch as the King had no longer estate therein, but what he had by my Lord's attainder in the *præmunire*: and to make their estate good and sufficient, there was no other way, but to obtain my Lord's confirmation of their patents; and to bring this about, there was no other means, but by Mr. Cromwell, who was thought the fittest instrument for this purpose; and for his pains therein, he was worthily rewarded; and his demeanour, his honesty, and wisdom were such, that the King took great notice of him, as you shall hereafter hear.

Still the lords thought long, till my Lord was removed further off the King's way; wherefore, among others of the lords, my lord of Norfolk said: "Mr. Cromwell, methinks, the Cardinal thy master makes no haste to go northwards: tell him, if he go not away, I will tear him with my teeth: therefore I would advise him to prepare away with speed, or else I will set him forward." These words reported Mr. Cromwell to my Lord at his next repair, which was then at Richmond; having obtained licence of the King to remove from Ashur to Richmond. And, in the evening, my Lord being accustomed to walk in the garden, and I being with him standing in an alley, I espied certain images of beasts, counterfeited in timber; which I went nearer, to take the better view of them: among whom I there saw stand a dun cow, whereat I most mused of all those beasts. My Lord then suddenly came upon me unawares, and, speaking to me, said: "What have you espied there, whereat you look so earnestly?" "Forsooth,

(quoth I,) if it please your Grace, I here behold these images, which, I suppose, were ordained to be set up in the King's palace; but amongst them all I have most considered this cow, which seems to me the artificer's master-piece." "Yea, marry, (quoth my Lord,) upon this cow hangs a certain prophecy, which perhaps you never heard of; I will shew you, there is a saying,

When the cow doth ride the bull,

Then, priest, beware of thy skull."

Which saying, neither my Lord that declared it, nor I that heard it, understood the effect; although the compass thereof was working, and then like to be brought to pass: this cow the King gave by reason of the earldom of Richmond, which was his inheritance. This prophecy was afterwards expounded in this manner: the dun cow, because it is the King's beast, betokens the King; and the bull betokens Mrs. Anne Bullen, who after was queen; her father gave the black bull's head in his cognisance, which was his beast; so that, when the King had married queen Anne, it was thought of all men to be fulfilled: for what a number of priests, religious and secular, lost their heads for offending of those laws made, to bring this matter to pass, is not unknown to all the world: therefore it may well be judged that this prophecy is fulfilled.

You have heard what words the duke of Norfolk spoke to master Cromwell touching my Lord's going into the North: then said my Lord, "Tom, it is time to be going; therefore I pray you, go to the King, and tell him I would go to my benefice at York, but for lack of money, desiring his Grace to help me to some: and you may say, that the last money I had from his Grace was too little to pay my debts; and to compel me to pay the rest of my debts were too much extremity, seeing all my goods are taken from me. Also shew my lord of Norfolk, and the rest of the council, that I would depart, if I had money." "Sir, (quoth Mr. Cromwell,) I shall do my best:" and so after other communication departed, and came to London. Then, in the beginning of Lent, my Lord removed his lodging into the Charter-house at Richmond, where he lay in a lodging that Dr. Collet made for himself; and every afternoon, for the time of his residence, there would he sit in contemplation, with some one of the most ancient fathers there, who converted him to dispose the vain glory of this world; and they gave unto him shirts of hair to wear next his body, which he wore divers times after.

The lords assigned that my Lord should have a thousand marks pension out of Winchester, for his going down into the North; which when the King heard of, he commanded that it should be forthwith paid unto Mr. Cromwell. And the King commanded Mr. Cromwell to repair to him again, when he had received the said sum, which he accordingly did: to whom his Majesty said, "Shew your Lord that I have sent him ten thousand pounds of my benevolence; tell him he shall not lack, and bid him be of good comfort." Mr. Cromwell, on my Lord's behalf, thanked the King for his royal liberality, towards my Lord, and with that departed to Richmond, to whom he delivered the money, and the joyful tidings, wherein my Lord did not a little rejoice: forthwith there was a preparation made for his going.

He had with him, in his train, one hundred and sixty persons, having with him twelve carts to carry his goods, which he sent from his college at Oxford; besides other carts of his daily carriage, of his necessities for his buildings: he kept his solemn feast of Easter at Peterborough, and upon Palm-Sunday, he bore his palm, and went in procession with the monks, and upon Thursday he made his Maunday, having fifty-nine poor people, whose feet he washed and kissed; and after he had dried them, he gave every one of them twelve pence, and three ells of good canvas to make them shirts, and each of them a pair of new shoes, and a cask of red-herrings: on Easter-day he rose to the Resurrection, and that day he went in procession in his cardinal's vestments, having his hat on his head, and sung the high mass there himself solemnly; after his mass, he gave his benediction to all the hearers, with clean remission. From Peterborough he took his journey into the North, but made some stay by the way; and many passages happened in his journey too tedious here to relate. At the last he came to Stoby, where he continued till after Michaelmas,

exercising many deeds of charity; most commonly every Sunday, if the weather served, would he go to some poor parish-church thereabouts, and there would say the divine service, and either said or heard mass, and then caused one of his chaplains to preach the word of God to the people, and afterwards he would dine in some honest house in the town, where should be distributed to the poor, alms as well of meat and drink, as money to supply the want of meat and drink, if their number did exceed: thus, with other good deeds, practising himself, during the time of his abode there, between party and party, being at variance. About Michaelmas after, he removed from thence to Cawood-castle, within seven miles of the city of York; where he had much honour and love from all men, high and low, and kept a plentiful house for all comers: also he built and repaired the castle, which was much decayed, having at the least three-hundred persons daily at work, to whom he paid wages lying there. Where all the doctors and prebends of the church of York did repair to my Lord, according to their duties, as unto the chief head, patron, and father of their spiritual dignities, who did most joyfully welcome him into those parts, saying: "It was no small comfort unto them, to see their head among them, who had been so long absent from them; being like unto fatherless and comfortless children for want of his presence; and that they trusted shortly to see him amongst them in his own church." To whom he made answer, "That it was the most special cause of his coming, to be amongst them as a father, and a natural brother."

"Sir, (quoth they,) you must understand the ordinances and rules of our church; whereof, although you be the head and sole governor, yet you are not so well acquainted as we be therein: therefore, if it please your Grace, we shall, under favour, open unto you some part of our ancient laws and customs of our church; that our head, prelate, and pastor, as you now are, might not come above our choir-door, until by due order he be installed. And if you should happen to die before your installation, you should not be buried above in the choir, but below in the nether part of the body of the church. Therefore we humbly desire and beseech you, in the name of all our brethren, that you would vouchsafe to do therein, as our ancient fathers, your predecessors, have done; and that you will not break the laudable customs of our church; to the which we are obliged by oath at our first admittance to observe that, and divers others, which in our chapter do remain upon record."

"These records (quoth my Lord) would I fain see, and then shall you know further of my advice and mind in this business."

A day was signed to bring their records to my Lord; at which time they resorted to my Lord with their register and books of records, wherein were fairly written their institutions and rules, which every minister of their church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe, and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my Lord had read the records, he did intend to be at the cathedral church of York, the next Monday, after Allhallows-day, against which time due preparation was made for the same; but not in so sumptuous a wise, as were his predecessors before him: nor yet in such sort, as the fame and common report was afterwards made of him, to his great slander. And to the false reporters no small dishonesty, to become divulgers of such notorious lies, as I am sure they were: for I myself was sent by my Lord to York, to see that all things there should be ordered and provided for that solemnity, in a very decent form, to the honour of that ancient and worthy monastery of York.

It came to pass, that upon Allhallows-day, one of the head and principal officers of the said cathedral church, which should have had most doing at my Lord's installation, was with my Lord at Cawood; and, sitting at dinner, they fell into communication of this matter, and the order and ceremony thereof. He saying that my lord Cardinal should go a-foot from a chapel, which stands without the gates of the city, called St. James's chapel, unto the minister upon cloth; which should be distributed to the poor, after his said passage to the church. Which my Lord hearing, replied and said, "Although, perhaps, our predecessors have gone upon cloth; yet we intend to go on foot without any such pomp, or glory, in the vamps of our hose." And, therefore, he gave order to his

servants, to go as humbly thither as might be, without any sumptuous apparel: for I intend, on Sunday, to come to you to be installed, and to make but one dinner for you at the close; and the next day to dine with the mayor, and so return again hither."

The day being not unknown to all the country, the gentlemen, abbots, and priors had such provision sent in, that was almost incredible for store and variety.

The common people held my Lord in great estimation for his purity and liberality, and also for his familiar gesture, and good behaviour amongst them. By means whereof, he gained much love of all the people in the north parts of England.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Cardinal's Fall, and how he was arrested of High-Treason.

WHAT chanced before his last troubles at Cawood, as a sign or token from God of that which should follow, I will now, God willing, declare. My Lord's enemies being then at court about the King, in good estimation, and honourable dignities; seeing now my Lord in great favour, and fearing the King would now call him home again; they therefore did plot amongst themselves to dispatch him by means of some sinister treason, or to bring him into the King's great indignation, by some other means.

This was their daily study and consultation, having, for their special help and furtherance, as many vigilant attendants upon him, as the poets feign Argus had eyes.

The King, with these their continual complaints, was moved to much indignation, and thought it good that the Cardinal should come up, and stand to his trial in his own person; which his enemies did not like. Notwithstanding, he was sent for, and after this sort.

First, they devised that sir Walter Welch, knight, one of the King's privy-chamber, should be sent down with a commission into the North; and the earl of Northumberland, who was sometime brought up in the house of my Lord, being joined in commission with him, should arrest my Lord of high-treason. This being resolved upon; sir Walter Welch prepared for his journey, with his commission and certain instruments annexed to the same, and took horse at the court-gate upon Allhallows-day, towards my lord of Northumberland's.

Now will I declare, what I promised before, of a certain sign or token of my Lord's troubles ensuing.

Upon Allhallows-day, my Lord sitting at dinner; having, at his board's end, divers of his chaplains to bear him company, for want of other guests; you shall now understand, that my Lord's great cross, which stood by, fell; and in the fall, broke Dr. Bonner's head, inasmuch that some blood ran down. My Lord, perceiving the fall thereof, demanded of those that stood by him, what was the matter that they stood so amazed? I shewed him, of the fall of his great cross upon Dr. Bonner's head. Quoth my Lord, "Hath it drawn any blood?" "Yea;" quoth I. With that he cast his head aside, and soberly said, "*Malum omen*;" and thereupon suddenly said grace, and rose from table, and went to his bed-chamber; but what he did there I cannot tell.

Now mark how my Lord expounded the meaning thereof, in his fancy, to me at Pontefract, after his fall: First, that the great cross that he bore as archbishop of York, betokened himself; and Dr. Austin the physician, who overthrew the cross, was he that accused my Lord; whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrow him: it fell on Dr. Bonner's head, who was then master of my Lord's faculties, and spiritual jurisdiction, who was then damned by the fall thereof; and moreover the drawing of blood betokeneth death, which did suddenly after follow.

Now the appointed time drew near for the installation and sitting at dinner: the Friday before the Monday, that he should have been installed at York, the earl of Northumberland, and Mr. Welch, with a great company of gentlemen, of the earl's house, and of the

country whom they had gathered in the King's name, to accompany them, yet not knowing to what end, came to the hall of Cawood, (the officers being at dinner,) and my Lord not fully dined, not knowing any thing of the earl's being come.

The first thing that the earl did, after he had set the hall in order, he commanded the porter to deliver the keys of the gates to him; which he would in no wise do; although he was threatened and commanded, in the King's name, to make deliverance thereof to one of the earl's servants: which he still refused, saying to the earl, "that the keys were delivered to him by his lord and master, both by oath and other command."

Now some of the gentlemen that stood by the earl, hearing the porter speak so stoutly, said, "He is a good fellow, and a faithful servant to his master, and speaks like an honest man; therefore give him your charge, and let him keep the keys still." Then said my Lord, "You shall well and truly keep the keys to the use of our sovereign lord the King, and you shall let none pass in nor out of the gates, but such as from time to time you shall be commanded by us; being the King's commissioners during our stay here." And with that oath he received the keys of the earl and Mr. Welch's hands: but of all these doings knew my Lord nothing; for they had stopped the stairs that none should go to my Lord's chamber, and they that came down could not go up again.

At the length, one escaped up, and shewed my Lord, that the earl of Northumberland was in the hall: whereat, my Lord wondered, and, at the first, believed not him, till he heard it confirmed by another. "Then (saith my Lord) I am sorry, we have dined; for I fear, our officers have not provided fish enough for the entertainment of him, with some honourable cheer fitting his estate and dignity." And with that, my Lord arose from the table, and commanded to let the cloth lie, that the earl might see how far forth they were at their dinners; and as he was going down stairs, he encountered with my lord of Northumberland; to whom, my Lord said, "You are heartily welcome, my lord:" and so they embraced each other. Then saith my lord Cardinal, "If you had loved me, you would have sent me word before of your coming, that I might have entertained you, according to your honour. Notwithstanding, you shall have such cheer, as I can make you for the present, with a right good-will; trusting you will accept thereof in good part, and hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able to entertain you." This said, my Lord took him by the hand, and led him to his chamber, whom followed all the earl's servants; and they being there all alone, (saving I, which kept the door, as my office required, being gentleman-usher; and these two lords standing at a window,) the earl trembling said, "I arrest you of high-treason." With which words, my Lord was well nigh astonished; standing still a good while, without speaking one word.

But, at the last, saith my Lord, "What authority have you to arrest me?" The earl saith, "I have a commission so to do." "Shew it me, (saith my Lord,) that I may see the contents thereof." "Nay, sir, that you may not:" saith the earl. "Then (saith my Lord) hold you contented, for I will not obey your arrest; for there have been between your ancestors, and my predecessors, great contentions and debates; and therefore, unless I see your authority, I will not obey you."

Even as they were debating the matter, in the chamber, so likewise was master Welch busy in arresting Dr. Austin, at the door, saying, "Go in, you traitor, or I shall make thee." With that he opened the portal door, and did thrust in Dr. Austin before him, with violence. The matter on both sides astonished me very much, marvelling what all this should mean; until, at the last, master Welch, being entered my Lord's chamber, began to pluck off his hood, being of the same cloth his cloke was; which hood he wore, to the intent he should not be known, who kneeled down to my Lord; to whom my Lord said, "Come hither, gentleman, and let me speak with you; (commanding him to stand up, and said thus:) My lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by what authority I know not: if you be privy thereunto, joined with him therein, I pray you shew me." "Indeed, my lord, if it please your Grace, (says master Welch,) I pray have me excused: there are annexed to our commission certain instructions, as you may not see, nor be privy to." "Why, (saith my Lord,) be your instructions such as I may not see, nor be privy

thereunto? Yet peradventure, if I be privy unto them, I may help you the better to perform: for it is not unknown to you, that I have been of counsel, in as weighty matters as these are; and I doubt not, but I shall do well enough, for my part, and prove myself a true man against the expectations of my cruel enemies: I see the matter, whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to do, I trow; thou art of the privy-chamber, your name is Mr. Welch; I am contented to yield to you, but not to the earl, unless I see his commission; and also you are a sufficient commissioner in this behalf, being one of the privy-chamber. Therefore, put your commission in execution, spare me not; I will obey you and the King; for I fear not the cruelty of mine enemies, no more than I do the truth of my allegiance, wherein, I take God to witness, I never offended his Majesty in word or deed; and therein I dare stand face to face with any, having a difference without partiality."

Then came my lord of Northumberland, and commanded me to avoid the chamber. And, being loth to depart from my master, I stood still, and would not remove: to whom he spoke again and said, "There is no remedy, you must depart." With that I looked upon my master, as who would have said, 'Shall I go?' and, perceiving by his countenance, that it was not for me to stay, I departed and went into another chamber, where were many gentlemen and others to hear news; to whom I made a report of what I heard and saw, which was great heaviness to them all.

Then the earl called into his chamber divers of his own servants; and after he and master Welch had taken the keys from my Lord, he committed the keeping of my Lord unto five gentlemen; and then they went about the house, and put all things in order, intending to depart the next day, and to certify the King, and the rest of the lords, what they had done.

Then went they busy about to convey Dr. Austin away to London with as much speed and privacy as they could possibly, sending with him divers persons to conduct him, who was bound to his horse like a traitor.

And this being done, when it was near night, the commissioners sending two grooms of my Lord's to attend him in his chamber, where he lay all night; the rest of the earl's men watched in the chamber; and all the house was watched, and the gates safe kept, that no man could pass or repass until next morning.

About eight of the clock next morning, the earl sent for me, into his chamber, and commanded me to go to my Lord; and, as I was going, I met with master Welch, who called me unto him, and shewed me how the King's Majesty bore unto me his principal favour for my love and diligent service, that I had performed to my Lord: "Wherefore (saith he) the King's pleasure is, that you shall be about him as chief, in whom his Highness putteth great confidence and trust:" and thereupon gave me in writing the articles. Which when I had read, I said I was content to obey his Majesty's pleasure, and would be sworn to the performance thereof: whereupon he gave me my oath.

That done, I resorted to my Lord, whom I found sitting in a chair, the table being ready spread for him. But, so soon as he perceived me to come in, he fell into such a woeful lamentation, that would have forced a flinty heart to mourn.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but he would not: "For, (quoth he,) I am much grieved that I have nothing to reward you, and the rest of my true and faithful servants, for all the good service that they and you have done me; for which I do much lament."

Upon Sunday following, the earl and Mr. Welch appointed to set forward; for my Lord's horse and ours were brought ready into the inner court, where we mounted, and coming towards the gate, ready to ride out, the porter had no sooner opened the same, but we saw without, ready attending, a great number of gentlemen, and their servants, such as the earl had appointed for that service, to attend and conduct my Lord to Pontefract that night.

But, to tell you the truth, there were also many of the people of the country assembled at the gate, lamenting his departure, in number above three-thousand; who, after the opening of the gate, that they had a sight of him, cried out, with a loud voice, "God save your

Grace, God save your Grace; the foul evil take them that have taken you from us; we pray God, that vengeance may light upon them!" And thus they ran after him through the town of Cawood: for he was there very well beloved, both of rich and poor.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cardinal's Entertainment at the Earl of Shrewsbury's; and of his Death and Burial at Leicester.

AFTER our departure from Cawood, we came to Doncaster; the third day we came to Sheffield-park, where my lord of Shrewsbury lived, within the lodge; and the earl and his lady, and a great company of gentlewomen and servants, stood without the gate, to attend my Lord's coming; at whose alighting, the earl received him with much honour, and embraced him, saying these words: "My Lord, you are most heartily welcome to my poor lodge, and I am glad to see you."

Here my Lord staid a fortnight, and was most nobly entertained: he spent most of his time, and applied his mind to prayers continually, in great devotion. It came to pass, as he sat one day at dinner, I being there, perceived his colour, divers times, to change; I asked him if he was not well; who answered me, with a loud voice, "I am suddenly taken with a thing at my stomach as cold as a whet-stone, and am not well; therefore, take up the table, and make a short dinner, and return to me again suddenly." I made but a little stay, but came to him again, where I found him still sitting, very uneasy. He desired me to go to the apothecary, and ask him if he had any thing would break wind upwards? He told me, he had. Then I went and shewed the same to my Lord, who did command me to give him some thereof; and so I did, and it made him break wind exceedingly: "Lo, (quoth he,) you may see it was but wind; for now, I thank God, I am well eased:" and so he arose from the table, and went to prayers, as he used, every day after dinner.

In the afternoon, my lord of Shrewsbury sent for me to him, to whom he said, "Forasmuch as I have always perceived you to be a man, in whom your Lord putteth great affiance, and I myself, knowing you to be a man very honest;" (with many words of commendations and praise, more than becometh me to rehearse, he said,) "Your lord and master hath often desired me to write to the King, that he might answer his accusations before his enemies: and, this day, I have received letters from his Majesty, by sir William Kingston, whereby I perceive, that the King hath him in good opinion, and, upon my request, hath sent for him by the said sir William Kingston. Therefore, now I would have you play your part wisely with him, in such sort, as he may take it quietly, and in good part; for he is always full of sorrow, and much heaviness, at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill, if I bring him tidings thereof: and therein doth he not well, for I assure you, that the King is his very good lord, and hath given me most hearty thanks for his entertainment; and, therefore, go your way to him, and persuade him, that I may find him quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you."

"Sir, (quoth I,) and, if it please your lordship, I shall endeavour, to the best of my power, to accomplish your lordship's command: but, sir, I doubt, when I name this sir William Kingston, that he will mistrust some ill, because he is constable of the Tower, and captain of the guard; having, in his company, twenty-four of the guard to accompany him." "That is nothing, (quoth the earl;) what, if he be constable of the Tower, and captain of the guard, he is the fittest man, for his wisdom and discretion, to be sent about such a business; and, for the guard, it is only to defend him from those that might intend him any ill. Besides that, the guard are, for the most part, such of his old servants, as the King hath took into his service, to attend him most justly." "Well, sir, (quoth I,) I shall do what I can;" and so departed, and went to my Lord; and found him in the gallery, with his staff and his beads in his hands: and seeing me, he asked me what news? "Forsooth, (quoth I,) the best news that ever you heard, if you can take it well." "I pray God it be true, then!" quoth he. "My lord of Shrewsbury, (said I,)

your most assured friend, hath so provided, by his letters to the King, that his Majesty hath sent for you, by master Kingston, and twenty-four of the guard, to conduct you to his Highness." "Master Kingston!" quoth he; and clapped his hand on his thigh, and gave a great sigh.

"May it please your Grace, (quoth I,) I wish you would take all things well, it would be much better for you; content yourself, for God's sake, and think that God and your good friends have wrought for you, according to your own desires. And, as I conceive, you have much more cause to rejoice, than lament or mistrust the matter: for, I assure you, that your friends are more afraid of you, than you need be of them. And his Majesty, to shew his love to you, hath sent master Kingston to honour you, with as much honour as is your Grace's due; and to convey you in such easy journeys, as is fitting for you, and you shall command him to do, and that you shall have your request. And I humbly entreat you, to imprint this my persuasion in your Highness's discretion, and to be of good cheer; wherewith you shall comfort yourself, and give your friends, and poor servants, great comfort and content."

"Well, (quoth he,) I perceive more than you can imagine, or do know." Presently after came my Lord, to acquaint him with that I had so lately related: my lord Cardinal thanked the earl for his great love, and called for master Kingston, who came to him presently, and, kneeling down before him, saluted him in the King's behalf; whom my Lord, bareheaded, offered to take up, but he would not. Then, quoth my Lord, "Master Kingston, I pray you stand up, and leave your kneeling to me; for I am a wretch replete with misery, not esteeming myself, but, as a mere abject, utterly cast away, but without desert, God knows! Therefore, good master Kingston, stand up."

Then master Kingston said, "The King's Majesty hath him commended unto you." "I thank his Highness, (quoth my Lord,) I hope he is in good health." "Yes, (quoth master Kingston,) and he hath him commended unto you; and commanded me to bid you be of good cheer, for he beareth you as much good-will as ever he did. And whereas report hath been made unto him, that you should commit, against his Majesty, certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh to be; but yet, he, for administration of justice, in such cases requisite, could do no less than send for you, that you might have your trial; mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit yourself of all complaints, and accusations, extended against you: and you may take your journey to him at your pleasure, commanding me to attend you."

"Master Kingston, (quoth my Lord,) I thank you for your good news; and, sir, hereof assure yourself, if I were as able and lusty, as ever I was, to ride, I would go with you post. But, alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux; [at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself⁴⁵:] it hath made me very weak; but the comfortable news you bring is of purpose, I doubt, to bring me into a fool's paradise, for I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good-will, and pains taken about me; and I shall, with speed, make ready to ride with you."

After this, I was commanded to make all things ready for our departure the morrow after.

When my Lord went to bed, he fell very sick of the flux, which caused him to go to stool, from time to time, all that night; insomuch that, from that time till morning, he had fifty stools: and the matter, that he voided, was very black, which the physicians called adust, whose opinions were, that he had not above four or five days to live.

Notwithstanding, he would have ridden with Mr. Kingston the next day, had not the earl of Shrewsbury advised him to the contrary; but, the next day, he took his journey with master Kingston, and them of the guard; who, espying him, could not abstain from weeping, considering he was their old master, and now in such a miserable case; whom

⁴⁵ [The passage inclosed within brackets, was an interpolation, inserted by the publishers for some sinister purpose; not being found in the two MSS. now preserved in the Museum. Dr. Pegge of Litchfield has taken up the subject in the *Gent. Mag.* for Jan. 1755, and after canvassing the different evidence *pro* and *con*, has proved that the Cardinal's death was *not* caused by poison.]

my Lord took by the hand, and would, as he rode by the way, sometimes talk with one, and sometimes with another, till he came to a house of my Lord's, standing in the way, called Hardwick-hall, where he lay all that night, extremely ill. The next day, he came to Nottingham, and, the next day, to Leicester-abbey; and, the next day, he waxed very sick, that he had almost fallen from his horse, so that it was night, before he got to Leicester-abbey; where at his coming in at the gates, the abbot, with all their convent, met him with many lighted torches, whom they honourably received, and welcomed with great reverence.

To whom my Lord said, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones amongst you." Riding still on his mule, till he came to the stairs of his chamber, where he alighted. Master Kingston, holding him by the arm, led him up the stairs; who told me afterwards, that he never felt so heavy a burthen in all his life; and, as soon as he was in his chamber, he went straight to bed: this was upon Saturday, and so he continued.

On Monday in the morning as I stood by his bed-side, about eight of the clock in the morning, the windows being close shut, and having wax-lights burning upon the cupboard, I thought I perceived him drawing on towards death. He, perceiving my shadow upon the bed-side, asked who was there? "Sir, (quoth I,) it is I." "How do you, (quoth he;) well?" "Ay, sir, (quoth I,) if I might see your Grace well." "What is it o'clock?" quoth he. I answered, "It was about eight of the clock." Quoth he, "That cannot be; (rehearsing eight of the clock so many times:) nay, (quoth he,) that cannot be; for at eight of the clock you shall see your master's time draw near, that I must depart this world." With that, Dr. Palmes, a worthy gentleman, standing by, bade me ask him if he would be shriven, to make him ready for God, whatever chanced to fall out; which I did. But he was very angry with me, and asked, "What I had to do to ask him such a question?" Till, at the last, the doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latin, and pacified him.

After dinner, Mr. Kingston sent for me, and said, "Sir, the King hath sent unto me letters, by Mr. Vincent, our old companion, who hath been in trouble in the Tower, for money that my Lord should have at his departure: a great part of this money cannot be found; wherefore the King, at Mr. Vincent's request, for the declaration of the truth, hath sent him hither with his Grace's letters, that I should examine my Lord, and have your counsel therein, that he may take it well and in good part. And this is the cause of my sending for you: therefore, I desire your counsel therein, for acquittal of this poor gentleman, Mr. Vincent."

"Sir, (quoth I,) according to my duty you shall; and, by my advice, you shall resort unto him in your own person to visit him, and, in communication, break the matter unto him. And, if he will not tell you the truth, then you may certify the King thereof; but in any case, name not, nor speak of my fellow Vincent. Also I would not have you to detract the time, for he is very sick, and I fear that he will not live past a day or two." And accordingly Mr. Kingston went to my Lord, and demanded the money, saying, "That my lord of Northumberland found a book at Cawood-house, that you had but lately borrowed ten-thousand pounds; and there is not so much as one penny to be found; who hath made the King privy to the same: wherefore, the King hath written to me, to know what is become thereof, for it were pity that it should be holden from you both. Therefore, I require you, in the King's name, to tell me the truth, that I may make a just report unto his Majesty, of your answer."

With that, quoth my Lord, "Oh good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the King should think any such thing in me, that I should deceive him of one penny, seeing I have nothing, nor ever had, (God be my judge!) that I ever esteemed so much mine own, as his Majesty's; having but the bare use of it, during my life; and after my death, to leave it wholly to him: wherein his Majesty hath prevented me. But for this money you demand of me, I assure you, it is none of my own; for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me, and to bestow amongst my servants, who have taken great pains about me: notwithstanding, if it be your pleasure to know, I must be content. Yet I beseech

his Majesty, to see it satisfied for the discharge of my conscience to them that I owed it to." "Who be they?" quoth Mr. Kingston. "That shall I tell you, (quoth my Lord;) I borrowed two-hundred pounds of John Allen of London, another two-hundred pounds of sir Richard Gresham, and two-hundred pounds of the master of the Savoy; and also two-hundred of Dr. Higden, dean of my college, at Oxford; two-hundred pounds of the treasurer of the church; and two-hundred pounds of Mr. Ellis my chaplain; and another two-hundred pounds of a priest. I hope the King will restore it again; forasmuch as it is none of mine."

"Sir, (quoth Mr. Kingston,) there is no doubt in the King, whom you need not distrust; but, sir, I pray you, where is the money?" Quoth he, "I will not conceal it, I warrant you; but I will declare it unto you before I die, by the grace of God. Have a little patience with me, I pray you; for the money is safe enough in an honest man's hands, who will not keep one penny thereof from the King."

So Mr. Kingston departed, for that time, my Lord being very weak; and about four of the clock, the next morning, as I conceived, I asked him how he did? "Well! (quoth he,) if I had any meat; I pray you give me some."

"Sir, (quoth I,) there is none ready." Then he said, "You are much to blame; for you should have always meat for me in readiness, whensoever that my stomach serves me. I pray you get some ready for me; for I mean to make myself strong to-day, to the intent I may go to confession, and make me ready for God." Quoth I, "I will call up the cooks to prepare some meat, and also I will call Mr. Palmer, that he may discourse with you, till your meat be ready." "With a good-will;" quoth my Lord: and so I called Mr. Palmer, who rose and came to my Lord.

Then I went and acquainted Mr. Kingston, that my Lord was very sick, and not like to live. "In good faith, (quoth Mr. Kingston,) you are much to blame, to make him believe he is sicker than he is." "Well, sir, (quoth I,) you cannot say, but I gave you warning, as I am bound to do:" upon which words he arose, and came unto him; but before he came, my lord Cardinal had eaten a spoonful or two of callis made of chicken, and after that he was in his confession, the space of an hour. And then Mr. Kingston came to him, and bade him good-morrow, and asked him how he did? "Sir, (quoth he,) I watch but God's pleasure, to render up my poor soul to him. I pray you, have me heartily commended unto his Royal Majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have been between us from the beginning and the progress; and especially between good queen Catharine and him; and then shall his Grace's conscience know whether I have offended him, or not. He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. And, master Kingston, if I had but served God, as diligently as I have served the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs⁴⁶. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study; not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit; take heed what you put in the King's head, for you can never put it out again.

"And I desire you further, to request his Grace, in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to suppress the hellish Lutherans, that they increase not through his great negligence, in such a sort, as he be compelled to take up arms to subdue them, as the king of Bohemia was; whose commons being infected with Wickliff's heresies, the king was forced to take that course.

⁴⁶ [This was a strange sentence for Wolsey to utter, who was disgraced for the basest treachery to the King in the affair of the divorce: but it shows how naturally men endeavour to palliate their own crimes even to themselves. *M. Mason.*—The Cardinal here softens his ambition by the specious pretence of serving his King: whereas his words in the proper construction imply, that if instead of being acted by ambition he had been acted by religion, he should have now felt the comforts of it, when the whole world turned its back upon him.]

"Let him consider the story of king Richard the Second, the second son of his progenitor; who lived in the time of Wickliff's seditions and heresies. Did not the commons, I pray you, in his time, rise against the nobility and chief governors of this realm? And, at the last, some of them were put to death, without justice or mercy: and, under pretence of having all things common, did they not fall to spoiling or robbing; and, at last, took the king's person, and carried him about the city, making him obedient to their proclamations?"

"Did not also the traitorous heretick, sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, pitch a field with hereticks against king Henry the Fourth, where the king was in person; and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory?"

"Alas! if these be not plain precedents and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince: then God will take away from us our prudent rulers, and leave us to the hands of our enemies. And then will ensue mischief upon mischief, inconveniences, barrenness and scarcity, for want of good orders, in the commonwealth; from which God of his tender mercy defend us!"

"Master Kingston, farewell: I wish all things may have good success; my time draws on; I may not tarry with you, I pray you remember my words."

Now, began the time to draw near, for he drew his speech at length; his tongue began to fail him, his eyes perfectly set in his head, and his sight failed him. Then we began to put him in mind, of Christ's passion; and, caused the yeoman of the guard, to stand by privately, to see him die, and bear witness of his words and departure; who heard all his communications.

And then presently the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the ghost; and thus departed he this life, one of us looking upon another, supposing he prophesied of his departure.

We sent for the abbot of the house to anoint him, who speedily came as he was ending his life, who said certain prayers before that the life was out of his body.

Here is the end and fall of pride! for, I assure you, he was the proudest man alive; having more regard to the honour of his person, than to his spiritual function, wherein he should have expressed more meekness and humility. For pride and ambition are both linked together; and ambition is like choler, which is an humour that makes men active, earnest, and full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped or hindered in its course; but, if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh dust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious and proud men, if they find the way open for their rising and advancement, and still get forwards; they are rather busy than dangerous: but, if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontented, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backwards. But I forbear to speak any further therein.

The Cardinal being departed, Mr. Kingston sent post to London one of the guard: then were Mr. Kingston and the abbot in consultation about the funeral, which was solemnized the day after; for Mr. Kingston would not stay the return of the post.

They thought good, that the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should see him personally dead, to prevent false reports that he was alive. And, in the interim, whilst the mayor was sent for, his bones were laid in the coffin; and his shirt of hair, and his overshirt of fine Holland, were taken off, and put into the coffin together, with all such ornaments wherewith he was invested, when he was made archbishop; as mitre, cross, ring, and pall, with all other things due to his orders.

Thus he lay all that day with his coffin open and bare-faced, that all that desired might see him; and about three of the clock he was buried by the abbot with great solemnity. And being in the church, his corpse was set in the Lady's-chapel with many tapers, and poor men about him, holding torches in their hands, who watched the corpse all that night, whilst the canons sung divers dirges, and other divine orisons.

And, at four of the clock the next morning, the Cardinal's servants and Mr. Kingston came to the church to the execution of many ceremonies, in such manner as is usual at

bishops' burials: and so he went to mass, where the abbot did offer, and divers others; and then went to bury the corpse in the middle of the said chapel: by this time it was six of the clock, being St. Andrew's day.

Then we prepared for our journey to the court, where we attended his Majesty. The next day I was sent for to the King, conducted by Mr. Norris⁴⁷, where the King was in his night-gown of rochet velvet, furred with sables, before whom I kneeled the space of an hour; during which time his Majesty examined me of divers particulars concerning my lord Cardinal; wishing, rather than twenty-thousand pounds, that he had lived.

He asked me concerning the fifteen-hundred pounds, which Mr. Kingston moved to my Lord. Quoth I, "I think I can perfectly tell your Grace where it is, and who hath it." "Can you? (quoth the King;) I pray you tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded."

"Sir, (quoth I,) after the departure of Mr. Vincent from my Lord at Scrooby, who had the custody thereof, leaving it with my Lord in divers bags; he delivered it to a certain priest, safely to be kept for his use." "Is this true?" quoth the King. "Yea, (quoth I,) without doubt: the priest will not deny it before me, (for I was at the delivery thereof,) who hath gotten divers other rich ornaments, which are not registered in the book of my Lord's inventory, or other writings; whereby any man is able to charge him therewith, but myself."

Then said the King, "Let me alone for keeping this secret between me and you. Howbeit, three may keep counsel, if two be away; and, if I knew my cap was privy to my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it: and, for your honesty and truth, you shall be our servant in our chamber, as you were with your master. Therefore, go you your ways to sir John Gage, our vice-chamberlain, to whom we have spoken already, to admit you our servant in our chamber; and then go to the lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you your whole year's wages, which is ten pounds: is not it so?" quoth the King. "Yea, forsooth, and if it please your Grace;" quoth I. "And withal (said the King) you shall receive a reward from the duke of Norfolk."

So I received ten pounds of the duke for my wages, and twenty pounds for my reward; and his Majesty gave me a cart and six horses, the best that I could choose out of my Lord's horses, to carry my goods; and five marks, for my charges homewards⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ [Groom of the stole, and afterwards sir Henry Norris.]

⁴⁸ [It is remarkable that of all the dependants upon the Cardinal, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves by a steady and close adherence to him: the first was Mr. Thomas Cromwell, whom the King made afterwards lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, knight of the garter, and prime minister; the other was Mr. William Cavendish, whom he immediately took into his own service, knighted him afterwards, made him treasurer of his chamber, and a privy-counsellor.—Remarks on the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, p. 95.]

A Speech made by Alderman Garroway, at a Common-Hall,
on Tuesday the Seventeenth of January; upon Occasion of
a Speech, delivered there the Friday before, by Mr. Pym,
at the Reading of his Majesty's Answer to the late Petition.

Printed in the Year 1642.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

Gentlemen;

BEFORE we enter upon the business of the day, I must, in discharge of my duty, speak freely to you of the last day's work; which lies so heavy upon us, that if we find not some way to free ourselves of the scandal and dishonour of that day, farewell the reputation of this Council, and of this City. We sent a petition lately to his Majesty, by six worthy members of this Court: if you will believe them, they received a very gracious entertainment from his Majesty; and, if you will believe most wise men, they brought a very gracious answer back from his Majesty; with directions, by a servant of his own, that the same should be communicated to the whole City, from whom the petition was presumed to be sent; a circumstance as gracious as the matter itself. See now how we have requited him. His messenger stays ten days, at the least, before we can vouchsafe to speak with him; whereas ours staid not an hour for admission to his Majesty, and but a day for an answer. Upon the receipt of our petition, his Majesty spoke very graciously of the City, very affectionately of the most considerable part of it: when his answer is read, (an answer, I must tell you, worth another manner of debate,) strangers are admitted to make bitter invective speeches against it, and the King that sent it; whilst no honest citizen, who have only right to speak here, durst speak his conscience, for fear of having his throat cut as he went home. Think, Gentlemen, what an encouragement we have given his Majesty to treat and correspond with us, whilst he is thus used. I am far from undervaluing both, or either House of Parliament; I have been often a member of the House of Commons, and know well my duty to it: but, though their privileges are infinitely grown and enlarged since that time, I hope they have not swallowed up all other men's. Though they are the great council and court of the kingdom, yet there are other councils and courts too; what do we else here? And, though they have a great liberty of language within their own walls, I never heard that they might speak what they list in other places. In my time, when there was any occasion to use the City, (as often there was,) the Lord-mayor, or Aldermen, or some trusted by them, were sent for to attend either House; but, for members of either, or both Houses, to come hither, and be present at our councils, and govern here by privilege of parliament, was never heard of till of late. You will say, it is a great honour to us, that those worthies take the pains to come to us, when they might send for us: it may be an honour too great for us to bear; and truly, I believe it hath been so chargeable to us, that we ought not to be ambitious of such honour. Mr. Pym (who hath been a very costly orator to us) told us, (and his speech is since printed for our honour too, to shew how tame a people we are,) "That there were many things in that answer, of great aspersion upon the proceedings of parliament:" and so forth. Truly, I know no such thing: if we petitioned for peace, we were to expect his Majesty would tell us by what means that peace came to be disturbed, and then prescribe us a means for our reparation. If any man's guilt hath made him think himself concerned in it, though he be not named, he is his own accuser.

‘ He told us¹, “ That there was no occasion given by any tumults, which might justly cause his Majesty’s departure, and this, he said, was the opinion of both Houses;” and his proof was, “ because his Majesty came into the city without a guard, and dined at the sheriff’s, next day after his coming to the House of Commons, and returned back again to Whitehall, where he staid some days.” I am willing to believe both Houses as far as I am able; and, if they had declared that it had been lawful to beat the King out of town, I must have sat still with wonder: but, when they declare to us matter of fact, which is equally within our own knowledge, and wherein we cannot be deceived; they must pardon me if I differ from them. If they should declare, that they have paid us all the money they owe us; or, that there is no cross standing in Cheapside; could we believe them? Why, Gentlemen, neither of these is better known to us, than that there were such tumults at Westminster, as might very well make the King think himself in danger. We all well remember what excellent company flocked by Whitehall every day, for a week before the King went to the House of Commons, and for his coming to the Guildhall the next day, when he did us so much honour, to vouchsafe us so particular satisfaction; and came without a guard, to shew how much he trusted in our duty and affection, (I pray God the deceiving that trust may never rise in judgment against this City!) we too well remember the rude carriage of many people to him as he went to the sheriff’s to dinner, which was not so much as reprehended by any officer; and we all know what passed the night following, when an alarum was given, that there was an attempt from Whitehall upon the City, and so all men put into sudden arms: and if, by the great industry and dexterity of our good Lord-mayor, that hubbub had not been appeased, God knows what might have followed. If you will believe some men, they will tell you, the design of those, who gave that alarum, was no less than to pull down Whitehall. There is no question but there was cause enough for his Majesty to remove from Whitehall; and how quietly he staid after at Hampton-Court, and at Windsor, cannot be forgotten; not to speak of that army by land and water, which accompanied the persons accused, to Westminster, the next day after his Majesty’s return; the danger of which was so great, that no honest man could have wished the King had run the hazard of it, by staying.

‘ His Majesty seems to be sensible, that the government of this City is now submitted to the arbitrary power of a few desperate persons, to which the gentleman gave us this testimony from both Houses; “ That we had, in most of the great occasions, concerning the government of the City, followed their direction.” Troth, Gentlemen, would they had furnished us with a better answer! Have we our charter by the grace and favour of the two Houses; or, by the goodness of the King? Have we those privileges with foreign princes, by which many here have gotten such estates, by the power of the Houses; or, by the protection of the King? Why should we then govern the City by the direction of both Houses? I am not willing to speak slightly of any persons gotten into authority: only we may say, there be some amongst us, we did not think two years ago to have met here; and yet we were wont to see an alderman coming, a dozen years off. I cannot tell what you mean by arbitrary power; but I am sure we are governed by nothing we were used to be governed by. I have been Lord-mayor myself, in a pleasanter time than this, and should have some share still in the government: before God, I have no more authority in the city, than a porter; not so much as an Aldermanbury porter. If to be governed by people whose authority we know not, and by rules which no body ever heard of, or can know, be a sign of arbitrary power; we have as much of it as heart can wish.

‘ To the King’s charge of our contributing for the maintenance of the army which had given him battle, we were told, that “ divers practices were made against the Parliament before they made any preparation for their defence.” By practices, I think they mean fears and jealousies; for all the particulars, mentioned by him, we know, and are under-

¹ [See p. 120 of the present Volume.]

stood by all the boys in the streets: but we are sure there were ten-thousand men raised and armed out of this town, and the neighbouring counties, before the King had seven-hundred. To the danger the King's person was in, (at the thought whereof every honest heart trembles,) the gentleman told us "they were sorry for it." I dare not tell you what I think their sorrow was; but, Masters, if you knew how much your estates and being, depend upon the life and safety of our good King; you would no sooner apprehend him in danger, than you would run to his rescue, as you would fly from the plague and beggary. But that reproach of maintaining the King's children here, I confess, made my heart rise; I hope it did so to many here. Is our good King fallen so low, that his children must be kept for him? It is worth our enquiry, Who brought him to that condition? We hear him complain, that all his own revenue is seized and taken from him. Are not his exchequer, court of wards, mint here, his customs too worth somewhat; and are his children kept upon alms? How shall we and our children prosper, if this be not remedied?

They will by no means endure, that his Majesty be obeyed in the apprehension of the Lord-mayor, and the other three gentlemen; for it is the sense of both Houses, "That this demand is against the privilege of Parliament, and most dishonourable to the City." For the first, I dare not speak my mind; though I must confess myself not able to answer the King's reasons in many of his declarations upon that point: but, for the second, (under the favour of both Houses,) whether it be dishonourable for the City, whether it be fit to be done or no; we are the best, indeed, we are the only judges.

I will take the liberty to speak freely my conscience in this case, as a friend to justice, as a lover of these men, and as a servant to the City; and, as all these, I protest to God, if I were now Lord-mayor, and the other three were my father and my brothers, I would satisfy the King in this point. Did his Majesty ask to have them in to death, merely upon his accusation; or have them sent bound hand and foot to Oxford, where it might be in his power to proceed against them in an extraordinary way, it might seem unreasonable: but to apprehend them, to keep them in safe custody, that his Majesty may proceed against them according to the known laws, under which they were born and bred, (where, if guilty, they must be left to the justice of the law, and his Majesty's mercy; if innocent, will receive an honourable acquittal;) seems to me so just in the King to ask, and so necessary for us to yield to; that the denying it implies a doubt in us of the innocence of those, whom we will not submit to justice. Here is a way to find out the King's evil counsellors! If these men do their part, like men of good consciences; submit to the trial of the law (which is the only judge of guilt and innocence), and are found clear from that heavy charge his Majesty accuses them of; how gloriously will these men live hereafter? And the King cannot refuse to deliver those up, who have wickedly conspired the destruction of honest men. But, if we should only cry out, that the King is misinformed, and dare not trust ourselves upon a trial; we may preserve our safety, but we shall lose our reputation. Thus much for justice, for the gentlemen's sakes now. This way, you see, a way to honour and safety too, if there be innocence: but, do you think after a month's longer enduring the miseries which are now upon us, men will not more importunately and impatiently enquire after the causes of their sufferings, if they shall find, that the denial to give up four men (who, it may be, are not of any known merit too,) to be tried by the law, being accused of high-treason, and conspiring to take away the King's life, incensed our gracious King against us, and kept him from being amongst us; whereby our trade decays, and such violences and outrages are every day committed: I say, can any four men bear the burthen of this envy and malice? Will not some stout, bold persons, incensed and made desperate by their and the common sufferings, tear these men in pieces? We have been all young men and apprentices; let us remember the spirit was then amongst us: would we have suffered all our hopes to have been blasted and destroyed by any four, or fourteen men? Let us not flatter ourselves, there is the same courage still in the City, which, at some time, will break out to the ruin of more than

‘ these men: but I thank that worthy² that told us, “ that it is against the rules of justice, that any men should be imprisoned upon a general charge, when no particulars are proved against them.” How insensibly, in other men’s cases, do we accuse ourselves? Why, how many of us, within these six months, have been committed upon a general charge? How many persons of honour and reputation are now imprisoned in this town, when particulars are so far from being proved against them, that they are not so much as suggested? Was ever any charge so general, as to be a Malignant or a Cavalier? Yet you hear all such imprisonments are against the rules of justice: my opinion is, that for justice-sake, for the City’s sake, these four men should quietly submit themselves to the trial of the law: if they refuse, that they be delivered up to the hands of justice.

‘ Mr. Pym told us, “ there was no proof that my Lord-mayor, and the other persons named, were countenancers of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries.” Where should this proof be made? Do we not all know this to be true? Are they not all so much countenanced, as there is no countenance left for any body else? Did not my Lord-mayor first enter upon his office, with a speech against the book of Common-prayer? Hath the Common-prayer ever been read before him? Hath not captain Venn said, that his wife could make prayers worth three of any in that book? Oh! Masters, there have been times, that he that should speak against the book of Common-prayer in this city, should not have been put to the patience of a legal trial: we were wont to look upon it as the greatest treasure and jewel of our religion; and he that should have told us he wished well to our religion, and yet would take away the book of Common-prayer, would never have gotten credit. I have been in all the parts of Christendom, and have conversed with Christians in Turkey; why, in all the Reformed churches there is not any thing of more reverence, than the English Liturgy; not our Royal Exchange, or the name of Queen Elizabeth, so famous. In Geneva itself, I have heard it extolled to the skies. I have been three months together by sea, not a day without hearing it read twice. The honest mariners then despised all the world, but the King and the Common-prayer book: he, that should have been suspected to wish ill to either of them, would have made an ill voyage. And let me tell you, they are shrewd youths, those seamen: if they once discern that the person of the King is in danger, or the true Protestant professed religion, they will shew themselves mad bodies, before you are aware of it: I would not be a Brownist, or an Anabaptist, in their way for ———. But we are told of an army of papists, who will root out our religion: for my part, I am sure I am not suspected for any affection to papists; yet I confess at this time, I have not the least fear of danger from them; and the truth is, this bugbear is grown less terrible to every body. We know, from the beginning of this parliament, the continual discovery of plots by the papists, and what those discoveries have cost us; and yet, to this day, not the least probable charge objected against them. When the King was at York, no discourse here, but of the papists being there in multitudes; when it is well known, his Majesty took all possible care to prevent the resort of any papists to the court; and I have been assured by very honest men, that, in a month, there was scarce the face of one papist there. When he first raised his army; did he not, by proclamation, forbid any to come to him?——But hark you, Gentlemen, where would you have these papists be? Can they live in the air, or in the water? Beyond sea, you will not suffer them to pass: if they stay at their houses, they are plundered; it is a good justification for plundering, that they are papists. Are they not the King’s subjects, and should they not fly to him for protection? Is there any law, that says the papists must not assist the King with men, arms, or money, when he is in distress; and when he conceives himself to be in danger of his life? Let us look about us: if this world hold, not only all the papists, but all the gentlemen of England will find it necessary to carry all they have to the King, and venture it in that bottom.

‘ But both Houses have declared, “ that there hath been no plundering by the direction

² [Mr. Pym. See p. 121. *supr.*]

of parliament." Here, I think, they would be willing to admit the King to be a part of the parliament, to save their honour: otherwise, if plundering signifies the coming with violence into one's house, and taking away his goods against his consent; sure there hath been much plundering, even by the direction of the Houses: but have they ever punished plundering of the worst sort, if they have not directed it? Will a declaration of both Houses repair the fine wainscot and the goodly leads of honest George Binyon's house? Let me tell you, the time hath been, the loss of such a citizen would have been talked of in another way. — I wonder what kind of government is preparing for us, when they will not allow that the imprisonment of our persons is the taking away our liberty; or, the taking away the twentieth part of our estates is the destruction of our property: and did you mark what a notable reason was given us for this? "The same law, that doth enable them to raise forces, doth likewise enable them to require contributions." It doth indeed; yet one might be, without the other: but I would these gentlemen had chose another auditory to have convinced with this argument; the country-people will be no more cozened by the City, when they hear what kind of oratory prevails over us: we shall be shortly told, when they have a mind to our houses, that the same law, which gave them authority to take away our money, gave them likewise power to do the other too.

The King tells us, if we shall hereafter contribute any thing for the maintenance of the Army, which, he says, is in rebellion against him, (he pardons what is past, mark that,) he will deny us the benefit of his protection with foreign princes, which he will signify to his foreign ministers. What remedy have the Lords and Commons found for this now? Sufficient to do the business: they declare, "That this is an excess of rigour, and injustice beyond all example; and therefore they hope his Majesty will be induced, by better counsel, to forbear the execution." A very sovereign declaration! But it is ten to one, if we do not obey his Majesty in the injunction he hath laid upon us, he will use this excess of rigour. I know not how little you, that trade only within the kingdom, may think yourselves concerned in this: but I say, whoever understands the trade abroad, and the benefit of being a subject to the King of England, will not run this hazard; for, let him be assured, in the instant the King disclaims him, he is ruined: and therefore, you who have estates abroad, look to it.

Gentlemen, I have troubled you very long; but, in good faith, the manner and the matter of the last day's work hath lain so heavy upon my heart, that I should have thought I had forfeited this gown, and this chain, if I had been silent; and that I had betrayed the liberty of that famous City, which I am sworn to defend. One word I had forgotten to mention: the caution which was given us of "such messengers as his Majesty should send, that we should observe them, that they might be dealt with, as messengers of sedition." God forbid, we should live to see any messengers, sent to us from our gracious King, evilly intreated; I would be loth myself to outlive such a dishonour. If his Majesty shall vouchsafe us the honour of sending to us, let us use and defend his servants, as persons sent to us for our good: if it shall be otherwise, fire from heaven will consume this City. Let us not be wrought upon, by fair words, to contribute or lend more money for the maintenance of this civil, bloody dissension; or bring desolation and confusion upon this glorious City, for the support of four men, who, if innocent, will be safe: but let us remember the happiness and flourishing state we enjoyed, whilst we yielded obedience to our royal Sovereign. Let us not, upon the general discourse of evil counsellors, rebel against a prince, upon whose person malice and treason cannot lay the least blemish; but must confess his religion, justice, and charity to be so transcendent, that if he were a subject, would render him most amiable: Let us consider, that if he be oppressed, there can be no end of these troubles, but we and our children shall be perpetually weltering in a sea of blood; whereas, if his enemies be overthrown, the whole kingdom will, within a moment, be restored to all the calm, pleasure, and plenty of peace. And therefore, if we intend to enjoy what we have, and that the younger men shall grow up to the same state we enjoy; if the

' memory of our forefathers, or the hope of our posterity, can move any thing with us ;
' let us lay hold on the King's mercy, and submit to every proposition in his answer.'

Whilst the Alderman was speaking this speech, several great interruptions were made with hissing, and other such noises, some crying, ' No more, no more ;' others as importunately, ' Hear him, hear him, hear him : ' so that it was about an hour after he began to speak, before he ended. Whenever the clamour began to stop him, he sat down, without show of any disturbance ; and, when that noise was conquered, he began again ; saying what he said last, and so proceeded. Only once, when alderman Bunce said, ' He spoke against the honourable House of Commons, and that it was not to be endured ; ' the Alderman replied, with a little sharpness, ' That he had as much liberty to speak in that place, as any member of the House of Commons had in the House of Commons ; and, if other men were content to lose their privileges, it should be remembered, that it was against his will.' At which there was a great shout and acclamation, ' We will not lose our privileges : ' and after that there was not the least interruption, but the Alderman was heard with great patience and attention.

As soon as the speech was done, and the great shout and hem ended, (which some, in the street, apprehended to be a consent to lend money to the Parliament, and ran to Westminster, and acquainted the House of Commons with it ; whereupon four members were appointed to draw up a declaration of thanks to the City ;) the Lord-mayor, trembling, and scarce able to speak, asked, ' What their resolution was, concerning assisting the Parliament with money, for the payment of their Army ? ' And, recovering his voice by degrees, offered them some reasons, and asked them, ' Whether they would lose all their thanks for what they had done already ? ' But the cry was so great, ' No money, no money ; Peace, peace ; ' that he could not be heard. One that stood near the Mayor, answered, ' That he doubted not, whoever could make it appear he had deserved thanks, might call for it, and have it ; that the question was not, upon losing of some, but forfeiting of all ; and whether the City would perish, or quit four men, for whom they had no reason to care ? ' The voice was so great, one crying, ' That they who set them to work should defend them ; ' another, ' That since these troubles, none but bankrupts and knaves had prospered ; ' a third, ' That, if they had common honesty, they would rather run away, than endeavour to save themselves, by bringing destruction upon the whole city.' Then the court rose, and every man departed : so great a company going before, and following after Alderman Garroway to his house, that the streets were as full as at my Lord-mayor's show ; some crying out, ' Where's Venn and his Myrmidons ? ' Others, ' When they should meet ? ' To which a general shout answered, ' Now, now.' One of good credit with them wished them to proceed with discretion. ' A pox of discretion, (said a butcher,) we shall be undone with it ; let us proceed as these people have taught. When we asked them, what we should have in the place of bishops ? They told us, bishops were naught we all knew ; and, when they were gone, we should think of somewhat that is better in their room : let us now take away what we know is naught, and we shall do well enough after. I owe them a good turn, for the honour they have done my trade.' ' Sayest thou so ? (said a sturdy mariner ;) believe it, they who would persuade the honest sailors to turn traitors to their good King, for all his favours to them, shall repent it.' The good Alderman, being much troubled to hear the several expressions, besought them to depart every man to his own home ; telling them, ' That, if at this time they should do any thing, it would be imputed to him ; and he hoped they wished him no harm.' Whereupon, they were contented to part ; promising one another that when they next met, they would do something worth speaking of ; and agreed that the word should be, ' Gurney,' in honour of their good Lord-mayor.

The Humble Petition and Address of Edward, Earl of Clarendon¹. (MS.)

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

‘ May it please your Lordships;

‘ **I** CANNOT express the insupportable trouble and grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of being misrepresented unto your Lordships; and when I hear how much of your Lordships’ time hath been spent in the mention of me, and is attended with more public consequence; and of the difference of opinion, which is already, or may probably arise, betwixt your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons; whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed, in a time of so general dissatisfaction.

‘ I am very unfortunate to find myself suffer so much, under two very disadvantageous reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me: the first, from the greatness of my estate and fortune, collected and made in so few years; which, if it be proportionable to what it is reported, may very reasonably cause my integrity to be suspected: the second, that I have been the sole manager, and chief minister, in all the transactions of state, since the King’s return into England, to August last; and, therefore, that all miscarriages and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my counsels.

‘ Concerning my estate, your Lordships will believe, that after malice and envy have been so inquisitive and so sharp-sighted, I will not offer any thing to your Lordships, but what is really true; and I do assure your Lordships, in the first place, that, excepting from the King’s bounty, I have never received, nor taken one penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisite of my office, by the constant practice of the best times; which I did, in my own judgment, conceive to be that of my lords Coventry and Elsmore: the practice of which I constantly observed, although the office, in both their times, was lawfully worth double to what it was to me; and, I believe, now is. That all the courtesies and favours, which I have been able to obtain from the King for other persons, in church, state, or Westminster-hall, have never been worth, to me, five pounds; so that your Lordships may be confident, I am as innocent from corruption, as from any disloyal thought; which, after thirty years service of the crown, in some difficulties and distress, I did never suspect would have been objected to me, in my age. And I do assure your Lordships, and shall make it manifest, that the several sums of money and some parcels of land, which his Majesty hath bountifully bestowed upon me, since his last return into England, are worth more, than all I have amounts unto. So far I am from advancing my estate by indirect means; and, though this bounty of his Majesty hath very far exceeded my merit, or my expectations; yet some others have been as fortunate, at least, in the same bounty, who have had as small pretence to it, and have no great reason to envy my condition.

‘ Concerning the other imputation, of the credit and power of being chief minister, and causing all to be done, that I had any mind to; I have no more to say, than that I had the good fortune to serve a master of very great judgment and understanding, and to be

¹ [This petition was presented to the House by the earl of Denbigh, in December 1667, the time when the earl of Clarendon found it necessary to withdraw himself from the kingdom, leaving this address behind him to make an excuse for his absence without leave obtained. How it was received may be seen, by consulting his lordship’s life of himself, vol. ii. p. 249, where the paper itself may be found, containing some variations from the present.]

' always joined with persons of great abilities and experience; without whose advice and
 ' concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his Majesty's coming over, he
 ' was constantly attended by the marquis of Ormond, the late lord Culpepper, and Mr.
 ' secretary Nicholas, who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint ad-
 ' vice and concurrence, when they were all present (as some of them always were), I
 ' never gave any counsel. As soon as it pleased God to restore his Majesty into England,
 ' he established his privy-council; and shortly, out of them, a number of honourable per-
 ' sons of great reputation, (who for the most part are alive still,) as a committee for fo-
 ' reign affairs, and consideration of such things, as the number of them required much
 ' time and deliberation, and with those persons he vouchsafed to join me: and, I am con-
 ' fident, the committee never transacted any thing of moment (his Majesty being always
 ' present) without presenting the same first to the council-board; and I must appeal to
 ' them concerning my carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind, in matters of im-
 ' portance. For more than two years, I never knew any difference in the council, or that
 ' there were any complaints in the kingdom; which I wholly impute to his Majesty's great
 ' wisdom, and the entire concurrence of his counsellors, without the vanity of assuming
 ' any thing to myself: and, therefore, I hope, I shall not be singly charged with any
 ' thing, that has since fallen out amiss. But, from the time that Mr. secretary Nicholas
 ' was removed from his place, there were great alterations: and whosoever knows any
 ' thing of the court, or councils, knows well how much my credit hath since that
 ' time been diminished; although his Majesty still vouchsafed graciously to hear my ad-
 ' vice, in most of his affairs. Nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or
 ' two persons brought to the council, or preferred to any considerable office in the court,
 ' who have been of any intimate acquaintance, or suspected to have any kindness for me;
 ' and most of them most notoriously known to have been very long my enemies, and of
 ' different judgments and principles from me, both in church and state; and who have
 ' taken all opportunities to lessen my credit with the King, and all other persons, by mis-
 ' representing and misinterpreting all that I said, or did; and persuading men, that I had
 ' done them some prejudice with his Majesty, or crossed them in some of their preten-
 ' sions; though his Majesty's goodness and justice were such, that it made little impres-
 ' sion upon him.

' In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of the kingdom have proceeded from the
 ' war; to which, it was most notoriously known, that I was always most averse. And I
 ' may, without vanity, say; I did not only foresee, but did declare the mischief, we
 ' should run into, by entering into a war before any alliances with neighbouring princes:
 ' and that it may not be imputed to his Majesty's want of care, or the negligence of his
 ' counsellors, that no such alliances were entered into, I must say, that his Majesty left
 ' nothing unattempted, in order thereunto; and knowing very well, that France resolved
 ' to begin war upon Spain, as soon as his Catholic Majesty should depart the world;
 ' which being much sooner expected by them, they had, in two winters, been at great
 ' charge in providing plentiful magazines of all provisions upon the frontiers, that they
 ' might be ready for the war. His Majesty used all means possible to prepare and dis-
 ' pose the Spaniards with that apprehension, offering his friendship to that degree, as
 ' might be for the security and benefit of both crowns. But Spain, flattering itself, that
 ' France would not break with them; at least, that they would not give them any cause,
 ' by administering matter of jealousy; never made any real approach to make friendship
 ' with his Majesty: but, both by their ambassadors here, and his Majesty's ambassador
 ' at Madrid, always insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up of Danguirgue, Tan-
 ' gier, and Jamaica.

' Though France had an ambassador here, to whom a project for a treaty was offered,
 ' and the lord Hollis, his Majesty's ambassador at Paris, had used all endeavours to pur-
 ' sue and prosecute the said treaty; yet it was quickly discerned, the principal design of
 ' France was to draw his Majesty into such a new alliance, as might advance their de-
 ' sign, without which, they had no mind to enter into the treaty proposed: and this was

the state of affairs, when the war was entered into with the Dutch; from which time, neither crown continued the making an alliance with England.

As I did, from my soul, abhor the entering into this war, so I never presumed to give any advice or counsel for the way of managing of it, but by opposing many propositions, which seemed, by the late lord-treasurer and myself, to be unreasonable; as the payment of seamen with tickets, which added to the expence.

My enemies took all occasions to inveigh against me, and (making of friendship with others out of the council of more licentious principles, and who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the liberty they took to themselves, of rallying all council and counsellors, and turning all things, serious and secret, into ridicule) they took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all sorts of men, whom I shall be compelled to name in my own defence; persuading those that miscarried, that it was the chancellor's doing, whereof I never knew any thing. However, they could not withdraw the King's favour from me, who was still pleased to use my service with others: nor was there any thing done, but upon the joint advice of, at least, the major part of those who were consulted; and as his Majesty commanded my service in the late treaties, I never gave the least advice in private, or wrote one letter to any person, in those negotiations, but upon the advice of the council, and after it was read in council; or, at least, by the King himself, and some others: and if I prepared any instructions, or memorials, it was by the King's command, and the request of the secretaries, who desired my assistance. Nor was it any wish of my own, that any ambassador should give me any account of the transactions, but the secretary, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself, of ever having given advice, that hath proved mischievous, or inconvenient to his Majesty: and I have been so far from being the whole manager, that I have not, in the whole last year, been above twice with his Majesty in any room alone, and very seldom in the two or three last years preceding; and, since the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible, that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to, that have been proposed by me; but contradicted *eo nomine*, because they were proposed by me.

I most humbly beseech your Lordships, to remember the office and trust I had for seven years, in which discharge of my duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many men's pretensions, and refused to set the seal to many men's pardons, and their grants; which would have been profitable to them which procured them; and many whereof, upon my representation to his Majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally hath caused many enemies to me: and my frequently concurring, upon the desires of my late lord-treasurer (with whom I had the honour to have a long and faithful friendship to his death), in representing several excesses and exorbitances; the yearly issues so far exceeding the revenue, provoked many persons concerned, of great power and credit, to do me all the ill-offices they could: and yet, I may faithfully say, I never meddled with any part of the revenue, or the administration of it, but when I was desired by the late lord-treasurer, to give him my assistance and advice; having had the honour to serve the crown, as chancellor of the exchequer, which was, for the most part, in his Majesty's presence: nor have I been, in the least degree, concerned, in point of profit, in letting any part of his Majesty's revenue; nor have ever treated, or debated it, but in his Majesty's presence; in which my opinion concurred always with the major part of the council: all which, upon examination, will be made manifest to your Lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted, by the malice of those, who, I am confident, do not believe themselves. Nor have I, in all my treaties, otherwise received the value of one shilling, from all the kings and princes in the world, (except the book of the Louvre, sent by the chancellor of France, by the king's direction,) but from my own master; to whose entire service, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted. This being my present condition, I do most humbly beseech your Lordships to retain a favourable opinion of me, and believe me to be innocent from those foul aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved; which, I am sure, can

‘ never be, by any man worthy to be believed: and since the temper of the times, and
 ‘ the differences between the two Houses, in the present debate, with the power and ma-
 ‘ lice of my enemies, who give out, they shall prevail with his Majesty to prorogue, or
 ‘ dissolve the parliament in displeasure, (and threaten to expose me to the rage and fury
 ‘ of the people,) may make me to be looked upon, as the cause which obstructs the King’s
 ‘ service, and the unity and peace of the kingdom. I most humbly beseech your Lord-
 ‘ ships, that I may not forfeit your Lordships’ favour and protection, by withdrawing
 ‘ myself from so powerful a prosecution; in hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing,
 ‘ hereafter to appear, and make my defence; when his Majesty’s justice (to which I
 ‘ shall always submit) may not be obstructed, or controlled, by the power and malice of
 ‘ those, who have sworn my destruction.’

Exit CLARENDON.

The Parable of the Bear-baiting.

London, Printed for J. Johnson, 1691.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

THE proceedings by, and against some body of late, are not altogether unlike a certain parable; which, though I cannot, at present, call to mind where I read it, yet, I remember very well, the substance of it was this; *viz.*

Once upon a time, there was a Bear-baiting appointed; a great over-grown French Bear, the greatest in the world, to be baited by English and Dutch Mastiffs, the best mastiffs in the universe. The match was made between the most-Christian Lion¹ of England and Holland, on one hand; and the most-antichristian Bear-ward of France², on the other hand: and the wager was no less, than the whole interest of the French crown, on one side; and the whole remaining interest of Europe, and the liberty of all Christendom, on the other; in case of a total destruction, either of the Bear, or of the Mastiffs.

Whereupon, the great French Bear-ward, that Apocalyptic beast, Ludovicus; whose name is the Number of the Beast in the Revelation, for the numerical letters of his name are Six-hundred three-score and six. I say, this notorious beast of a man, this cruel tyrant, who retains nothing in him of a king, but the Purple; this Bear-ward *le Grand* spared no costs, nor pains, to hearten, cherish, and strengthen his Bear, against the time of baiting: nay, he sent as far the Levant for strengthening cordials, and restoratives for his Bear.

Hereupon, the wary Lion (who is, in his own nature, as wise as a serpent, and yet as innocent as a dove) sent out force enough, to intercept all those restoratives at the Streights-mouth.

But you must know, the Lions having more than a good many Jackcalls about him, (as all our Lions ever had,) they over-persuaded him to make a Jack-an-apes commander of that force; who, when the Bear’s cordials and restoratives came in sight, sat still upon

¹ [William the Third.]

² [Lewis le Grand.]

his butt-end all the while, cracking of nuts, and making of monkey's faces; and so let the strengthening cordials pass by safe, just under his nose, without doing any thing, besides gazing and smelling at them.

After this, you must further know, these foolish head-strong Jackcalls (being all great favourites forsooth, and pretending to ten times more knowledge and discretion, than ever they were, or ever will be masters of) prevailed likewise with the Lion, to make an old grisled Spaniel commander-in-chief over all his Mastiffs, both English and Dutch.

Wherefore, the Lion, at the earnest request and recommendation of the Jackcalls, called out old Grisle (a plaguy dog at a bitch, and therefore, in all probability, well acquainted with the best kennels), and spitted in his mouth, and clapped him on the back, and gave him all the encouragement a dog could have; and then bid him go, range about, seek out, and bring home, sixteen or eighteen couple of stout, well-bred, true English Beagles with him; to hunt out the Bear, and conduct the Mastiffs to their sport.

But old Grisle, not observing his master's instructions, (instead of procuring strong-built, hearty, experienced Beagles,) brought back a damned raw pack of mere Whelps and Lap-dogs; and by his and their fawning, crouching, cringing, and wheedling, as spaniels, whelps, and lap-dogs use to do, and by the intercession of the Jackcalls; who will recommend the devil for a good artist, if he has but the art of feeding them secretly with forbidden prey; they prevailed with the Lion to be commissioned under old Grisle, in order to lead and guide the Mastiffs: which made the Mastiffs growl most confoundedly, through mere indignation.

However, out they went, under this wise conduct. But before they went out, old Grisle, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs, (for I call them his, because, as I told you but now, they were most of his own getting,) thought it convenient, for their better security, to muzzle all the Mastiffs, and tie them fast in a strong line of passive obedience and non-resistance; and as soon as that was effectually done, then out they went altogether.

And all the way they went, old Grisle, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs, did frisk, and skip, and leap, and bounce, and yelp; being all over-joyed, that they should see some sport anon, (for most of them had never seen a bear before in their lives;) and oh! how they whipped the Bear about, and swunged him off, all the way, in their own fancies!

Says old, proud, impotent, self-conceited, empty Grisle: "Gentlemen Whelps, and gentlemen Lap-dogs, courage! Here is confusion to the Bear. Huzza! Shew yourselves to be but what you are, *viz.* true Whelps, and right Lap-dogs, and I desire no more: for, by your assistance, I have power enough to beat all the bears in France. I have been a whelp and a lap-dog myself in my time, as well as the best of you all: and, to my certain knowledge, an English whelp, or lap-dog, is able to grapple with a French bear at any time: wherefore, we need no scouts to go before, to bring us notice of the Bear's approach; for, as soon as he comes within hearing of your terrible yelping, he will be glad to retire fast enough of his own accord, I warrant you. Therefore, courage, my beloved Whelps and Lap-dogs! Here's confusion once more to the Bear! — Huzza! Yelp! yelp! yelp!"

But old Grisle had scarce ended these words, nor was the yelping quite ceased, when lo! all on a sudden, the unexpected roaring of the Bear quite surprized, dashed, astonished, and stunned the whole pack of Mongrels; which made old Grisle shrink-in his tail between his legs, and hang down his head, (and, if it had been hung up, not a half-penny damage,) and made all the Whelps and Lap-dogs begin to whine and whimper about him, and fawn upon him, with wagging tails, clapped in behind, lank ears before, couchant heads, and tears in their eyes. But, on the other side, it made the brave Mastiffs prick up their ears, and drew rage and foam from their mouths, and fire from their very eyes, to be at the Bear. Bless me! what a difference there is, between right true-bred mastiffs, and whiffing curs!

(For you must know, the great Bear was, by an unexpected hurricane, driven to a bay, fresh-water bay, or else he had seized, and hugged old Grisle, and all his Whelps and Lap-dogs, just as the devil hugs a witch, before they had been aware of it; and was there

confined in Lob's pound, and tied as fast, as a bear to a stake ; which made him suck his paws, and fret in his grease, and roar after that hideous manner.)

However, old Grisle was forced, by the rage and importunity of the Mastiffs, to go and shew them the Bear. And, to give the devil his due, he did shew them the Bear, and that was all. For, when he plainly perceived, that the French were really there with their Bears, he immediately took all possible care, to stand at a distance enough, out of harm's way ; and out of the way of doing harm to any, but the forward Mastiffs.

But had the first, second, and third-rate Mastiffs been then let loose, when they were fresh and untired ; and when they had a strong direct gale to carry them to the Bear's very nose ; they would certainly have torn him to pieces in a trice. For he was so hemmed in, on every side, that he could not stir one way or other ; neither could any of the Mastiffs have been there lost or sunk ; they being then, at the mouth of the best kennel, or port, in Europe : when, at the same time, the Bear was above a hundred leagues from his den. And besides, there was another strong party or two, of stout third, fourth, and fifth-rate Mastiffs, out at the same time, to have intercepted the Bear in his way ; if, after the first Mastiffs tearing him, he should have endeavoured to make his escape home.

Here were all the advantages, that heaven and earth could grant, at once ; and all the favourable opportunities, that man could ask, or that God need grant : and nothing wanting but courage, conduct, skill, and honesty, to accomplish the utter destruction of the Bear for evermore. Never had Spaniel such an opportunity of losing his own name, and gaining the reputation of a Mastiff ; and never had Whelps and Lap-dogs such an opportunity, to ingratiate themselves with, and gain the applause and esteem of all mankind, as well as of womankind and children. But I find the poet is in the right on it, who says :

Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret.

' Nature recoils ; and though you hang the dog,
Yet he will die, just as he liv'd, a rogue.'

For, as soon as old Grisle, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs, espied the vast bulk of the Bear's body, the wideness of his jaws, the largeness of his paws, and the length of his claws ; as if they had seen raw-head and bloody-bones, they turned all as white presently, as my lady's night-trail.

But by the thundering noise of the Mastiffs, and by the powerful help of brandy, being somewhat roused out of their fainting fit, they began at last (though it was long first) to recover a little out of their clammy sweat : and then they called a council, as they called it. And there, you might have seen all the Whelps and Lap-dogs lying panting round old Grisle, and looking up to him, in this time of need ; and he looking down upon them again, with most pitiful countenances, on both sides : and, all the while, making a most intolerable stink, for fear of the Bear. Nay, such a strange stink, that I am forced to hold my nose, even now, whilst I am speaking of it ; and to cry, " Out, ye stinking curs ! Faw ! Out, and be hanged ! Faw ! Out, for shame, and make room for the Mastiffs ! "

However, at long-run, old Grisle made a shift to open his jaws, and held them open, a long while, without speaking ever a word ; for he well knew, they understood his meaning by his gaping. Yet, at last, with much ado, (and with as much hesitation, trembling, and shaking, as if he had been in the house of commons,) he broke silence and snarled out these following sentences, to the great joy of the Whelps and Lap-dogs ; but to the deep grief and regret of the Mastiffs ; and to the everlasting stain, and eternal reproach of the English nation ; viz.

" Gentlemen Whelps, and gentlemen Lap-dogs ; I lately saw, when I was so often and so long on shore in London, and at Portsmouth, that the very watermen called me Lord Tarry-at-Home, and Lord Tarry-in-Town : then I say, I saw a very good book, nay, which is more, a convocation-book, in Mall Hinton's closet, or rather, kennel ; for, I must tell you, she is a very devout creature, a mighty lover of convocations, and no good

thing can come out, but she, good girl, will presently take it in. And there in that book I remember it is laid down, by the venerable authority of a certain kind of a certain sort of a convocation, as an undoubted principle of our church, (for I was never of any church, that was for true fighting, no more than you;) viz. that, whatever powers here below are settled and fixed, we ought to pay ample allegiance, non-resistance, and passive obedience to them. And you know well enough, that our master, the Lion, is not so very well settled and fixed at this time; for he is not yet passed the Boyne, and there is a deep water for him to wade through up to the chin, and several French Bears in his way, before he can reach Dublin. But on the other side you plainly see, that the great French Bear, here, is settled and fixed before your eyes: and, for my part, I have often found great civilities from French Bears; and so, I hope, I may again. Wherefore, gentlemen Whelps, and gentlemen Lap-dogs, though you are young, yet I am old; and it is high time for me to follow the virtuous example of Mall Hinton, and to walk by convocation-rules. And, therefore, I am clearly of the same opinion with the venerable convocation, viz. that we ought, in the first place, to keep our distance, to consider where we are, and in whose presence we be, and to see who and who stand together; and also, to keep to the saving doctrine of non-assistance, till we hear a little better which way things go, and till we are fully satisfied what is become of the Irish affairs. And yet, notwithstanding, in the mean time, to pay all dutiful respects to the settled power of the Bear (who was driven into the bay by a hurricane, and so has plainly God's authority), and especially, to keep close to our beloved-church-rules, and my old, natural, Spaniel-rules, of non-resistance, and passive obedience, during our whole retreat." At which periodical snarl, all the Whelps and Lap-dogs heaved up their drooping heads, and cried, 'Yelp, yelp, yelp;' but the enraged Mastiffs swore, 'Bow, wow, wow.'

This was the warlike resolution, the admirable, or admiral-like determination, and positive injunction of old Grisle; whereunto all the Whelps and Lap-dogs unanimously agreed, and punctually observed it, like so many dogs in a string; and hung down their heads all the way, like so many sheep-biters: finding now, by sad experience, the great difference between bear-baiting, and sheep-biting.

But, however, the Mastiffs, both English and Dutch, could not endure to be held so long, six or seven days together, by a pack of shagreen Curs, in such an unreasonable line, a line of five or six leagues distance, at least, from the Bear (the grand enemy of mankind), and from their duty of attacking him.

Therefore, to be thus unjustly restrained in spite of their courage (nay, in spite of their teeth) by a company of whiffers; made the Mastiffs rave, and grow almost stark-staring mad, for want of sleep and rest; but especially for want of fighting: for fighting is their meat and drink. A true tarpaulin fights only to eat, and eats only to fight again: and there were enough with them to eat up the Bear; and sharpeners enough in every thing else, but fighting; and more by a great many (though not by a good many) than those that devoured the great Spanish bear in 1588.

Whereupon the Lioness³, hearing the loud-mouthed voice of her Mastiffs, both English and Dutch, speaking the same thing, and (which is strange) the same language, and both countries agreeing in the same verdict, viz. that the Mastiffs were abused, curbed, and muzzled by a parcel of Mongrels; therefore she roused up her royal wrath, and sent positive orders to the Curs, either to permit the Mastiffs to fight, or else to come presently themselves to her den in the Tower.

This royal echo startled the Spaniel, the Whelps, and the Lap-dogs worse, if possible, than the roaring of the Bear had done before. For now, being almost nine days old in their iniquity, the Whelps began to see, that there was another settled power, besides the Bears.

Thus, old Grisle, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs, being reduced to a great strait; for fear of the Lioness on one side, and of the Bear on the other; and yet, being willing to

³ [Queen Mary.]

curry favour with both sides, and to keep to the convocation-rules of non-resistance of the settled power of the Lioness, and of passive obedience to the fixed power of the Bear : therefore, they craftily and cunningly resolved (as if they had been so many schoolmen, or doctors of metaphysical notions and distinctions) that they would sacredly, or rather cursedly, observe a strict neutrality on both sides.

In pursuance whereof, old Grisle, in the first place, making his honours, his bows, and his profound congees to the Bear ; and, then, making his obeisance to the Lioness ; and withal, making a show of praying, but not fighting, for king William and queen Mary : he hung out the bloody flag, as they use to do at the Bear-garden, and proclaimed free liberty for all to fight, that had a mind to it. ‘ Fight Dog, fight Bear, for him, and his.’

Whereupon, the brave Tyrrell, the undaunted Dorrell, and several other English, and above twenty Dutch Mastiffs, all as good as ever run at a bear, (and, oh ! that the courageous and victorious Shovel had been amongst them !) though they were before almost quite throttled, spent, and strangled, by being held back so long from their sport, in such an unreasonable line ; yet now took fresh courage, and broke the line, and left the Mongrels behind to their due, the line ; and ran full speed forwards, and made directly at the Bear with open mouths ; and stared fire, and gaped smoke, and spoke thunder, and darted thunderbolts, and hurled whirlwinds at the Bear : and so scorched, blighted, blasted, and twisted him ; and gave him such rents, such gashes, such breaches, and such shocks, that they made him groan, and reel backwards at their very first onset. And, had they been seconded, as they ought, we should never have been troubled hereafter with any more French dancing-bears again.

And though I will hold ten English crowns to one French crown at any time, upon any of these Mastiffs’ heads, both Dutch and English, against any French cub whatsoever of equal size. And though I have great reason always to lament my own insolvency, in that I am not able ever to pay sufficient expressions of gratitude and thankfulness to every one of these glorious assailants ; and particularly to the Dutch, because I find, they had not so many Whelps and Lap-dogs amongst them, as we had ; no, nor so many Jackcalls neither.

Yet, after all, I beseech you, gentlemen, bear with my weakness, and pardon the infirmity of my judgment, if it be so ; and give me leave to say, that my main bet is more especially reserved for, and fixed upon, the brave Tyrrell. A hundred to one on his head at any time ! His name is Wonder, a right English mastiff, and a true-bred tarpaulin ; who never gave an affront, and never brooked one : who is of such strange humility, goodness, and modesty ; and yet, at the same time, of such unparalleled courage, knowledge, and bravery, that, I protest, I have often gazed at the man in raptures of admiration ; and always thought him a great blessing to this nation, if we understood him : that is to say, (at which I know all the Jackcalls will grin,) if we understood how to employ true virtue, true honesty, true valour, true skill, true conduct, and true merit, to the best advantage ; and, if we understood how to pitch upon a man, that can, by his own private interest and repute amongst all true tarpaulins, man out a whole fleet at any time without a press.

But these, indeed, would be too many blessings wrapped up in one ; and the powerful spirit of the ever-blessed bishop Usher, still surviving in his grandson, would make too good an admiral for so bad an age, as this is.

Neither would I have old envious Grisle, nor any of his malicious Whelps, or Lap-dogs, think that captain Tyrrell is any ways privy to this commendation. No, good man, he would have been the only obstacle against it, if he had known it ; for he is neither for praising himself, nor dispraising others.

But yet, I hope, my lord Grisle, master Whelps, and master Lap-dogs, you will give me leave to speak the truth concerning your worships ; who was a spectator and stander-by all the while, as well as you : especially, since you have made me, and all my countrymen, pay so dear for our standing at your special Bear-beating. Nay, methinks, you might out of modesty, if you had any, give us leave to speak, who are such great losers by you : and more especially, since you have brought things to such a pass, that if we do

not speak now, we must for ever hereafter hold our peace; for you have bid the last bans of matrimony between us and destruction.

Wherefore, since I neither do, nor can, speak evil of the rulers of the people, *viz.* king William and queen Mary; of whom, by whom, and in whom, I know nothing but good. And since our Blessed Saviour called those men dogs, that eat up the children's bread. And since you, gentlemen Whelps, and gentlemen Lap-dogs, have given a pretty good stroke already to our daily bread; and are preparing, not only to devour the remainder, but also to rob us of the bread of life; and to bring in 'the abomination of desolation' upon us, even that abomination, which maketh desolate now at this very day in Flanders, Savoy, and all the frontiers of the empire, &c. and would willingly do the like here amongst us, with all his heart; and so, I perceive, with all yours too. And since you have only the name, the salary, the sash, the cravat-string, the feather, the Red and the Blue of commanders; without the true heart, the spirit, the experience, the honesty, and the bravery of true English tarpaulins. And since you have acquitted old Grisle for his ill-service, and have snarled and snapped at my dearly beloved Wonder, and his wonderfully courageous brethren's heels, for their good service: therefore I will take upon me the boldness (whether you give me leave or no) to tell you, in plain English, without any mixture of French in it, That you are a pack of curs and mongrels; and ought to be turned off, and cashiered, every one of you: for there is none amongst you all, though you very well deserve it, that is worth hanging.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in England¹ proved ; in a Dialogue between a Counsellor of State, and a Justice of Peace. Written by the worthy Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh². Dedicated to the King's Majesty, and to the House of Parliament now assembled.

Preserved, to be now happily, in these distracted Times, published ; and printed 1640.

[Quarto ; containing seventy-four pages.]

Counsellor. **N**OW, Sir, what think you of Mr. St. John's trial in the Star-chamber?³ I know that the bruit ran, that he was hardly dealt withal, because he was imprisoned in the Tower ; seeing his dissuasion from granting a benevolence to the king was warranted by the law.

Justice. Surely, sir, it was made manifest at the hearing, that Mr. St. John was rather in love with his own letter ; he confessed he had seen your lordship's letter, before he wrote his to the mayor of Marlborough ; and in your lordship's letter, there was not a word, whereto the statutes, by Mr. St. John alleged, had reference : for those statutes did condemn the gathering of money from the subject, under title of a free gift ; whereas a fifth, a sixth, a tenth, &c. was set down, and required. But, my good lord, though divers shires have given to his Majesty, some more, some less ; what is this to the king's debt ?

Counsellor. We know it well enough ; but we have many other projects.

Justice. It is true, my good lord : but your lordship will find, that when by these you have drawn many petty sums from the subjects, and those sometimes spent, as fast as they are gathered, his Majesty being nothing enabled thereby ; when you shall be forced to demand your great aid, the country will excuse itself, in regard of their former payments.

Counsellor. What mean you by the great aid ?

Justice. I mean the aid of parliament.

Counsellor. By parliament ! I would fain know the man, that durst persuade the king unto it ; for if it should succeed ill, in what case were he ?

Justice. You say well for yourself, my lord : and perchance, you that are lovers of yourselves, (under pardon) do follow the advice of the late duke of Alva, who was ever

¹ See Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 287.

² [Mr. Oldys, in his Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, remarks, that if this piece, or any other of Raleigh's writing, were to need a character ; we might refer to that short but shining one, which may serve for one and all—in Nicholson's English Historical Library, where he says,—‘ Sir W. Raleigh has written (as he used to do upon all other subjects) most judiciously and acutely upon the prerogatives of our parliament.’]

In collating an old MS copy of this Dialogue in the Harleian Library, with the common printed copies, the most material difference observed, was that those in print sometimes confound the arguments of the two speakers together, or blend the one with the other by not regarding the proper divisions of the colloquy. See Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, prefixed to his ‘History of the World.’ The piece was first printed at Middleburg, 4to. 1628 ; and has gone through several editions, besides being included in Dr. Birch's, and many other collections of the Knight's works. Most other editions contain a very patriotic dedication to king James I. which in the present is wanting.]

³ [Mr. Oliver St. John, afterwards lord Grandison, and lieutenant of Ireland ; was fined in the Star-chamber £.5,000. in April 1615 ; and made his submission in May following, for opposing that benevolence moved in the foregoing session of parliament, which was so abruptly dissolved.]

opposite to all resolution in business of importance: for if the things enterprised succeeded well, the advice never came in question; if ill (whereto great undertakings are commonly subject), he then made his advantage, by remembering his country council. But, my good lord, these reserved politicians are not the best servants; for he that is bound to adventure his life for his master, is also bound to adventure his advice: 'Keep not back counsel, (saith Ecclesiasticus,) when it may do good.'

Counsellor. But, sir, I speak it not in other respect, than I think it dangerous for the king to assemble the three estates; for thereby have our former kings always lost somewhat of their prerogatives. And, because that you shall not think, that I speak it at random; I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began, betwixt the kings of this land, and their subjects in parliament.

Justice. Your lordship shall do me a singular favour.

Counsellor. You know that the king of England had no formal parliament till above the eighteenth year of Henry the First; for in his seventeenth year, for the marriage of his daughter, the king raised a tax upon every hide of land by the advice of his privy-council alone. But you may remember how the subjects, soon after the establishment of this parliament, began to stand upon terms with the king; and drew from him by strong hand, and the sword, the Great Charter.

Justice. Your lordship says well: they drew from the king the Great Charter by the sword; and hereof the parliament cannot be accused, but the lords.

Counsellor. You say well; but it was after the establishment of the parliament, and by colour of it, that they had so great daring, for before that time they could not endure to hear of St. Edward's laws, but resisted the confirmation in all they could; although, by those laws, the subjects of this island were no less free than any of all Europe.

Justice. My good lord, the reason is manifest: for while the Normans, and other of the French that followed the Conqueror, made spoil of the English; they would not endure that any thing but the will of the Conqueror should stand for law: but after a descent or two, when themselves were become English, and found themselves beaten with their own rods; they then began to favour the difference between subjection and slavery, and insist upon the law, *meum et tuum*; and to be able to say unto themselves, *hoc fac et vives*: yea, that the conquering English in Ireland did the like, your lordship knows it better than I.

Counsellor. I think you guess a-right: and to the end the subject may know, that being a faithful servant to his prince, he might enjoy his own life; and, paying to his prince what belongs to a sovereign, the remainder was his own to dispose; Henry the First, to content his vassals, gave them the Great Charter, and the Charter of Forests.

Justice. What reason then had king John to deny the confirmation?

Counsellor. He did not: but he, on the contrary, confirmed both the charters with additions; and required the pope, whom he had then made his superior, to strengthen them with a golden bull.

Justice. But your Honour knows, that it was not long after, that he repented himself.

Counsellor. It is true, and he had reason so to do: for the barons refused to follow him into France, as they ought to have done; and to say true, this great charter, upon which you insist so much, was not originally granted regally and freely: for Henry the First did usurp the kingdom, and therefore, the better to assure himself against Robert, his eldest brother, he flattered his nobility and people, with those charters. Yea, king John that confirmed them, had the like respect; for Arthur, duke of Bretagne, was the undoubted heir of the crown, upon whom John usurped. And so to conclude, these charters had their original from kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

Justice. But king John confirmed the charter, after the death of his nephew Arthur, when he was then *rex de jure* also.

Counsellor. It is true; for he durst do no other, standing accursed, whereby few or none obeyed him; for his nobility refused to follow him into Scotland: and he had so grieved the people by pulling down all the park-pales before harvest, to the end his deer might

spoil the corn; and by seizing the temporalities of so many bishopricks into his hands; and chiefly for practising the death of the duke of Bretagne his nephew, as also having lost Normandy to the French; so as the hearts of all men were turned from him.

Justice. Nay, by your favour, my lord; king John restored king Edward's laws, after his absolution; and wrote his letters in the fifteenth of his reign, to all sheriffs, countermanding all former oppressions: yea, this he did, notwithstanding the lords refused to follow him into France.

Counsellor. Pardon me; he did not restore king Edward's laws then, nor yet confirmed the charters; but he promised upon his absolution to do both. But after his return out of France, in his sixteenth year, he denied it; because, without such a promise, he had not obtained restitution; his promise being constrained, and not voluntary.

Justice. But what think you? Was he not bound in honour to perform it?

Counsellor. Certainly no; for it was determined in the case of king Francis the First of France, that all promises by him made, whilst he was in the hands of Charles the Fifth, his enemy, were void; by reason, the judge of honour; which tells us he durst do no other.

Justice. But king John was not in prison.

Counsellor. Yet, for all that, restraint is an imprisonment; yea, fear itself is an imprisonment, and the king was subject to both. I know there is nothing more kingly in a king, than the performance of his word; but yet, of a word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the charter of Henry the First so published, that all men might plead it for their advantage: but a charter was left, *in deposito*, in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, for the time; and so to his successors. Stephen Langton, who was ever a traitor to the king, produced this charter, and shewed it to the barons; thereby encouraging them to make war against the king. Neither was it the old charter simply the barons sought to have confirmed; but they presented unto the king other articles and orders, tending to the alteration of the whole commonwealth; which when the king refused to sign, the barons presently put themselves into the field, and (in rebellious and outrageous fashion) sent the king word, 'except he confirmed them, they would not desist from making war against him, till he had satisfied them therein.' And, in conclusion; the king being betrayed of all his nobility, in effect, was forced to grant the charter of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, at such time as he was environed with an army in the meadows of Staines; which charters, being procured by force, pope Innocent afterwards disavowed, and threatened to curse the barons, if they submitted not themselves, as they ought, to their sovereign lord: which when the lords refused to obey, the king entertained an army of strangers, for his own defence; wherewith having mastered and beaten the barons, they called in Lewis of France (a most unnatural resolution) to be their king. Neither was *Magna Charta* a law in the nineteenth of Henry the Third, but simply a charter; which he confirmed in the twenty-first of his reign, and made it a law in the twenty-fifth, according to Littleton's opinion. Thus much for the beginning of the Great Charter; which had first an obscure birth from usurpation, and was secondly fostered and shewed to the world by rebellion.

Justice. I cannot deny but that all your lordship hath said is true: but, seeing the charters were afterwards so many times confirmed by parliament, and made laws, and that there is nothing in them unequal or prejudicial to the king; doth not your Honour think it reason they should be observed?

Counsellor. Yes; and observed they are in all that the state of a king can permit: for no man is destroyed, but by the laws of the land; no man disseised of his inheritance, but by the laws of the land: imprisoned they are by the prerogative, where the king hath cause to suspect their loyalty; for, were it otherwise, the king should never come to the knowledge of any conspiracy or treason, against his person or state; and, being imprisoned, yet doth not any man suffer death, but by the law of the land.

Justice. But, may it please your lordship; were not Cornwallis, Sharp, and Hoskins imprisoned; there being no suspicion of treason there?

Counsellor. They were, but it cost them nothing.

Justice. And what got the king by it? For in the conclusion, besides the murmur of the people, Cornwallis, Sharp, and Hoskins, having greatly overshot themselves, and repented them; a fine of five or six hundred pounds was laid on his Majesty, for their offences, for so much their diet cost his Majesty.

Counsellor. I know who gave the advice: sure I am that it was none of mine. But thus I say, if you consult your memory, you shall find, that those kings, which did in their own times, confirm the *Magna Charta*, did not only imprison, but they caused of their nobility, and others, to be slain, without hearing or trial.

Justice. My good lord, if you will give me leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well advised, that persuade the king not to admit the *Magna Charta*, with the former reservations. For as the king can never lose a farthing by it, as I shall prove anon; so except England were as Naples is, and kept by garrisons of another nation; it is impossible for a king of England to greaten and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his people. For by one rebellion the king hath more loss, than by an hundred years' observance of *Magna Charta*: for therein have our kings been forced to compound with rogues and rebels, and to pardon them; yea, the state of the king, the monarchy, the nobility, have been endangered by them.

Counsellor. Well, sir, let that pass. Why should not our kings raise money, as the kings of France do, by their letters and edicts only? For, since the time of Lewis the Eleventh, (of whom it is said, that he freed the French kings of their wardship,) the French kings have seldom assembled the states, for any contribution.

Justice. I will tell you why: the strength of England doth consist of the people and yeomanry; the peasants of France have no courage nor arms. In France, every village and borough hath a castle, which the French call *chasteau-villain*; every good city hath a good citadel; the king hath the regiments of his guards, and his men at arms always in pay: yea, the nobility of France, in whom the strength of France consists, do always assist their king in those levies upon their tenants. But, my lord, if you mark it, France was never free, in effect, from civil wars; and lately was endangered either to be conquered by the Spaniard, or to be cantonized by the rebellious French themselves, since that freedom of wardship. But, my good lord, to leave this digression; that, wherein I would willingly satisfy your lordship, is; that the kings of England have never received loss by parliament, or prejudice.

Counsellor. No, sir! You shall find that the subjects in parliament have decreed great things, to the disadvantage and dishonour of our kings in former times.

Justice. My good lord, to avoid confusion, I will make a short report of them all; and then your lordship may object, where you see cause: and I doubt not but to give your lordship satisfaction. In the sixth year of Henry the Third, there was no dispute; the House gave the king two shillings of every plough-land within England; and, in the end of the same year, he had escuage paid him, to wit, for every knights-fee, two marks in silver. In the fifth year of that king, the lords demanded the confirmation of the Great Charter, which the king's council, for that time present, excused; alleging, that those privileges were extorted by force, during the king's minority: and yet the king was pleased to send forth his writ to the sheriffs of every county, requiring them to certify, what those liberties were, and how used; and in exchange of the lords' demand, (because they pressed him so violently,) the king required all the castles and places, which the lords held of his, and had held in the time of his father; with those manors and lordships, which they had heretofore wrested from the crown: which at that time, the king being provided of forces, they durst not deny. In the fourteenth year, he had the fifteenth penny of all goods given him, upon condition to confirm the Great Charter: for, by reason of the wars in France, and the loss of Rochelle, he was then forced to consent to the lords, in all they demanded. In the tenth year of his reign, he fined the city of London, at fifty-thousand marks, because they had received Lewis of France. In the eleventh year, in the parliament at Oxford, he revoked the Great Charter; being granted when he

was under age, and governed by the earl of Pembroke, and the bishop of Winchester. In his eleventh year, the earls of Cornwall and Chester, marshal, Edward earl of Pembroke, Gilbert earl of Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrars, and Warwick, and others, rebelled against the king, and constrained him to yield unto them in what they demanded for their particular interest; which rebellion being appeased, he sailed into France: and, in his fifteenth year, he had a fifteenth of the temporality, and a disme and a half of the spirituality, and withal, escuage of every knights-fee.

Counsellor. But what say you to the parliament of Westminster, in the sixteenth year of the king; where, notwithstanding the wars of France, and his great charge in repulsing the Welch rebels, he was flatly denied the subsidy demanded?

Justice. I confess, my lord, that the House excused themselves, by reason of their poverty, and the lords taking of arms: in the next year, it was manifest that the House was practised against the king. And was it not so, my good lord, think you, in our two last parliaments? for, in the first, even those, whom his Majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the union; and in the second, there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your lordship spoke of dangers of parliaments: in this, my lord, there was a denial, but there was no danger at all. But to return where I left; What got the lords, by practising the House at that time? I say, that those, that broke this staff upon the king, were overturned with the counterbuff: for he refused all those lands which he had given in his minority; he called all his exacting officers to account; he found them all faulty; he examined the corruption of other magistrates, and from all these, he drew sufficient money to satisfy his present necessity; whereby, he not only spared his people, but highly contented them with an act of so great justice. Yea, Hubert, earl of Kent, the chief-justice, whom he had most trusted and most advanced, was found as false to the king, as any one of the rest; and, for conclusion, in the end of that year, at the assembly of the states at Lambeth, the king had the fortieth part of every man's goods given him freely towards his debts: for the people, who, the same year, had refused to give the king any thing; when they saw he had squeezed those sponges of the commonwealth, they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction.

Counsellor. But, I pray you, what became of this Hubert, whom the king had favoured above all men; betraying his Majesty as he did?

Justice. There were many that persuaded the king to put him to death, but he could not be drawn to consent; but the king seized upon his estate, which was great: yet, in the end, he left him a sufficient portion, and gave him his life, because he had done great service in former times. For his Majesty, though he took advantage of his vice, yet he forgot not to have consideration of his virtue. And upon this occasion it was, that the king (betrayed by those whom he most trusted) entertained strangers, and gave them their offices, and the charge of his castles and strong places in England.

Counsellor. But the drawing in of those strangers was the cause, that the marshal, earl of Pembroke, moved war against the king.

Justice. It is true, my good lord; but he was soon after slain in Ireland, and his whole masculine race, ten years extinguished, though there were five sons of them; and, the marshal being dead, (who was the mover and ring-leader of that war,) the king pardoned the rest of the lords that had assisted the marshal.

Counsellor. What reason had the king so to do?

Justice. Because he was so persuaded, that they loved his person, and only hated those corrupt counsellors, that then bore the greatest sway under him; as also, because they were the best men of war he had, whom if he destroyed, having war with the French, he had wanted commanders to have served him.

Counsellor. But what reason had the lords to take arms?

Justice. Because the king entertained the Poictovins. Were not they the king's vassals also? Should the Spaniards rebel, because the Spanish king trusts to the Neapolitans, Portuguese, Milanese, and other nations, his vassals; seeing those, that are governed by the viceroys and deputies, are, in policy, to be well entertained, and to be employed, who

would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and employed by their prince, they entertained themselves with the hopes, that others the king's vassals do. If the king had called in the Spaniards, or other nations, not his subjects; the nobility of England had reason of grief.

Counsellor. But what people did ever serve the king of England more faithfully than the Gascoignes did; even to the last of the conquest of that duchy?

Justice. Your lordship says well; and I am of that opinion, that if it had pleased the queen of England, to have drawn some of the chief of the Irish nobility into England; and, by exchange, to have made them good freeholders in England; she had saved above two millions of pounds, which were consumed in times of those rebellions. For what held the Gascoignes firm to the crown of England, (of whom the duke of Espernon married the inheritrix,) but his earldom of Kendal in England; whereof the duke of Espernon, in right of his wife, bears the title to this day? And, to the same end I take it, hath James, our sovereign lord, given lands to divers of the nobility of Scotland: and, if I were worthy to advise your lordship, I should think that your lordship should do the king great service, to put him in mind to prohibit all the Scottish nation, to alienate and sell away their inheritance here: for, by the selling, they not only give cause to the English to complain, that the treasure of England is transported into Scotland; but his Majesty is, thereby, also frustrated of making both nations one, and of assuring the service and obedience of the Scots in the future.

Counsellor. You say well; for though those of Scotland, that are advanced and enriched by the king's Majesty, will, no doubt, serve him faithfully; yet, how their heirs and successors, having no inheritance to lose in England, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our parliament. And what say you to the denial in the twenty-sixth year of his reign; even when the king was invited to come into France by the earl of March, who had married his mother, and who promised to assist the King in the conquest of many places lost?

Justice. It is true, my good lord, that a subsidy was then denied, and the reasons are delivered in English histories; and indeed, the king, not long before, had spent much treasure, in aiding the duke of Bretagne to no purpose: for he drew over the king, but to draw on good conditions for himself, as the earl of March, his father-in-law, now did; as the English barons did invite Lewis of France, not long before; as, in elder times, all the kings and states had done; and, in late years, the leaguers of France entertained the Spaniards, and the French Protestants and Netherlands, queen Elizabeth; not with any purpose to greaten those that aid them, but to purchase to themselves an advantageous peace. But what say the histories to this denial? They say, with a world of payments there mentioned, that the king had drawn the nobility dry; and, besides that, whereas, not long before, great sums of money were given, and the same appointed to be kept in four castles, and not to be expended, but by the advice of the peers: it was believed that the same treasure was yet unspent.

Counsellor. Good sir, you have said enough. Judge you, whether it were not a dishonour to the king, to be so tied, as not to expend his treasure, but by other men's advice; as it were, by their licence.

Justice. Surely, my lord, the king was well advised, to take the money upon any condition; and they were fools that propounded the restraint. For it doth not appear, that the king took any great heed to those overseers: kings are bound by their piety, and by no other obligation. In queen Mary's time, when it was thought she was with child, it was propounded in parliament, that the rule of the realm should be given to king Philip, during the minority of the hoped prince or princess; and the king offered his assurance, in great sums of money, to relinquish the government, at such time as the prince or princess should be of age. At which motion, when all else were silent in the House, lord Dacres, who was none of the wisest, asked—"Who shall sue the king's bond?" Which ended the dispute. For what bond is between a king and his vassals, but the bond of the king's faith? But, my good lord; the king, notwithstanding the denial at that

time, was, with gifts from particular persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding on his journey, for that time, into France; he took with him thirty casks, filled with silver and coin, which was a great treasure in those days. And, lastly, notwithstanding the first denial, in the king's absence, he had escuage granted him; to wit, twenty shillings of every knights-fee.

Counsellor. What say you then to the twenty-eighth year of that king, in which when the king demanded relief, the states would not consent, except the same order had been taken for the appointing of four overseers for the treasure? As also that the lord-chief-justice and the lord-chancellor should be chosen by the states, with some barons of the exchequer, and other officers.

Justice. My good lord, admit the king had yielded their demands, then, whatsoever had been ordained by those magistrates to the dislike of the commonwealth, the people had been without remedy; whereas, while the king made them, they had their appeal, and other remedies. But those demands vanished; and, in the end, the king had escuage given him, without any of their conditions. It is an excellent virtue in a king to have patience, and to give way to the fury of men's passions. The whale, when he is struck by the fisherman, grows in that fury, that he cannot be resisted, but will overthrow all the ships and barques that come in his way; but, when he hath tumbled a while, he is drawn to the shore with a twine-thread.

Counsellor. What say you then to the parliament, in the twenty-ninth year of that king?

Justice. I say, that the commons being unable to pay, the king relieves himself upon the richer sort: and so it likewise happened in the thirty-third year of the king, in which he was relieved chiefly by the city of London. But, my good lord; in the parliament in London, in the thirty-eighth year, he had given him the tenth of all the revenues of the church for three years, and three marks of every knights-fee throughout the kingdom, upon his promise and oath for the observing of *Magna Charta*: but, in the end of the same year, the king being then in France, he was denied the aids which he required. What is this to the danger of a parliament? Especially at this time they had reason to refuse, they had given so great a sum in the beginning of the same year; and again, because it was known that the king had but pretended war with the king of Castile, with whom he had secretly contracted an alliance, and concluded a marriage between his son Edward and the lady Eleanor. These false fires do but fright children; and it commonly falls out, that, when the cause given is known to be false, the necessity pretended is thought to be feigned. Royal dealing hath evermore royal success; and as the king was denied in the thirty-eighth year, so was he denied in the thirty-ninth year; because the nobility and the people saw it plainly, that the king was abused by the pope, who, as well in despite to Manfred (bastard son to the emperor Frederick the Second), as to cozen the king, and to waste him, would needs bestow on the king the kingdom of Sicily: to recover which, the king sent all the treasure he could borrow or scrape to the pope, and withal gave him letters of credence, for to take up what he could in Italy; the king binding himself for the payment. Now, my good lord, the wisdom of princes is seen in nothing more than in their enterprises. So how displeasing it was to the state of England, to consume the treasure of the land, and in the conquest of Sicily, so far off; and otherwise, for that the English had lost Normandy under their noses, and so many goodly parts of France of their own proper inheritance. The reason of the denial is as well to be considered as the denial.

Counsellor. Was not the king also denied a subsidy, in the forty-first year of his reign?

Justice. No, my lord: for, although the king required money, as before, for the impossible conquest of Sicily; yet the House offered to give fifty-two thousand marks, which, whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain: and, whilst the king dreamed of Sicily, the Welch invaded and spoiled the borders of England; for, in the parliament of London, when the king urged the House for prosecuting the conquest of Sicily, the lords

(utterly disliking the attempt) urged the prosecuting of the Welchmen; which parliament, being prorogued, did assemble at Oxford, and was called the Mad-parliament, which was no other than an assembly of rebels: for the royal assent of the king, which gives life to all laws, formed by the three estates, was not a royal assent, when both the king and the prince were constrained to yield to the lords. A constrained consent is the consent of a captive, and not of a king; and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For, if it be not properly a parliament where the subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the king is bound; for all kingly rule was taken from the king, and twelve peers appointed; and (as some writers have it) twenty-four peers to govern the realm: and therefore the assembly made by Jack Straw, and other rebels, may as well be called a parliament as that of Oxford: *Principis nomen habere, non est esse princeps*; for thereby was the king driven not only to compound all quarrels with the French, but to have means to be revenged on the rebel lords: but he quitted his right to Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne.

Counsellor. But, sir, what needed this extremity; seeing the lords required but the confirmation of the former charter, which was not prejudicial to the king to grant?

Justice. Yes, my good lord, but they insulted upon the king, and would not suffer him to enter into his own castles; they put down the purveyor of the meat for the maintenance of his house, as if the king had been a bankrupt; and gave order that, without ready money, he should not take up a chicken. And although there is nothing against the royalty of a king in these charters, (the kings of England being kings of free men and not of slaves;) yet it is so contrary to the nature of a king to be forced even to those things which may be to his advantage, as the king had some reason to seek the dispensation of his oath from the pope, and to draw in strangers for his own defence: yea, *Jure salvo coronæ nostræ* is intended inclusively in all oaths and promises exacted from a sovereign.

Counsellor. But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to call in other nations; both for the spoil they make, as also, because they have often held the possession of the best places with which they have been trusted.

Justice. It is true, my good lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a king as to be constrained and held as prisoner to his vassals; for by that, Edward the Second and Richard the Second lost their kingdoms and their lives. And for calling in of strangers; was not king Edward the Sixth driven to call in strangers against the rebels in Norfolk, Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? Have not the kings of Scotland been oftentimes constrained to entertain strangers against the kings of England? And the king of England at this time, had he not been divers times assisted by the kings of Scotland, had been endangered to have been expelled for ever.

Counsellor. But yet, you know, those kings were deposed by parliament.

Justice. Yea, my good lord, being prisoners, being out of possession; and being in their hands that were princes of the blood, and pretenders. It is an old country proverb, that 'might overcomes right.' A weak title, that wears a strong sword, commonly prevails against a strong title that wears but a weak one: otherwise, Philip the Second had never been duke of Portugal, nor duke of Milan, nor king of Naples and Sicily. But, my good lord, *errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum*: I speak of regal, peaceable, and lawful parliaments. The king, at this time, was but a king in name; for Gloucester, Leicester, and Chichester, made choice of other nine, to whom the rule of the realm was committed; and the prince was forced to purchase his liberty from the earl of Leicester, by giving for his ransom the county-palatine of Chester. But, my lord, let us judge of those occasions by their events. What became of this proud earl? Was he not soon after slain in Evesham? Was he not left naked in the field, and left a shameful spectacle; his head being cut off from his shoulders, his privy-parts from his body, and laid on each side of his nose? And did not God extinguish his race? After which, in a lawful parliament at Westminster, confirmed in a following parliament of Westminster; were not all the lords that followed Leicester disinherited? And when that fool Gloucester (after the death of Leicester, whom he had formerly forsaken) made himself the head of a second rebellion, and

called in strangers, for which, not long before, he had cried out against the king: was not he in the end (after that he had seen the slaughter of so many of the barons, the spoil of their castles and lordships) constrained to submit himself, as all the survivors did? of which they, that sped best, paid their fines and ransoms; the king reserving to his younger son, the earldoms of Leicester and Darby.

Counsellor. Well, sir, we have disputed this king to his grave; though it be true, that he outlived all his enemies, and brought them to confusion: yet those examples did not terrify their successors; but the earl-marshal, and Hereford, threatened king Edward the First with a new war.

Justice. They did so: but, after the death of Hereford, the earl-marshal repented himself; and, to gain the king's favour, he made him heir of all his lands. But what is this to the parliament? For there was never a king of this land had more given him for the time of his reign, than Edward the son of Henry the Third had.

Counsellor. How doth it appear?

Justice. In this sort, my good lord: in this king's third year, he had given him the fifteenth part of all goods; in his sixth year, a twentieth; in his twelfth year, a twentieth; in his fourteenth year he had escuage; to wit, forty shillings of every knights-fee: in his eighteenth year, he had the eleventh part of all moveable goods within the kingdom; in his nineteenth year, the tenth part of all church-livings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for six years, by agreement from the pope; in his three-and-twentieth year, he raised a tax upon wool and fells; and, on a day, caused all the religious houses to be searched, and all the treasure in them to be seized and brought to his coffers; excusing himself, by laying the fault upon his treasurer: he had also, in the end of the same year, of all goods, of all burgesses, and of the commons, the tenth part; in the twenty-fifth year of the parliament of St. Edmundsbury, he had an eighteenth part of the goods of the burgesses, and of the people in general, the tenth part: he had also the same year, by putting the clergy out of his protection, a fifth part of their goods; and, in the same year, he set a great tax upon wools; to wit, from half a mark to forty shillings upon every sack: whereupon the earl-marshal and the earl of Hereford, refusing to attend the king into Flanders, pretended the grievances of the people. But, in the end, the king having pardoned them, and confirmed the Great Charter, he had the ninth penny of all goods, from the lords and commons of the clergy: in the South he had the tenth penny; and in the North the fifth penny. In the two-and-thirtieth year, he had a subsidy freely granted: in the three-and-thirtieth year, he confirmed the Great Charter of his own royal disposition; and the states, to shew their thankfulness, gave the king, for one year, the sixth part of their goods. And the same year the king used the inquisition, called *Trai le Baston*: by which all justices and other magistrates were grievously fined, that had used extortion, or bribery, or had otherwise misdeigned themselves; to the great contentation of the people. This commission likewise did enquire of intruders, barrators⁴, and all other the like vermin; whereby the king gathered a great mass of treasure, with a great deal of love. Now, for the whole reign of this king, who governed England thirty-five years, there was not any parliament to prejudice.

Counsellor. But there was taking of arms, by the earl-marshal and Hereford.

Justice. That is true; but why was that? Because the king, notwithstanding all that was given him by parliament, did lay the greatest taxes that ever king did, without their consent. But what lost the king by those lords? One of them gave the king all his lands; the other died in disgrace.

Counsellor. But what say you to the parliament in Edward the Second's time, his successor? Did not the house of parliament banish Pierce Gaveston, whom the king favoured?

Justice. But what was this Gaveston, but an esquire of Gascoigne, formerly banished the realm by king Edward the First, for corrupting the prince Edward, now reigning? And, the whole kingdom fearing and detesting his venomous disposition; they besought

⁴ [A law-term for an exciter of suits or quarrels, in disturbance of the peace.]

his Majesty to cast him off; which the king performed by an act of his own, and not by act of parliament: yea, Gaveston's own father-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, was one of the chiefest lords that procured it. And yet, finding the king's affection to follow him so strongly, they all consented to have him recalled. After which, when his credit so increased, that he despised and set at nought all the antient nobility, and not only persuaded the king to all manner of outrages and riots, but withal transported what he listed of the king's treasure, and jewels, the lords urged his banishment the second time: but neither was the first, nor the second banishment, forced by act of parliament; but by the forceable lords his enemies. Lastly; he being recalled by the king, the earl of Lancaster caused his head to be struck off, when those of his party had taken him prisoner. By which presumptuous act, the earl and the rest of his company committed treason and murder: treason, by raising an army without warrant; murder, by taking away the life of the king's subject. After which, Gaveston being dead, the Spencers got possession of the king's favour; though the younger of them was placed about the king by the lords themselves.

Counsellor. What say you, then, to the parliament, held at London about the sixth year of that king?

Justice. I say, that king was not bound to perform the acts of this parliament; because the lords, being too strong for the king, forced his consent: for these be the words of our own History, 'They wrested too much beyond the bounds of reason.'

Counsellor. What say you to the parliaments of the White-wands, in the three-and-thirtieth year of the king?

Justice. I say, the lords, that were so moved, came with an army; and, by strong hand, surprized the king. 'They constrained (saith the story) the rest of the lords, and compelled many of the bishops to consent unto them.' Yea, it saith further, that the king durst not but grant all that they required; to wit, for the banishment of the Spencers. Yea, they were so insolent, that they refused to lodge the queen, coming through Kent, in the castle of Leeds; and sent her to provide her lodging where she could get it, late in the night: for which, notwithstanding, some, that kept her out, were soon after taken and hanged; and therefore your lordship cannot call this a parliament, for the reasons before alleged. But, my lord, what became of these lawgivers to the king? Even when they were greatest, a knight of the North, called Andrew Herkeley, assembled the forces of the country; overthrew them and their army; slew the earl of Hereford, and other barons; took their general, Thomas earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin-german, at that time possessed of five earldoms; the lords Clifford, Talbot, Mowbray, Maudint, Willington, Warren; lords Darcy, Withers, Knevil, Leybourne, Bekes, Lovell, Fitzwilliams, Watervild, and divers other barons, knights, and esquires; and, soon after, the lord Percy and the lord Warren took the lord Baldsemere and the lord Audley, the lords Teis, Gifford, Tutchet, and many others that fled from the battle: the most of which passed under the hands of the hangman, for constraining the king under the colour and name of a parliament. By this your good lordship may judge, to whom those tumultuous assemblies, which our Histories falsely call Parliaments, have been dangerous: the kings in the end ever prevailed, and the lords lost their lives and estates; after which, the Spencers, in their banishment at York, in the fifteenth year of the king, were restored to their honours and estates; and therein the king had a subsidy given him, the sixth penny of goods throughout England, Ireland, and Wales.

Counsellor. Yet, you see the Spencers were soon after dissolved.

Justice. It is true, my lord, but that is nothing to our subject of Parliament: they may thank their own insolency, for they branded and despised the queen, whom they ought to have honoured as the king's wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other men's ruins; they were ambitious, and exceeding malicious: whereupon that came, that when chamberlain Spencer was hanged in Hereford, a part of the four-and-twentieth Psalm was written over his head: *Quid gloriaris in malitiâ, potens?*

Counsellor. Well, sir; you have all this while excused yourself upon the strength and

rebellions of the lords: but what say you now to king Edward the Third? In whose time (and during the time of this victorious king, no man durst take arms, or rebel) the three estates did him the greatest affront, that ever king received or endured: therefore, I conclude where I began, that these parliaments are dangerous for a king.

Justice. To answer your lordship in order: may it please you first to call to mind what was given this great king, by his subjects, before the dispute betwixt him and the House happened, which was in his latter days. From his first year to his fifth year, there was nothing given the king by his subjects; in the eighth year, at the parliament at London, a tenth and fifteenth was granted. In his tenth year, he seized upon the Italians' goods here in England to his own use, with all the goods of the monks Cluniacks, and others of the order of the Cisterians. In the eleventh year, he had given him by parliament a notable relief, the one-half of the wools throughout England; and, of the clergy, all their wools; after which, in the end of the year, he had granted, in this parliament at Westminster, forty shillings upon every sack of wool, and, for every thirty wool-fells, forty shillings; for every last of leather as much; and for all other merchandises after the same rate. The king promising, that this year's gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old custom: he had, over and above this great aid, the eighth part of all goods of all citizens and burgesses, and others, as of foreign merchants; and of such as lived not of the gain of breeding of sheep and cattle, the fifteenth of their goods. Nay, my lord, this was not all, though more than ever was granted to any king; for the same parliament bestowed on the king the ninth sheaf of all the corn within the land, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lamb, for two years next following. Now, what thinks your lordship of this parliament?

Counsellor. I say, they were honest men.

Justice. And I say, the people are as loving to their king now, as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withal: and so his Majesty had found them in his last two parliaments, if his Majesty had not been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

Counsellor. But, I pray you, sir; whom shall a king trust, if he may not trust those, whom he hath so greatly advanced?

Justice. I will tell your lordship, Whom the king may trust.

Counsellor. Who are they?

Justice. His own reason, and his own excellent judgment; which have not deceived him in any thing, wherein his Majesty hath been pleased to exercise them. 'Take counsel of thine heart, (saith the Book of Wisdom;) for there is none more faithful unto thee, than it.'

Counsellor. It is true; but his Majesty found, that those wanted no judgment, whom he trusted: and how could his Majesty divine of their honesties?

Justice. Will you pardon me, if I speak freely? For I speak out of love, which, as Solomon saith, 'covereth all trespasses.' The truth is, that his Majesty would never believe any man that spoke against them, and they knew it well enough; which gave them boldness to do what they did.

Counsellor. What was that?

Justice. Even, my good lord, to ruin the king's estate; so far as the estate of so great a king may be ruined, by men ambitious and greedy without proportion. It had been a brave increase of revenue, my lord, to have raised five-hundred-thousand pounds in land of the king's, to twenty-thousand pounds revenue; and to raise the revenue of wards to twenty-thousand pounds more. Forty-thousand pounds, added to the rest of his Majesty's estate, had so enabled his Majesty, that he could never have wanted: and, my good lord, it had been an honest service to the king, to have added seven-thousand pounds in lands, of the lord Cobham's; his woods and goods being worth thirty-thousand pounds more.

Counsellor. I know not the reason why it was not done.

Justice. Neither doth your lordship, perchance, know the reason why the ten-thousand pounds, offered by Swinnerton, for a fine of the French wines; was, by the then lord-treasurer, conferred on Devonshire and his mistress.

Counsellor. What moved the treasurer to reject and cross that raising of the king's lands?

Justice. The reason, my good lord, is manifest; for, had the land been raised, then had the king known, when he had given or exchanged land, what he had given or exchanged.

Counsellor. What hurt had that been to the treasurer? Whose office is truly to inform the king of the value of all that he giveth.

Justice. So he did, when it did not concern himself, nor his particular: for he could never admit any one piece of a good manor to pass in my lord Aubigne's book of a thousand-pounds land, till he himself had bought; and then all the remaining flowers of the crown were culled out. Now, had the treasurer suffered the king's lands to have been raised; how could his lordship have made choice of the old rents, as well in that book of my lord Aubigne, as in exchange of Theobalds; for which he took Hatfield in it; which the greatest subject, or favourite, queen Elizabeth had, never durst have named unto her, by way of gift or exchange? Nay, my lord; so many other goodly manors have passed from his Majesty, that the very heart of the kingdom mourneth to remember it, and the eyes of the kingdom shed tears continually at the beholding it; yea, the soul of the kingdom is heavy unto death with the consideration thereof, that so magnanimous a prince should suffer himself to be so abused.

Counsellor. But, sir, you know, that Cobham's lands were entailed upon his cousins.

Justice. Yea, my lord: but, during the lives and races of George Brooke's children, it had been the king's; that is to say, for ever in effect: but, to wrest the king, and to draw the inheritance upon himself, he persuaded his Majesty to relinquish his interest for a pretty sum of money; and that there might be no counterworking, he sent Brooke six thousand pounds to make friends; whereof himself had two thousand pounds back again; Buckhurst and Berwick had the other four thousand pounds; and the treasurer and his heirs, the mass of land for ever.

Counsellor. What then, I pray you, came to the king, by this great confiscation?

Justice. My lord; the king's Majesty, by all those goodly possessions, woods, and goods, loseth five hundred pounds by the year; which he giveth in pension to Cobham, to maintain him in prison.

Counsellor. Certainly, even in conscience, they should have reserved so much of the land in the crown, as to have given Cobham meat and apparel; and not made themselves so great gainers, and the king five hundred pounds *per annum* loser by the bargain. But it is past: *Consilium non est eorum, quæ fieri nequeunt.*

Justice. Take the rest of the sentence, my lord: *sed consilium versatur in iis, quæ sunt in nostrâ potestate.* It is yet, my good lord, *in potestate regis* to right himself. But this is not all, my lord: and, I fear, knowing your lordship's love to the king, it would put you into a fever to hear all. I will, therefore, go on with my parliaments.

Counsellor. I pray do so; and, amongst the rest, I pray you, what think you of the parliament holden at London in the fifteenth year of king Edward the Third?

Justice. I say, there was nothing concluded therein to the prejudice of the king. It is true, that, a little before the sitting of the House, the king displaced his chancellor, and his treasurers, and most of all his judges, and officers of the exchequer, and committed many of them to prison; because they did not supply him with money, being beyond the seas. For the rest, the states assembled besought the king, that the laws of the two charters might be observed, and that the great officers of the crown might be chosen by parliament.

Counsellor. But what success had these petitions?

Justice. The charters were observed, as before, and so they will be ever; and the other petition was rejected; the king being pleased, notwithstanding, that the great officers should take an oath in parliament to do justice. Now for the parliament of Westminster. In the seventeenth year of the king, the king had three marks and a half for every sack

of wool transported; and, in his eighteenth, he had a tenth of the clergy, and a fifteenth of the laity, for one year. His Majesty forbore, after this, to charge his subjects with any more payments, until the twenty-ninth of his reign, when there was given the king, by parliament, fifty shillings for every sack of wool transported, for six years; by which grant, the king received a thousand marks a day; a greater matter than a thousand pounds in these days: and a thousand pounds a day amounts to three-hundred sixty-five-thousand pounds a year, which was one of the greatest presents that ever was given to a king of this land. For, besides the cheapness of all things in that age, the king's soldiers had but three-pence a day wages, a man at arms six-pence, and a knight but two shillings. In the parliament at Westminster, in the thirty-third year, he had twenty-six shillings and eight-pence for every sack of wool transported; and, in the forty-second year, three dismes and three fifteenths. In his forty-fifth year, he had fifty-thousand pounds of the laity; and, because the spirituality disputed it, and did not pay so much, the king changed his chancellor, treasurer, and privy-seal, being bishops; and placed laymen in their room.

Counsellor. It seems, that, in those days, the kings were no longer in love with their great chancellors, than when they deserved well of them.

Justice. No, my lord, they were not; and that was the reason they were well served: and it was the custom then, and in many ages after, to change the treasurer and the chancellor every three years; and withal, to hear all men's complaints against them.

Counsellor. By this often change, the saying is verified, That there is no inheritance in the favour of kings. 'He that keepeth the fig-tree, (saith Solomon,) shall eat the fruit thereof;' for reason it is, that the servant live by the master.

Justice. My lord, you say well in both: but, had the subject an inheritance in the prince's favour, where the prince had no inheritance in the subject's fidelity, then were kings in a more unhappy state than common persons. For the rest, Solomon meaneth not, that he, that 'keepeth the fig-tree, should surfeit:' though he meaneth he should eat, he meaneth not he should break the branches in gathering the figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the owner of the tree: for what saith he in the following chapter, he saith, that 'he, that maketh haste to be rich, cannot be innocent.' And, before that, he saith, that 'the end of an inheritance, hastily gotten, cannot be blessed.' Your lordship hath heard of few, or none, great with kings, that have not used their power to oppress; that have not grown insolent and hateful to the people; yea, insolent towards those princes that advanced them.

Counsellor. Yet you see that princes can change their fancies.

Justice. Yea, my lord, when favourites change their faith; when they forget, that how familiar soever kings make themselves with their vassals, yet they are kings. 'He that provoketh a king to anger, (saith Solomon,) sinneth against his own soul.' And he further saith, that 'pride goeth before destruction; and a high mind, before a fall.' I say therefore, that in discharging those Lucifers (how dear soever they have been), kings make the world know, that they have more of judgment than of passion; yea, they thereby offer a satisfactory sacrifice to all their people: too great benefits of subjects to their king, where the mind is blown up with their own deservings; and too great benefits of kings conferred upon their subjects, where the mind is not qualified with a great deal of modesty, are equally dangerous. Of this latter, and insolenter, had king Richard the Second delivered up to justice but three or four, he had still held the love of the people, and thereby his life and estate.

Counsellor. Well, I pray you go on with your parliaments.

Justice. The life of this great king Edward draws to an end; so do the parliaments of this time, where, in fifty years reign, he never received any affront: for, in his forty-ninth year, he had a disme and a fifteenth granted him freely.

Counsellor. But, sir, it is an old saying, That all is well that ends well: judge you, whether, that, in his fiftieth year in the parliament at Westminster, he received not an affront, when the House urged the king to remove and discharge from his presence the

duke of Lancaster, the lord Latimer his chamberlain, sir Richard Sturry, and others, whom the king favoured and trusted. Nay, they pressed the king to thrust a certain lady out of the court, which at that time bore the greatest sway therein.

Justice. I will with patience answer your lordship to the full: and, first, your lordship may remember by that which I even now said, that never king had so many gifts, as this king had from his subjects, and it hath never grieved the subjects of England to give to their king; but when they knew there was a devouring lady, that had her share in all things that passed, and the duke of Lancaster was as scraping as she; that the chancellor did eat up the people as fast as either of them both: it grieved the subjects to feed these cormorants. But, my lord, there are two things by which the kings of England have been pressed; to wit, by their subjects, and by their own necessities. The lords in former times were far stronger, more warlike, and better followed, living in their countries, than now they are. Your lordship may remember in your reading, that there were many earls could bring into the field a thousand barbed horses, and many a baron five or six hundred barbed horses; whereas now, very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the king. But to say the truth, my lord, the justices of peace in England have opposed the injusticers of war in England: the king's writ runs over all; and the great-seal of England, with that of the next constable's, will serve the turn to affront the greatest lords in England, that shall move against the king. The force, therefore, by which our kings in former times were troubled, is vanished away: but the necessities remain. The people, therefore, in these latter ages, are no less to be pleased than the peers: for, as the latter are become less; so, by reason of the training through England, the commons have all the weapons in their hands.

Counsellor. And was it not so ever?

Justice. No, my good lord; for the noblemen had in their armories to furnish some of them a thousand, some two-thousand, and some three-thousand men; whereas, now, there are not many that can arm fifty.

Counsellor. Can you blame them? But I will only answer for myself; between you and me be it spoken, I hold it not safe to maintain so great an armory, or stable; it might cause me, or any other nobleman, to be suspected, as to the preparing of some innovation.

Justice. Why so, my lord? Rather to be commended, as preparing against all danger of innovation.

Counsellor. It should be so; but call your observation to account, and you shall find it as I say: for, indeed, such a jealousy hath been held, ever since the time of the civil wars, over the military greatness of our nobles, as made them have little will to bend their studies that way; wherefore, let every man provide according as he is rated in the muster-book: you understand me.

Justice. Very well, my lord, as what might be replied in the perceiving so much. I have ever (to deal plainly and freely with your lordship) more feared at home popular violence, than all the foreign that can be made; for it can never be in the power of any foreign prince, without a papistical party, either to disorder or endanger his Majesty's estate.

Counsellor. By this it seems, it is no less dangerous for a king to leave the power in the people, than in the nobility.

Justice. My good lord, the wisdom of our own age is the foolishness of another: the time present ought not to be preferred to the policy that was; but the policy that was, to the time present. So that the power of the nobility being now withered, and the power of the people in the flower; the care to content them should not be neglected, the way to win them often practised, or, at least, to defend them from oppression. The motive of all dangers, that ever this monarchy hath undergone, should be carefully heeded, for this maxim hath no postern; *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*. And now, my lord, for king Edward: it is true, though he was not subject to force, yet he was subject to necessity; which, because it was violent, he gave way unto it: *Potestas* (saith Pythagoras) *juxta necessitatem habitat*. And it is true, that at the request of the House,

he discharged and put from him those before-named; which done, he had the greatest gift, but one, that he received in all his days; to wit, from every person, man and woman, above the age of fourteen years, four-pence of old money; which made many millions of groats, worth six-pence of our money. This he had in general: besides, he had of every beneficed priest, twelve-pence: and, of the nobility and gentry, I know not how much; for it is not set down. Now, my good lord, what lost the king by satisfying the desires of the parliament-house? For, as soon as he had the money in purse, he recalled the lords, and restored them; and who durst call the king to account, when the assembly were dissolved? 'Where the word of a king is, there is power,' (saith Ecclesiasticus:) 'Who shall say unto him, What doest thou?' saith the same author; for to every purpose there is a time and judgment; the king gave way to the time, and his judgment persuaded him to yield to necessity: *Consiliarius nemo melior est quàm tempus*.

Counsellor. But yet, you see the king was forced to yield to their demands?

Justice. Doth your lordship remember the saying of Monsieur de Lange, 'That he that hath the profit of the war, hath also the honour of the war, whether it be by battle or retreat:' the king, you see, had the profit of the parliament, and therefore the honour also. What other end had the king than to supply his wants? A wise man hath evermore respect unto his ends: and the king also knew, that it was the love that the people bore him, that they urged the removing of those lords: there was no man amongst them, that sought himself in that desire, but they all sought the king; as, by the success, it appeared. My good lord, hath it not been ordinary in England, and in France, to yield to the demands of rebels? Did not king Richard the Second grant pardon to the outrageous rogues and murderers, that followed Jack Straw, and Wat Tiler; after they had murdered his chancellor, his treasurer, chief-justice, and others; broke open his exchequer, and committed all manner of outrages and villainies? And why did he do it; but to avoid a greater danger? I say, the kings have then yielded to those that hated them and their estates; to wit, to pernicious rebels. And yet, without dishonour, shall it be called dishonour for the king to yield to honest desires of his subjects? No, my lord; those that tell the king those tales, fear their own dishonour, and not the king's: for the honour of the king is supreme, and being guarded by justice and piety, it can receive neither wound nor stain.

Counsellor. But, sir, what cause have any, under our king, to fear a parliament?

Justice. The same cause that the earl of Suffolk had in Richard the Second's time, and the treasurer Fartham, with others; for these great officers, being generally hated for abusing both the king and the subject, at the request of the states were discharged, and others put in their rooms.

Counsellor. And was not this a dishonour to the king?

Justice. Certainly no: for king Richard knew that his grandfather had done the like; and though the king was, in his heart, utterly against it, yet had he the profit of his exchange; for Suffolk was fined at twenty-thousand marks, and one-thousand pounds in lands.

Counsellor. Well, sir, we will speak of those that fear the parliament, some other time: but I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troublesome reign of Richard the Second who succeeded; the grandfather being dead.

Justice. That king, my good lord, was one of the most unfortunate princes that ever England had: he was cruel, extreme prodigal, and wholly carried away with his two minions, Suffolk and the duke of Ireland; by whose ill advice, and others, he was in danger to have lost his estate; which, in the end, being led by men of the like temper, he miserably lost. But for his subsidies he had given him in his first year, being under age, two tenths and two fifteenths: in which parliament Alice Pierce (who was removed in king Edward's time), with Lancaster, Latimer, and Sturry, were confiscated and banished. In his second year, at the parliament at Gloucester, the king had a mark upon every sack of wool, and sixpence in the pound upon wards. In his third year, at the parliament at Winchester, the commons were spared, and a subsidy given by the better sort;

the dukes gave twenty marks, and earls six marks; bishops and abbots with mitres, six marks; every mark thirteen shillings and four-pence; and every knight, justice, esquire, sheriff, parson, vicar, and chaplain, paid proportionably, according to their estates.

Counsellor. This, methinks, was no great matter.

Justice. It is true, my lord; but a little money went far in those days. I myself once moved it in parliament in the time of queen Elizabeth, who desired much to spare the common people, and I did it by her commandment; but when we cast up the subsidy-books, we found the sum but small, when the thirty-pounds men were left out. In the beginning of his fourth year, a tenth with a fifteenth were granted, upon condition, that for one whole year no subsidies should be demanded: but this promise was as suddenly forgotten as made; for, in the end of that year, the great subsidy of poll-money was granted in the parliament at Northampton.

Counsellor. Yea, but there followed the terrible rebellion of Baker, Straw, and others; Leicester, Wrais, and others.

Justice. That was not the fault of the parliament, my lord; it is manifest that the subsidy given was not the cause: for it is plain, that the bondmen of England began it, because they were grievously pressed by their lords in their tenure of villenage, as also for the hatred they bore to the lawyers and attorneys: for the story of those times says, that they destroyed the houses and manors of men of law, and such lawyers, as they caught, slew them, and beheaded the lord-chief-justice; which commotion being once begun, the head-money was by other rebels pretended. A fire is often kindled with a little straw, which oftentimes takes hold of greater timber, and consumes the whole building: and that this rebellion was begun by the discontented slaves, whereof there have been many in elder times the like, is manifest by the Charter of Manumission, which the king granted *in hæc verba*:—*Rich. Dei gratiâ, &c. Sciatis quodd de gratiâ nostrâ spirituali manumisimus, &c.* To which, seeing the king was constrained by force of arms, he revoked the letters-patents, and made them void; the same revocation being strengthened by the parliament ensuing, in which the king had given him a subsidy upon wools, called a Maletot. In the same fourth year was the lord-treasurer discharged of his office; and Hales, lord of St. John's, chosen in his place. In his fifth year was the treasurer again changed, and the staff given to Segrave; and the lord-chancellor was also changed, and the staff given to the lord Scroope: which lord Scroope was again, in the beginning of his sixth year, turned off; and the king, after that he had for a while kept the seal in his own hand, gave it to the bishop of London, from whom it was soon after taken and bestowed on the earl of Suffolk; who, they say, had abused the king, and converted the king's treasure to his own use. To this the king condescended: and though, saith Walsingham, he deserved to lose his life and goods, yet he had the favour to go at liberty upon good sureties; and because the king was but young, and that the relief granted was committed to the trust of the earl of Arundel, for the furnishing of the king's navy against the French.

Counsellor. Yet you see it was a dishonour to the king to have his beloved chancellor removed.

Justice. Truly, no; for the king had both his fine, one-thousand-pound lands, and a subsidy to boot. And though, for the present, it pleased the king to fancy a man all the world hated, (the king's passion overcoming his judgment;) yet it cannot be called a dishonour; for the king is to believe the general council of the kingdom, and to prefer it before his affection; especially when Suffolk was proved to be false, even to the king. For, were it otherwise, love and affection might be called a frenzy and a madness; for it is the nature of human passions, that the love, bred by fidelity, doth change itself into hatred, when the fidelity is first changed into falsehood.

Counsellor. But, you see, there were thirteen lords chosen in parliament, to have the oversight of the government under the king.

Justice. No, my lord; it was to have the oversight of those officers, which (saith the story) had embezzled, lewdly wasted, and prodigally spent the king's treasure: for to grant the commission to those lords, or to any six of them, joined with the king's council; was

one of the most royal and most profitable things he ever did, if he had been constant to himself. But, my good lord; man is the cause of his own misery: for I will repeat the substance of the commission granted by the king, and confirmed by a parliament; which, whether it had been profitable for the king to have prosecuted, your lordship may judge.

The preamble hath these words:—‘Whereas our sovereign lord the king perceiveth, by the grievous complaints of the lords and commons of this realm, that the rents, profits, and revenues of this realm, by the singular and insufficient counsel and evil government, as well of some his late great officers, &c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, eloiigned, given, granted, alienated, destroyed, and evil dispended, that he is so much impoverished and void of treasure and goods, and the substance of the crown so much diminished and destroyed, that his estate may not honourably be sustained as appertaineth: The king, of his free-will, at the request of the lords and commons, hath ordained William archbishop of Canterbury, and others, with his chancellor, treasurer, keeper of his privy-seal, to survey and examine as well the estate and governance of his house, &c. as of all the rents, and profits, and revenues that to him appertain, and to be due; or ought to appertain and be due, &c. And all manner of gifts, grants, alienations, and confirmations made by him of lands, tenements, rents, &c. bargained and sold to the prejudice of him and his crown, &c. And of his jewels and goods which were his grandfather’s at the time of his death, &c.; and where they be become.’

This is, in effect, the substance of the commission, which your lordship may read at large in the book of Statutes; this commission being enacted in the tenth year of the king’s reign. Now, if such a commission were in these days granted to the faithful men, that have no interest in the sales, gifts, nor purchases; nor in the keeping of the jewels at the queen’s death; nor in the obtaining grants of the king’s best lands; I cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered: and, what says your lordship, Was not this a noble act for the king, if it had been followed to effect?

Counsellor. I cannot tell whether it were or no: for it gave power to the commissioners to examine all the grants.

Justice. Why, my lord; doth the king grant any thing, that shames at the examination? Are not the king’s grants on record?

Counsellor. But, by your leave, it is some dishonour to a king, to have his judgment called in question.

Justice. That is true, my lord; but in this, or whensoever the like shall be granted in the future, the king’s judgment is not examined, but their knavery that abused the king. Nay, by your favour, the contrary is true, that when a king will suffer himself to be eaten up by a company of petty fellows, by himself raised; therein both the judgment and courage is disputed. And, if your lordship will disdain it at your own servants’ hands, much more ought the great heart of a king to disdain it. And surely, my lord, it is a greater treason, though it undercreep the law, to tear from the crown the ornaments thereof: and it is an infallible maxim, that he, that loves not his Majesty’s estate, loves not his person.

Counsellor. How came it then that the act was not executed?

Justice. Because, these against whom it was granted, persuaded the king to the contrary, as the duke of Ireland, Suffolk, the chief-justice Tresilian and others: yea, that which was lawfully done by the king, and the great council of the kingdom, was, by the mastery which Ireland, Suffolk, and Tresilian had over the king’s affections, broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the king, not by any private invention, but by a general council; were, by a private and partial assembly, adjudged traitors; and the most honest judges of the land, forced to subscribe to that judgment. Insomuch, that judge Belknap plainly told the duke of Ireland, and the earl of Suffolk, when he was constrained to set to his hand; that he wanted but a rope, that he might therewith receive a reward for his subscription. And in this council of Nottingham was hatched the ruin of those which governed the king, of the judges by them constrained, of the lords that loved the king,

and sought a reformation, and of the king himself; for though the king found by all the sheriffs of the shires, that the people would not fight against the lords, whom they thought to be most faithful unto the king; when the citizens of London made the same answer, being at that time able to arm fifty-thousand men; and told the mayor, that they would never fight against the king's friends and defenders of the realm; when the lord Ralph Basset, who was near the king, told the king boldly, that he would not adventure to have his head broken for the duke of Ireland's pleasure; when the lord of London told the earl of Suffolk in the king's presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c.; yet would the king, in the defence of the destroyers of his estate, lay ambushes to intrap the lords, when they came upon his faith: yea, when all was pacified, and that the king, by his proclamation, had cleared the lords, and promised to produce Ireland, Suffolk, and the archbishop of York, Tresilian and Bramber, to answer at the next parliament; these men confessed, that they durst not appear: and when Suffolk fled to Calais, and the duke of Ireland to Chester, the king caused an army to be levied in Lancashire, for the safe conduct of the duke of Ireland to his presence; whenas the duke, being encountered by the lords, ran like a coward from his company, and fled into Holland. After this was holden a parliament, which was called That Wrought Wonders; in the eleventh year of this king; wherein the forenamed lords, the duke of Ireland, and the rest, were condemned and confiscated, the chief-justice hanged, with many others, the rest of the judges condemned and banished, and a tenth and fifteenth given to the king.

Counsellor. But, good sir; the king was first besieged in the Tower of London, and the lords came to the parliament, and no man durst contradict them.

Justice. Certainly, in raising an army, they committed treason; and though it did appear, that they all loved the king, (for they did him no harm, having him in their power;) yet our law doth construe all levying of war without the king's commission, and all force raised, to be intended for the death and destruction of the king, not attending the sequel. And it is so judged upon good reason; for every unlawful and ill action is supposed to be accompanied with an ill intent. And besides, those lords used too great cruelty, in procuring the sentence of death against divers of the king's servants, who were bound to follow and obey their master and sovereign lord, in that he commanded.

Counsellor. It is true; and they were also greatly to blame to cause then so many seconds to be put to death; seeing the principals, Ireland, Suffolk, and York, had escaped them. And what reason had they to seek to inform the state by strong hand? Was not the king's estate as dear to himself, as to them? He that maketh a king know his error manerly and private, and gives him the best advice, he is discharged before God and his own conscience. The lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the king to his own ways, who had more to lose than they had.

Justice. My lord; the taking of arms cannot be excused in respect of the law; but this might be said for the lords, that the king being under years, and being wholly governed by their enemies, and the enemies of the kingdom; and because, by those evil men's persuasions, it was advised, how the lords should have been murdered at a feast in London; they were excuseable, during the king's minority, to stand upon their guard against their particular enemies. But we will pass it over, and go on with our parliaments that follow, whereof that of Cambridge in the king's twelfth year was the next; therein the king had given him a tenth and a fifteenth; after which, being twenty years of age, he rechanged (saith H. Knighton) his treasurer, his chancellor, the justices of either bench, the clerk of the privy-seal, and others; and retook the government into his own hands. He also took the admiral's place from the earl of Arundel, and, in his room, he placed the earl of Huntingdon; in the year following, (which was the thirteenth year of the king,) in the parliament at Westminster, there was given to the king upon every sack of wool, fourteen shillings; and sixpence in the pound upon other merchandise.

Counsellor. But, by your leave; the king was restrained this parliament, that he might not dispose of, but a third part of the money gathered.

Justice. No, my lord, by your favour. But true it is, that part of this money was, by

the king's consent, assigned towards the wars; but yet left in the lord-treasurer's hands. And, my lord, it would be a great ease and a great saving to his Majesty, our lord and master, if it pleased him to make his assignations, upon some part of his revenues, by which he might have one-thousand pounds, upon every ten-thousand pounds, and save himself a great deal of clamour. For seeing, of necessity, the navy must be maintained; and that those poor men, as well carpenters, as ship-keepers, must be paid; it were better for his Majesty, to give an assignation to the treasurer of his navy, for the receiving of so much as is called *ordinary*, than to discontent those poor men, who being made desperate beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them, that lie in wait to destroy the king's estate. And if his Majesty did the like in all other payments, especially, where the necessity of such, as are to receive, cannot possibly give days; his Majesty might then, in a little roll, behold his receipts and expences; he might quiet his heart, when all necessities were provided for, and then dispose the rest at his pleasure. And, my good lord, how excellently, and easily, might this have been done, if the four-hundred-thousand pounds had been raised, as aforesaid, upon the king's lands, and wards. I say, that his Majesty's house, his navy, his guards, his pensioners, his ammunition, his ambassadors, and all else of ordinary charge, might have been defrayed, and a great sum left for his Majesty's casual expences and rewards. I will not say, they were not in love with the king's estate; but I say, they were unfortunately born, for the king, that crossed it.

Counsellor. Well, sir, I would it had been otherwise. But for the assignments, there are among us, that will not willingly endure it. Charity begins with itself; Shall we hinder ourselves of fifty-thousand pounds *per annum*, to save the king twenty? No, sir; what will become of our new-years gifts, our presents, and gratuities? We can now say to those, that have warrants for money, that there is not a penny in the exchequer; but the king gives it away unto the Scots, faster than it comes in.

Justice. My lord, you say well; at least you say the truth, that such are some of our answers; and hence comes that general murmur to all men, that have money to receive. I say, that there is not a penny given to that nation, be it for service or otherwise, but it is spread over all the kingdom; yea, they gather notes, and take copies of all the privy-seals, and warrants, that his Majesty hath given for the money for the Scots, that they may shew them in parliament. But of his Majesty's gifts to the English, there is no bruit, though they may be ten times as much as the Scots. And yet, my good lord, howsoever they be thus answered; that, to them that sue for money out of the exchequer, it is due to them for ten, or twelve, or twenty in the hundred, abated according to their qualities that sue; they are always furnished. For conclusion; if it would please God to put into the king's heart, to make their assignations, it would save him many a pound, and gain him many a prayer, and a great deal of love; for it grieveth every honest man's heart, to see the abundance which even the petty officers in the exchequer and others gather both from the king and subject; and to see a world of poor men run after the king for their ordinary wages.

Counsellor. Well, well, did you never hear this old tale, that when there was a great contention about the weather, (the seamen complaining of contrary winds, when those of the high countries desired rain, and those of the valleys, sun-shining days,) Jupiter sent them word by Mercury, then, when they had all done, the weather should be as it had been; and it shall ever fall out so with them that complain; the course of payments shall be as they have been. What care we, what petty fellows say? or what care we for your papers? Have not we the king's ears; who dares contest with us? Though we cannot be revenged on such as you are, for telling the truth; yet upon some other pretence, we will clap you up, and you shall sue to us, before you get out. Nay, we will make you confess, that you were deceived in your projects, and eat your own words: learn this of me, sir, that as a little good fortune is better than a great deal of virtue; so the least authority hath advantage over the greatest wit. Was he not the wisest man, that said, 'The battle was not to the strongest, nor yet bread for the wise; nor riches to men of understanding, nor favour to men of knowledge;' but that 'time and chance came to them all.'

Justice. It is well for your lordship that it is so. But queen Elizabeth would set the reason of a mean man, before the authority of the greatest counsellor she had; and by her patience therein, she raised upon the usual and ordinary customs of London, without any new imposition, above fifty-thousand pounds a year: for though the treasurer Burleigh, and the earl of Leicester, and secretary Walsingham, (all three pensioners to customer Smith,) did set themselves against a poor waiter, of the Custom-house, called Carwarden; and commanded the grooms of the privy-chamber, not to give him access: yet the queen sent for him, and gave him countenance against them all. It would not serve the turn, my lord, with her, when your lordships would tell her, that the disgracing her great officers, by hearing the complaints of busy heads, was a dishonour to herself; but she had always this answer, "That if a man complain unjustly against a magistrate, it were reason he should be severely punished; if justly, she was queen of the small, as well as of the great, and would hear their complaints." For, my good lord, a prince that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsaketh one of the greatest regalities, belonging to a monarchy; to wit, the last appeal; or as the French call it, *le dernier resort*.

Counsellor. Well, sir, this from the matter; I pray you go on.

Justice. Then, my lord, in the king's fifteenth year, he had a tenth, and a fifteenth granted in the parliament of London. And the same year, there was a great council called at Stamford, to which divers men were sent for, of divers counties, besides the nobility, of whom the king took advice, Whether he should continue the war, or make a final end with the French?

Counsellor. What, needed the king to take the advice of any, but of his own council, in matter of peace and war?

Justice. Yea, my lord; for it is said in the Proverbs, 'Where are many counsellors, there is health.' And if the king had made the war, by a general consent, the kingdom in general were bound to maintain the war; and they could not then say, when the king required aid, that he undertook a needless war.

Counsellor. You say well; but I pray you go on.

Justice. After the subsidy in the fifteenth year, the king desired to borrow ten-thousand pounds of the Londoners; which they refused to lend.

Counsellor. And was not the king greatly troubled therewith?

Justice. Yea; but the king troubled the Londoners soon after: for the king took the advantage of a riot, made upon the bishop of Salisbury's men; sent for the mayor, and other the ablest citizens; committed the mayor to prison, in the castle of Windsor, and others to other castles, and made a lord-warden of this city; till in the end, what with ten-thousand pounds, ready money, and other rich presents, instead of lending ten-thousand pounds, it cost them twenty-thousand pounds. Between the fifteenth year and twentieth year, he had two aids given him in the parliaments of Winchester and Westminster; and this latter was given, to furnish the king's journey into Ireland; to establish that estate which was greatly shaken, since the death of the king's grandfather, who received thence yearly, thirty-thousand pounds; and during the king's stay in Ireland, he had a tenth and a fifteenth granted.

Counsellor. And good reason; for the king had in his army four-thousand horse, and thirty-thousand foot.

Justice. That, by your favour, was the king's error: for great armies do rather devour themselves, than destroy enemies. Such an army, whereof the fourth part would have conquered all Ireland, was, in respect of Ireland, such an army as Xerxes led into Greece. In his twentieth year, wherein he had a tenth of the clergy, was the great conspiracy of the king's uncle, the duke of Gloucester, and of Mowbray, Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the abbot of Westminster, and others; who, in the twenty-first year of the king, were all redeemed by parliament. And what thinks your lordship, Was not this assembly of the three estates, for the king's estate? wherein he so prevailed, that he not only overthrew those popular lords; but, besides, (the English Chronicle saith,) the king so wrought and brought things about,

that he obtained the power of both Houses to be granted to certain persons, to fifteen noblemen and gentlemen, or to seven of them.

Counsellor. Sir; whether the king wrought well or ill, I cannot judge: but our Chronicles say, that many things were done in this parliament, to the displeasure of no small number of people; to wit, for that divers rightful heirs were disinherited of their lands and livings, with which wrongful doings, the people were much offended; so that the king, with those that were about him, and chief in council, came into great infamy and slander.

Justice. My good lord; if your lordship will pardon me, I am of opinion, that those parliaments, wherein the kings of this land have satisfied the people, as they have been ever prosperous, so, where the king hath restrained the House, the contrary hath happened; for the king's achievements, in this parliament, were the ready preparations to his ruin.

Counsellor. You mean by the general discontentment that followed; and because the king did not proceed legally with Gloucester and others. Why, sir, this was not the first time that the kings of England have done things without the council of the land; yea, contrary to the law.

Justice. It is true, my lord, in some particulars; as even at this time, the duke of Gloucester was made away at Calais by a strong hand, without any lawful trial: for he was a man so beloved of the people, and so allied, (having the dukes of Lancaster and York, his brethren, the duke of Aumale and the duke of Hereford his nephews, the great earls of Arundel and Warwick, with divers others of his part, in the conspiracy,) as the king durst not try him, according to the law; for at the trial of Arundel and Warwick, the king was forced to entertain a petty army about him. And though the duke was greatly lamented, yet it cannot be denied, but that he was then a traitor to the king. And was it not so, my lord, with the duke of Guise? Your lordship doth remember the spur-gauled proverb, that 'Necessity hath no law;' and, my good lord, it is the practice of doing wrong, and of general wrongs done, that brings danger; and not where kings are pressed, in this, or that particular; for there is great difference between natural cruelty, and accidental. And therefore it was Machiavel's advice, that 'All that a king did in that kind, he should do at once; and by his mercies afterwards, make the world know, that his cruelty was not affected.' And, my lord, take this for a general rule, that the immortal policy of a state cannot admit any law or privilege whatsoever, but in some particular, or other, the same is necessarily broken; yea, in an *aristocratie*, or popular estate, which vaunts so much of equality, and common right; more outrage hath been committed, than in any Christian monarchy.

Counsellor. But whence came this hatred, between the duke, and the king his nephew?

Justice. My lord; the duke's constraining the king, when he was young, stuck in the king's heart; and now the duke's proud speech to the king, when he had surrendered Brest (formerly engaged to the duke of Bretagne), kindled again these coals, that were not altogether extinguished; for he used these words: 'Your Grace ought to put your body in great pain, to win a strong-hold or town, by feats of arms; before you take upon you to sell or deliver any town, gotten by the manhood, and strong hand, and policy, of your noble progenitors.' Whereat (saith the story) the king changed his countenance, &c.; and to say truth, it was a proud and masterly speech of the duke: besides, that inclusively, he taxed him of sloth and cowardice, as if he had never put himself to the adventure of winning such a place. Undutiful words of a subject, do often take deeper root, than the memory of ill deeds does. The duke of Biron found it, when the king had him at advantage. Yea, the late earl of Essex told queen Elizabeth, "that her conditions were as crooked as her carcass;" but it cost him his head: which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech: 'Who will say unto a king, (saith Job,) Thou art wicked?' Certainly, it is the same thing to say unto a lady, Thou art crooked, and perchance more, as to say unto a king, he is wicked; and to say, that he is a coward, or to use any other words of disgrace: it is one and the same error.

Counsellor. But what say you for Arundel, a brave and valiant man, who had the king's pardon of his contempt, during his minority?

Justice. My good lord; the parliament, which you say disputes the king's prerogative, did quite contrary; and destroyed the king's charter, and pardon formerly given to Arundel. And, my good lord, do you remember, that at the Parliament that wrought Wonders; when these lords compounded that parliament, (as the king did this,) they were so merciless towards all, that they thought their enemies; as the earl of Arundel most insolently suffered the queen to kneel unto him three hours, for the saving of one of her servants; and that scorn of his *manebat altâ mente repòstum*. And, to say the truth, it is more barbarous and unpardonable than any act that ever he did, to permit the wife of his sovereign to kneel to him; being the king's vassal. For, if he had saved the lord's servant freely at her first request, it is like enough, that the queen would also have saved him; *Miseris succurrens paria obtinebis aliquando*. For your lordship sees, that the earl of Warwick, who was as far in the treason, as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also, at this parliament, that the duke of Hereford accused Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; and that the duke of Hereford, son to the duke of Lancaster, was banished; to the king's confusion; as your lordship well knows.

Counsellor. I know it well; and God knows, that the king had, then, a silly and weak council about him, that persuaded him to banish a prince of the blood, a most valiant man, and the best beloved of the people in general, of any man living; especially, considering that the king gave every day, more than other, offence to his subjects. For, besides that he fined the inhabitants, that assisted the lords in his minority, of the seventeen shires, which offence he had long before pardoned; his blank charters, and letting the realm to farm, to mean persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the people's hatred towards the present government.

Justice. You say well, my lord; princes of an ill destiny do always follow the worst counsel, or, at least, embrace the best, after opportunity is lost: *Qui consilia non ex suo corde sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed auribus cogitant*. And this was not the least grief of the subjects in general; that those men had the greatest part of the spoil of the commonwealth, which neither by virtue, valour, or counsel, could add any thing unto it: *Nihil est sordidius, nihil crudelius*, (saith Antoninus Pius,) *quàm rempublicam ab iis arrodi, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferent*.

Counsellor. Indeed, the letting to farm the realm, was very grievous to the subject.

Justice. Will your lordship pardon me, if I tell you that the letting to farm of his Majesty's customs, the greatest revenue of the realm, is not very pleasing?

Counsellor. And why, I pray you: Doth not the king thereby raise his profits every third year, and one farmer outbid another to the king's advantage?

Justice. It is true, my lord, but it grieves the subject to pay custom to the subject: for what mighty men are those farmers become; and if those farmers get many thousands every year, (as the world knows they do,) why should they not now, being men of infinite wealth, declare unto the king, upon an oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the king's collectors of his customs? Did not queen Elizabeth (who was reputed both a wise and just princess), after she had brought customer Smith, from fourteen-thousand pounds a year, to forty-two thousand a year; make him lay down a recompence for that which he had gotten? And, if these farmers do give no recompence; let them yet present the king with the truth of their receivings and profits. But, my lord, for conclusion: after Bolingbrook arriving in England, with a small troop, notwithstanding the king, at his landing out of Ireland, had a sufficient and willing army; yet he, wanting courage to defend his right, gave leave to all his soldiers to depart, and put himself into his hands that cast him into his grave.

Counsellor. Yet you see, he was deposed by parliament.

Justice. As well may your lordship say, he was knocked in the head by parliament: for your lordship knows, that if king Richard had ever escaped out of their fingers that

deposed him, the next parliament would have made all the deponents traitors and rebels; and that justly. In which parliament, or rather unlawful assembly, there appeared but one honest man; to wit, the bishop of Carlisle, who scorned his life and estate, in respect of right and his allegiance, and defended the right of his sovereign lord, against the king-elect and his partakers.

Counsellor. Well, I pray go on with the parliaments held, in the time of his successor Henry the Fourth.

Justice. This king had, in his third year, a subsidy; and, in his fifth, a tenth of the clergy, without a parliament. In his sixth year, he had so great a subsidy, that the House required, there might be no record thereof left to posterity: for the House gave him twenty shillings of every knights-fee, and of every twenty-pounds land, twenty-pence; and twelve-pence the pound, for goods.

Counsellor. Yea, in the end of this year, the parliament pressed the king, to annex unto the crown all temporal possessions belonging to church-men, within the land; which, at that time, was the third foot of all England. But the bishops made friends, and in the end saved their estates.

Justice. By this you see, my lord, that Cromwell was not the first that thought on such a business. And, if king Henry the Eighth had reserved the abbeyes, and other church-lands, which he had given at that time; the revenue of the crown of England had exceeded the revenue of the crown of Spain, with both the Indies: whereas, used as it was, a little enriching the crown, it served but to make a number of pettifoggers, and other gentlemen.

Counsellor. But what had the king, instead of his great revenue?

Justice. He had a fifteenth of the commons, and a tenth, and a half of the clergy; and withal, all pensions granted by king Edward and king Richard were made void. It was also moved, that all crown-lands formerly given, at least given by king Edward, and king Richard, should be taken back.

Counsellor. What think you of that, sir? Would it not have been a dishonour to the king? And would not his successors have done the like to those, that the king had advanced?

Justice. I cannot answer your lordship, but by distinguishing: for, where the king had given land for services, and had not been over-reached in his gifts, there it had been a dishonour to the king to have made void the grants of his predecessors, or his grants; but all those grants of the kings, wherein they were deceived, the very custom and policy of England makes them void, at this day.

Counsellor. How mean you that? For his Majesty hath given a great deal of land among us, since he came into England; and would it stand with the king's honour, to take it from us again?

Justice. Yea, my lord, very well with the king's honour; if your lordship, or any lord else, have, under the name of a hundred-pounds land a year, gotten five-hundred-pounds land; and so after that rate.

Counsellor. I will never believe, that his Majesty will ever do any such thing.

Justice. And I believe, as your lordship doth: but we spoke before, of those that dissuaded the king from calling it a parliament. And your lordship asked me the reason, why any man should dissuade it, to fear it? To which, this place gives me an opportunity to make your lordship an answer: for though his Majesty will, of himself, never question those grants; yet, when the commons shall make humble petition to the king in parliament, that it will please his Majesty to assist them in his relief, with that which ought to be his own; (which, if it will please his Majesty to yield unto, the House will most willingly furnish and supply the rest;) with what grace, can his Majesty deny that honest suit of theirs; the like having been done in many kings' times before? This proceeding, my good lord, may perchance prove all your phrases of the king's honour, false English.

Counsellor. But this cannot concern many; and, for myself, I am sure it concerns me little.

Justice. It is true, my lord; and there are not many that dissuade his Majesty from a parliament.

Counsellor. But they are great ones; a few of which will serve the turn well enough.

Justice. But, my lord, be they never so great, as great as giants, yet, if they dissuade the king from his ready and assured way of his subsistence, they must devise how the king may be elsewhere supplied; for they otherwise run into a dangerous fortune.

Counsellor. Hold you contented, sir; the king needs no great dissuasion.

Justice. My lord, learn of me, that there is none of you all, that can pierce the king. It is an essential property of a man truly wise, not to open all the boxes of his bosom, even to those, that are nearest and dearest unto him: for, when a man is discovered to the very bottom, he is after the less esteemed. I dare undertake, that when your lordship hath served the king twice twelve years more, you will find, that his Majesty hath reserved somewhat beyond all your capacities. His Majesty hath great reason to put off the parliament, at his last refuge; and in the mean time, to make trial of all your loves to serve him: for his Majesty hath had good experience, how well you can serve yourselves. But when the king finds, that the building of your own fortunes and factions hath been the diligent studies; and the service of his Majesty, but the exercises of your leisures; he may then perchance cast himself upon the general love of his people, (of which, I trust, he shall never be deceived;) and leave as many of your lordships, as have pilfered from the crown, to their examination.

Counsellor. Well, sir, I take no great pleasure in this dispute; go on, I pray.

Justice. In that king's fifth year, he had also a subsidy; which is got by holding the House together from Easter to Christmas, and would not suffer them to depart. He had also a subsidy, in his ninth year. In his eleventh year, the commons did again press the king, to take all temporalities of the churchmen into his hands, which they proved sufficient, to maintain a hundred-and-fifty earls, fifteen-hundred knights, and six-thousand four-hundred esquires, with a hundred hospitals: but they, not prevailing, gave the king a subsidy.

As for the notorious prince, Henry the Fifth, I find that he had given him, in his second year, three-hundred-thousand marks, and, after that, two other subsidies; one, in his fifth year, another in his ninth; without any disputes.

In the time of his successor, Henry the Sixth, there were not many subsidies. In his third year, he had a subsidy of a tonnage and poundage. And here (saith John Stow) began those payments, which we call customs, because the payment was continued: whereas, before that time, it was granted but for a year, two, or three, according to the king's occasions. He had also an aid and gathering of money, in his fourth year; and the like in his tenth year; and, in his thirteenth year, a fifteenth. He had also a fifteenth, for the conveying of the queen out of France, into England. In the twenty-eighth year of that king, was the act of resumption of all honours, towns, castles, signiories, villages, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, fees, &c. But because the wages of the king's servants were, by the strictness of the act, also restrained; this act of resumption was expounded in the parliament, at Reading, the thirty-first year of the king's reign.

Counsellor. I perceive that those acts of resumption were ordinary in former times: for king Stephen resumed the lands, which, in former times, he had given to make friends, during the civil wars; and Henry the Second resumed all, without exception, which king Stephen had not resumed: for, though king Stephen took back a great deal, yet he suffered his trustiest servants to enjoy his gift.

Justice. Yes, my lord, and in after-times also; for this was not last, nor shall be the last I hope. And judge you, my lord, whether the parliaments do not only serve the king, whatsoever is said to the contrary: for as all king Henry the Sixth's gifts and grants were made void by the duke of York, when he was in possession of the kingdom by parliament; so in the time of king Henry, (when king Edward was beaten out again,) the parliament of Westminster made all his acts void, and him and all his followers traitors; and gave the king many of their heads and lands. The parliaments of England do always serve the

king in possession : it served Richard the Second to condemn the popular lords ; it served Bollingbroke to depose Richard. When Edward the Fourth had the sceptre, it made them all beggars, that had followed Henry the Sixth ; and it did the like for Henry, when Edward was driven out. The parliaments are, as the friendship of this world is, which always followeth prosperity : for king Edward the Fourth, after that he was possessed of the crown, he had, in his thirteenth year, a subsidy freely given him ; and, in the year following, he took a benevolence through England ; which arbitrary taking from the people, served that ambitious traitor, the duke of Bucks. After the king's death, it was a plausible argument to persuade the multitude, that they should not permit (saith sir Thomas Moore) his line to reign any longer upon them.

Counsellor. Well, sir ; what say you to the parliament of Richard the Third's time ?

Justice. I find but one, and therein he made divers good laws : for king Henry the Seventh, in the beginning of his third year, had, by parliament, an aid granted unto him, towards the relief of the duke of Bretagne, then assailed by the French king. And although the king did not enter into the war, but by the advice of the three estates, who did willingly contribute ; yet those Northern men, which loved Richard the Third, raised rebellion, under colour of the money imposed, and murdered the earl of Northumberland, whom the king employed in that collection. By which your lordship sees, that it hath not been for taxes and impositions alone, that the ill-disposed have taken arms ; but even for those payments which have been appointed by parliament.

Counsellor. And what became of these rebels ?

Justice. They were fairly hanged, and the money levied notwithstanding. In the king's first year, he gathered a marvellous great mass of money, by a benevolence ; taking pattern, by this kind of levy, from Edward the Fourth : but the king caused it first to be moved in parliament, where it was allowed ; because the poorer sort were therein spared. Yet it is true, that the king used some art : for in his letters he declared, that he would measure every man's affections by his gifts. In the thirteenth year, he had also a subsidy ; whereupon the Cornish men took arms, as the Northern men of the bishoprick of Durham had done, in the third year of the king.

Counsellor. It is without example, that ever the people have rebelled, for any thing granted by parliament ; save in this king's days.

Justice. Your lordship must consider, that he was not over-much beloved ; for he took many advantages, both upon the people and the nobility.

Counsellor. And I pray you, What say they now of the new impositions lately laid by the king's Majesty ? Do they say they are justly or unjustly laid ?

Justice. To impose upon all things brought into the kingdom, is very ancient ; which imposing, when it hath been continued a certain time, is then called Customs, because the subjects are accustomed to pay it : and yet the great tax upon wine is still called Impost, because it was imposed after the ordinary rate of payment had lasted many years. But we do, now-a-days, understand those things to be impositions, which are raised by the command of princes, without the advice of the commonwealth ; though, as I take it, much of that, which is now called custom, was at the first imposed by prerogative royal. Now, whether it be time or consent that makes them just, I cannot define : were they just, because new, or not justified yet by time, or unjust, because they want a general consent ? Yet is this rule of Aristotle verified, in respect of his Majesty : *Minus timent homines injustum pati à principe, quem cultorem Dei putant.* Yea, my lord, they are also the more willingly borne ; because all the world knows, they are no new inventions of the king's : and if those that advised his Majesty to impose them, had raised his lands (as it was offered them) to twenty-thousand pounds more than it was, and his wards to as much as aforesaid ; they had done him far more acceptable service. But they had their own ends, in refusing the one, and accepting the other. If the land had been raised, they could not have selected the best of it for themselves : if the impositions had not been laid, some of them could not have their silks, others pieces in farm ; which, indeed, grieved the subject ten times more, than that which his Majesty enjoyeth. But certainly they made a great

advantage, that were the advisers : for, if any tumult had followed his Majesty, a ready way had been, to have delivered them over to the people.

Counsellor. But think you, that the king would have delivered them, if any troubles had followed ?

Justice. I know not, my lord : it was Machiavel's counsel to Cæsar Borgia to do it ; and king Henry the Eighth delivered Empson and Dudley : yea, the same king, when the great cardinal Wolsey (who governed the king, and all his estate) had, by requiring the sixth part of every man's goods for the king, raised rebellion ; the king, I say, disavowed him absolutely : that had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk appeased the people, the cardinal had sung no more mass : for these are the words of our story. The king then came to Westminster, to the cardinal's palace, and assembled there a great council, in which he protested, ' That his mind was never to ask any thing of his commons, which might sound ' to the breach of his laws ; wherefore, he then willed them to know, by whose means ' they were so strictly given forth.' Now, my lord, how the cardinal would have shifted himself, by saying, I had the opinion of the judges, (had not the rebellion been appeased,) I greatly doubt.

Counsellor. But, good sir, you blanch my question, and answer me by examples. I ask you, Whether or no, in any such tumult, the people pretending against one or two great officers, the king should deliver them, or defend them ?

Justice. My good lord ; the people have not staid for the king's delivery, neither in England, nor in France. Your lordship knows how the chancellor, treasurer, and chief-justice, with many others, at several times, have been used by the rebels ; and the marshals, constables, and treasurers in France, have been cut in pieces, in Charles the Sixth's time. Now to your lordship's question : I say, that where any man shall give a king perilous advice, as may either cause a rebellion, or draw the people's love from the king ; I say, that a king shall be advised to banish him : but if the king do absolutely command his servant to do any thing displeasing to the commonwealth, and to his own peril, then is the king bound in honour to defend him. But, my good lord, for conclusion ; there is no man in England, that will lay any invention, either grievous, or against law, upon the king's Majesty ; and, therefore, your lordships must share it amongst you.

Counsellor. For my part, I had no hand in it. I think Ingram was he that propounded it to the treasurer.

Justice. Alas ! my good lord, every poor waiter in the Custom-house, or every promoter might have done it ; there is no invention in these things. To lay impositions and sell the king's lands, are poor and common devices. It is true, that Ingram and his fellows are odious men ; and therefore his Majesty pleased the people greatly, to put him from the coffership. It is better for a prince to use such kind of men, than to countenance them. Hangmen are necessary in a commonwealth ; yet, in the Netherlands, none but a hangman's son will marry a hangman's daughter. Now, my lord, the last gathering which Henry the Seventh made, was in his twentieth year ; wherein he had another benevolence, both of the clergy and laity ; a part of which, taken of the poorer sort, he ordained, by his testament, that it should be restored. And for king Henry the Eighth, although he was left in a most plentiful estate, yet he wonderfully pressed his people with great payments ; for, in the beginning of his time, it was infinite that he spent in masquing and tilting, banqueting, and other vanities ; before he was entered into the most consuming expence of the most fond and fruitless war, that ever king undertook. In his fourth year, he had one of the greatest subsidies, that ever was granted : for, besides two-fifteenths, and two dismes, he used David's law of capitation or head-money, and had, of every duke, ten marks ; of every earl, five pounds ; of every lord, four pounds ; of every knight, four marks ; and every man rated at eight pounds, in goods four marks, and so after the rate : yea, every man that was valued but at forty shillings, paid twelve-pence ; and every man and woman, above fifteen years old, four-pence : he had also, in his sixth year, divers subsidies granted him. In his fourteenth, there was a tenth demanded of every man's goods ; but it was moderated. In the parliament following, the clergy gave the king the half of their

spiritual livings for one year ; and, of the laity, there was demanded eight-hundred-thousand pounds, which could not be levied in England : but it was a marvellous great gift, that the king had given him at that time. In the king's seventeenth year, was the rebellion before spoken of, wherein the king disavowed the cardinal ; in his seventeenth year, he had the tenth and fifteenth given by parliament, which were, before that time, paid to the pope ; and, before that time also, the monies that the king borrowed in his fifteenth year, were forgiven him, by parliament, in his seventeenth year. In his thirty-fifth year, a subsidy was granted of four-pence the pound, of every man worth, in goods, from twenty shillings to five pounds ; from five pounds to ten pounds, and upwards, of every pound two shillings. And all strangers, denizens, and others, doubled this sum ; strangers, not being inhabitants above sixteen years, four-pence a head. All that had lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty to five ; and so double, as they did for goods : and the clergy gave six-pence the pound. In the thirty-seventh year, a benevolence was taken, not voluntary, but rated by commissioners ; which, because one of the aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a soldier into Scotland. He had also another great subsidy, of six shillings the pound of the clergy ; and two shillings and eight-pence of the goods of the laity ; and four shillings the pound upon lands.

In the second year of Edward the Sixth, the parliament gave the king an aid of twelve-pence the pound of goods, of his natural subjects ; and two shillings the pound of strangers ; and this to continue for three years : and, by the statute of the second and third of Edward the Sixth, it may appear, the same parliament did also give a second aid, as followeth ; to wit, of every ewe, kept in several pastures, three-pence ; of every wether, kept as aforesaid, two-pence ; of every sheep, kept in the common, one penny. — *Observation.* The House gave the king also eight-pence the pound, of every woollen-cloth, made for sale, throughout England, for three years. In the third and fourth of the king, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the poll-money upon sheep, and the tax upon cloth, this act of subsidy was repealed, and other relief given the king ; and, in the king's seventh year, he had a subsidy, and two-fifteenths.

In the first year of queen Mary, tonnage and poundage were granted ; in the second year, a subsidy was given to king Philip, and to the queen ; she had also a third subsidy, *in annis 4 et 5.*

Now, my lord, for the parliaments of the late queen's (Elizabeth's) time, in which there was nothing new, neither head-money, nor sheep-money, nor escuage, nor any of these kinds of payments was required ; but only the ordinary subsidies, and those as easily granted as demanded. I shall not need to trouble your lordship with any of them ; neither can I inform your lordship of all the passages and acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

Counsellor. No, it were but time lost to speak of the latter ; and, by those that are already remembered, we may judge of the rest ; for those of the greatest importance are public. But, I pray you, deal freely with me : what think you would be done for his Majesty, if he should call a parliament at this time ? Or what would be required at his Majesty's hands ?

Justice. The first thing, that would be required, would be the same that was required by the commons in the thirteenth year of Henry the Eighth ; to wit, that if any man of the Commons' House should speak more largely, than of duty he ought to do ; all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of record.

Counsellor. So might every companion speak of the king what they list ?

Justice. No, my lord ; the reverence which a vassal oweth to his sovereign, is always intended for every speech : howsoever, it must import the good of the king and his estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise not. For, in queen Elizabeth's time, who gave freedom of speech in all parliaments, when Wentworth made those motions, that were but supposed dangerous to the queen's estate ; he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the privilege of the House, and there died.

Counsellor. What say you to the Sicilian Vespers, remembered in the last parliament ?

Justice. I say, he repented him heartily that used that speech ; and indeed, besides

that it was seditious, this example held not. The French in Sicily usurped that kingdom; they kept neither law nor faith; they took away the inheritance of the inhabitants; they took from them their wives, and ravished their daughters; committing all other insolencies that could be imagined. The king's Majesty is the natural lord of England; his vassals of Scotland obey the English laws; if they break them, they are punished without respect. Yea, his Majesty put one of his barons to a shameful death, for being consenting only to the death of a common fencer; and which of these ever did, or durst commit any outrage in England? But, to say the truth, the opinion of packing the last, was the cause of the contention and disorder that happened.

Counsellor. Why, sir, do you not think it best to compound a parliament of the king's servants and others, that shall in all obey the king's desires?

Justice. Certainly no: for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the king's part, nor on the subjects'; as by the parliament before-remembered your lordship may gather: for, from such a composition, do arise all jealousies and all contentions. It was practised in elder times, to the great trouble of the kingdom, and to the loss and ruin of many. It was of later time used by king Henry the Eighth, but every way to his disadvantage. When the king leaves himself to his people, they assure themselves, that they are trusted and beloved of their king; and there was never any assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their king. Henry the Sixth, when his estate was in effect utterly overthrown, and utterly impoverished; at the humble request of his treasurer, made the same known to the House: or otherwise, (using the treasurer's own words,) 'He humbly desired the king to take his staff, that he might save his wardship.'

Counsellor. But, you know they will presently be in hand with those impositions which the king hath laid, by his own royal prerogative.

Justice. Perchance not, my lord; but rather with those impositions, that have been by some of your lordships laid upon the king; which did not some of your lordships fear, more than you do the impositions laid upon the subjects, you would never dissuade his Majesty from a parliament: for no man doubted, but that his Majesty was advised to lay those impositions by his council; and for particular things, on which they were laid, the advice came from petty fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the Custom-house. Now, my lord, what prejudice hath his Majesty, (his revenue being kept up,) if the impositions, that were laid by the advice of a few, be in parliament laid by the general council of the kingdom; which takes off all grudging and complaint?

Counsellor. Yea, sir; but that, which is done by the king, with the advice of his private or privy-council, is done by the king's absolute power.

Justice. And by whose power is it done in parliament, but by the king's absolute power? Mistake it not, my lord. The three estates do but advise, as the prime council doth; which advice, if the king embrace it, becomes the king's own act in the one, and the king's law in the other: for, without the king's acceptance, both the public and private advices are but as empty egg-shells. And what doth his Majesty lose, if some of those things, which concern the poorer sort, be made free again; and the revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a loss to the king to be beloved of the commons? If it be a revenue, which the king seeks, is it not better to take it of those that laugh, than of those that cry? Yea, if all be content to pay, upon moderation and change of the species; is it not more honourable, and more safe for the king, that the subjects pay by persuasion, than to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the king; were it not better to give them the rod into their own hands, than to commit them to the executioner? Certainly, it is far more happy for a sovereign prince, that a subject open his purse willingly, than that the same be opened by violence. Besides, that when impositions are laid by parliament, they are gathered by the authority of the law, which, as aforesaid, rejecteth all complaints, and stoppeth every mutinous mouth. It shall ever be my prayer, That the king embrace the counsel of honour and safety; and let other princes embrace that of force.

Counsellor. But, good sir, it is his prerogative, which the king stands upon; and it is the prerogative of the kings, that the parliaments do all diminish.

Justice. If your lordship would pardon me, I would say then, that your lordship's objection against parliaments is ridiculous. In former parliaments, three things have been supposed dishonour of the king: The first, That the subjects have conditioned with the king, when the king hath needeth them, to have the Great Charter confirmed: The second, That the estates have made treasurers, for the necessary and profitable disbursing of those sums by them given; to the end that the kings, to whom they were given, should expend them for their own defence, and for the defence of the commonwealth: The third, That these have pressed the king to discharge some great officers of the crown, and to elect others. — As touching the first; my lord, I would fain learn what disadvantage the kings of this land have had by confirming the Great Charter; the breach of which hath served only men of your lordship's rank to assist their own passions, and to punish and imprison, at their own discretion, the king's poor subjects; concerning their private hatred, with the colour of the king's service: for the king's Majesty takes no man's inheritance, (as I have said before,) nor any man's life, but by the law of the land, according to the charter. Neither doth his Majesty imprison any man, (matter of practice, which concerns the preservation of his estate, excepted,) but by the law of the land; and yet he useth his prerogative, as all the kings of England have ever used it; for the supreme reason causes to practise many things without the advice of the law: as, in insurrections and rebellions, it useth the martial, and not the common law, without any breach of the charter, the intent of the charter considered truly. Neither hath any subject made complaint, or been grieved, in that the kings of this land, for their own safeties, and preservation of their estates, have used their prerogatives, the great ensign, on which there is written *solī Deo*. And, my good lord; was not Buckingham in England, and Byron in France, condemned; their peers uncalled? And, withal, was not Byron utterly (contrary to the customs and privileges of the French) denied an advocate to assist his defence? For where law's forecast cannot provide remedies for future dangers, princes are forced to assist themselves by their prerogatives. But that, which hath been ever grievous, and the cause of many troubles very dangerous, is, that your lordships, abusing the reasons of state, do punish and imprison the king's subjects at your pleasure. It is you, my lords, that when subjects have sometimes need of the king's prerogative, do then use the strength of the law; and, when they require the law, you afflict them with the prerogative; and tread the Great Charter, which hath been confirmed by sixteen acts of parliament, under your feet, as a torn parchment, or waste-paper.

Counsellor. Good sir; which of us do, in this sort, break the Great Charter? Perchance you mean, that we have advised the king to lay the new impositions.

Justice. No, my lord, there is nothing in the Great Charter against impositions; and, besides that, necessity doth persuade them. And if necessity do, in somewhat, excuse a private man; *à fortiori*, it may then excuse a prince. Again, the king's Majesty hath profit and increase of revenue by the impositions. But there are of your lordships, contrary to the direct letter of the charter, that imprison the king's subjects, and deny them the benefit of the law, to the king's disprofit. And what do you do otherwise thereby, if the impositions be in any sort grievous, but *renovare dolores*; and, withal, dig out of the dust the long-buried memory of the subjects' former intentions, with their kings?

Counsellor. What mean you by that?

Justice. I will tell your lordship, when I dare. In the mean time, it is enough for me to put your lordship in mind, that all the estates in the world, in the offence of the people, have either had profit or necessity to persuade them to adventure it, of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the subject exceedingly grieved, your lordship may conjecture, that the House will be humble suitors for a redress. And if it be a maxim in policy, to please the people in all things indifferent, and never suffer them to be beaten, but for the king's benefit, (for there are no blows forgotten with the smart, but those;) then I say, to make

them vassals to vassals, is but to batter down those mastering buildings, erected by king Henry the Seventh, and fortified by his son ; by which the people and gentry of England were brought to depend upon the king alone. Yea, my good lord ; our late dear sovereign kept them up, and to their advantage, as well repaired as ever prince did. ‘ Defend me, and spend me ;’ saith the Irish churl.

Counsellor. Then you think, that this violent breach of the charter will be the cause of seeking the confirmation of it in the next parliament, which otherwise could never have been moved ?

Justice. I know not, my good lord ; perchance not : for, if the House press the king to grant unto them all that is theirs by the law ; they cannot, in justice, refuse the king all that is his by the law. And where will be the issue of such a contention ? I dare not divine ; but sure I am, that it will tend to the prejudice both of the king and subject.

Counsellor. If they dispute not their own liberties ; why should they then dispute the king’s liberties, which we call his prerogative ?

Justice. Amongst so many and so divers spirits, no man can foretel what may be propounded ; but howsoever, if the matter be not slightly handled on the king’s behalf, these disputes will soon dissolve : for the king hath so little need of his prerogative, and so great advantage by the laws, as the fear of impairing the one ; to wit, the prerogative, is so impossible ; and the burthen of the other ; to wit, the law, so weighty ; as but by a branch of the king’s prerogative, (namely, of his remission and pardon,) the subject is no way able to undergo it. This, my lord, is no matter of flourish that I have said, but it is the truth, and unanswerable.

Counsellor. But to execute the laws very severely, would be very grievous ?

Justice. Why, my lord ; are the laws grievous, which ourselves have required of our kings ? And are the prerogatives also, which our kings have reserved to themselves, also grievous ? How can such a people then be well pleased ? And if your lordship confess that the laws give too much ; why does your lordship urge the prerogative, that gives more ? Nay, I will be bold to say it, that except the laws were better observed, the prerogative of a religious prince hath manifold less perils, than the letter of the law hath. Now, my lord, for the second and third ; to wit, for the appointing of treasurers, and removing of counsellors : our kings have evermore laughed them to scorn that have pressed either of these ; and, after the parliament dissolved, took the money of the treasurers of the parliament, and recalled and restored the officers discharged : or else they have been contented, that some such person should be removed at the request of the whole kingdom, which they themselves, out of their noble natures, would not seem willing to remove.

Counsellor. Well, sir ; would you, notwithstanding all these arguments, advise his Majesty to call a parliament ?

Justice. It belongs to your lordships, who enjoy the king’s favour, and are chosen for your able wisdom, to advise the king. It were a strange boldness in a poor and private person, to advise kings, attended with so understanding a council. But, belike your lordships have conceived some other way, how money may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen, your lordship knows, that then there were nothing so dangerous for a king, as to be without money. A parliament cannot assemble in haste ; but present dangers require hasty remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the subjects, by using any inordinate ways.

Counsellor. Well, sir ; all this notwithstanding, we dare not advise the king to call a parliament ; for, if it should succeed ill, we, that advise, should fall into the king’s disgrace. And if the king be driven into any extremity, we can say to the king ; that because we found it extremely displeasing to his Majesty to hear of a parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

Justice. My lord ; to the first, let me tell you, that there was never any just prince that hath taken any advantage of the success of counsels, which have been founded on reason. To fear that, were to fear the loss of the bell, more than the loss of the steeple ; and were also the way to beat all men from the studies of the king’s service. But for the second ;

where you say you can excuse yourselves upon the king's own protesting against parliament: the king, upon better consideration, may encounter that finesse of yours.

Counsellor. How, I pray you?

Justice. Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your lordships together, and by delivering unto you, that he hears how his loving subjects in general are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a parliament: for that was the common answer to all the sheriffs in England, when the late benevolence was commanded. In which respect, and because you came short in all your projects, and because it is a thing most dangerous for a king to be without treasure; he requires such of you, as either mislike, or rather fear a parliament, to set down your reasons in writing, why you either misliked, or feared it. And, such as I wish and desire it, to set down answers to your objections: and so shall the king prevent the calling, or not calling, on his Majesty; as some of your great counsellors have done in many other things, shrinking up their shoulders, and saying, 'The king will have it so.'

Counsellor. Well, sir, it grows late, and I will bid you farewell; only you shall take well with you this advice of mine: That in all that you have said against our greatest, those men, in the end, shall be your judges in their own cause; you that trouble yourself with reformation, are like to be well rewarded; for hereof you may assure yourself, that we will never allow of any invention, how profitable soever, unless it proceed, or seem to proceed, from ourselves.

Justice. If then, my lord, we may presume to say, that princes may be unhappy in any thing; certainly they are unhappy in nothing more, than in suffering themselves to be so inclosed. Again, if we may believe Pliny, who tells us, 'That it is an ill sign of prosperity in any kingdom or state, where such, as deserve well, find no other recompence than the contentment of their own consciences:' a far worse sign is it, where the justly accused shall take revenge of the just accuser. But, my good lord, there is this hope remaining, that seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted most, he will not, for the future dishonour of his judgment, so well informed by his own experience, expose such of his vassals (as have had no other motives to serve him, than simply the love of his person and his estate) to their revenge, who have only been moved by the love of their own fortunes, and their glory.

Counsellor. But, good sir; the king hath not been deceived by all?

Justice. No, my lord, neither have all been trusted; neither doth the world accuse all, but believe, that there be amongst your lordships very just and worthy men, as well of the nobility, as others; but those, though most honoured in the commonwealth, yet, have they not been most employed. Your lordship knows it well enough, that three or four of your lordships have thought your hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest affairs in the commonwealth; and strong enough all the land have found them to bear down whom they pleased.

Counsellor. I understand you. But how shall it appear, that they have only sought themselves?

Justice. There needs no perspective-glass to discern it: for neither in the treaties of peace and war, in matters of revenue, and matters of trade, any thing hath happened either of love or judgment. No, my lord, there is not any one action of theirs eminent, great or small; the greatness of themselves only excepted.

Counsellor. It is all one: your papers can neither answer nor reply; we can. Besides, you tell the king no news in delivering these complaints; for he knows as much as can be told him.

Justice. For the first, my lord; whereas he hath once the reasons of things delivered him, your lordships shall need to be well advised: in their answers, there is no sophistry will serve their turn, where the judge and the understanding are both supreme. For the second: to say that his Majesty knows, and cares not; that, my lord, were but to despair all his faithful subjects. But by your favour, my lord, we see it is contrary: we find now, that there is no such singular power as there hath been: Justice is described with a

balance in her hand, holding it even; and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any king's days: for singular authority begets but general oppression.

Counsellor. Howsoever it be; that is nothing to you, that have no interest in the king's favour, nor perchance, in his opinion; and, concerning such a one, the misliking, or but misconceiving of any one hard word, phrase, or sentence, will give argument to the king, either to condemn, or reject the whole discourse. And, howsoever his Majesty may neglect your informations, you may be sure that others, at whom you point, will not neglect their revenges: you will therefore confess it, when it is too late, that you are exceeding sorry that you have not followed my advice. Remember cardinal Wolsey, who lost all men for the king's service: and when their malice, whom he grieved, had not outlived the king's affection; you know what became of him as well as I.

Justice. Yea, my lord, I know it well, that malice hath a longer life, than either love or thankfulness hath; for as we always take more care to put off pain, than to enjoy pleasure; (because the one hath no intermission, and with the other we are often satisfied;) so it is in the smart of injury and the memory of good turns. Wrongs are written in marble: benefits are, sometimes, acknowledged; rarely requited. But, my lord, we shall do the king great wrong, to judge him by common rules, or ordinary examples; for seeing his Majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his service, no man needs to doubt of his goodness, towards those that shall perform any thing worthy reward. Nay, the not taking knowledge of those of his own vassals, that have done him wrong, is more to be lamented; than the relinquishing of those, that do him right, is to be suspected. I am therefore, my good lord, held to my resolution, by these two, besides the former. The first, that God would never have blessed him with so many years, and in so many actions, (yea, in all his actions,) had he paid his honest servants with evil for good. The second; where your lordship tells me, that I will be sorry for not following your advice, I pray your lordship to believe, that I am no way subject to the common sorrowing of worldly men: this maxim of Plato being true; *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur*. But, for my body, my mind values it at nothing.

Counsellor. What is it then you hope for, or seek?

Justice. Neither riches, nor honour, nor thanks; but I only seek to satisfy his Majesty (which I would have been glad to have done in matters of more importance), that I have lived, and will die, an honest man.

The Author's Epitaph, made by himself.⁵

EV'N such is time, which takes in trust
Our youth, and joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Which in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days:
And from which earth, and grave, and dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

⁵ [These verses are said, in Sir W. Raleigh's Remains, to have been found in his bible in the Gatehouse, Westminster. In Reliquiæ Wottonianæ they are given as written by 'Sir W. R. the night before his death.']

The Method of passing Bills in Parliament. Written by Henry Elsing, Cler. Parl.¹ Now printed from the original Manuscript, under these Heads; *viz.* 1. Proceedings upon Bills. 2. The Commitment of Bills. 3. Manner how Committees are named. 4. Who may not be of a Committee, and who ought to be. 5. Council heard at the Committee. 6. A Bill recommitted. 7. The third Reading. 8. *Nova Billa*. 9. Amendments and Additions; or Provisos added afterwards; how lawful. 10. Amendments of Amendments, how lawful. 11. A Proviso added after a third Reading, not usual. 12. A Proviso added by the one House, and desired to be taken by the other House; whether lawful.

London, printed by F. L. for Matt. Gilliflower, at the Spread-Eagle and Crown in Westminster-hall, 1685.

[Twelves; containing thirty-six pages.]

Proceedings upon Bills.

The first Reading.

THE clerk reads the bill, standing at the table; and then delivers the same, kneeling unto the lord-chancellor, together with a brief of the bill.

The lord-chancellor reads the title of the bill, and then reports the effect of the same out of the brief, and concludes; 'This is the first time of the reading of this bill.'

At the first reading, the bill is seldom now spoken against.

There are precedents to the contrary, *prout an. 1^o Hen. VIII. 11 de parliamenti billa de actionibus*, brought from the Commons, *lecta 1 vice, & Domini disputando censuerunt reformandum; quod regia Majestas haberet 3 vel 4 annos, pars vero contra partem, nisi unum annum.*

And a bill hath been received at the first reading, *prout.*

Anno 3 Edw. VI. 14^o Nov. billa pro jurisdictione episcoporum rejected, and a committee appointed to draw a new bill.

The subsidy-bill, and the king's general pardon, were used to be read but once; and so were expedited at the first reading.

Yet if a proviso be added to the subsidy bill, that hath been read three times, *prout.*

So if a proviso be added to the general pardon, that is to be read three times, *V. 3 Edw. VI. 1^o Febr.*

¹ [Henry Elsing, the author of this tract, held his official situation with great merit and esteem for some years, in the house of commons, and resigned in 1648; as it is supposed, on account of the unequitable proceedings against the king, then about to take place. He was the author of several things; but his productions have been very inaccurately stated by those who have given any account of them, and the present piece seems hitherto to have been unnoticed by them. Anthony Wood mentions a tract by him 'concerning Proceedings in Parliament,' which appeared to answer to the present, and which he states to have been bequeathed by sir Matthew Hale to Lincoln's-Inn Library; but upon consulting the general catalogue of MSS. it proves to be 'Modus tenendi Parliamentum,' already mentioned by Wood, as the production of his father.]

Anno 35 Hen. VIII. 4^o die Martii, 1 vice lecta est billa, concerning the king's Majesty's award, between the lord Dacres, and the heirs-general of sir James Strangwish the younger; *cui quidem billæ Proceres assenserunt.*

Bills also have been committed at the first reading.

Anno 6 Hen. VIII. 14^o Febr. *recepta est billa in papyro concernens apparatus, & lecta est jam primò, & deliberata magistro Pigott reformanda.*

Anno 1 Edw. VI. 21^o Nov. *allata est à Communi Domo billa*; for benefices, common preachers, and residence. *Quæ 1 vice lecta est, & commissa est archiepiscopo Cant.; episcopis Elien. Dunelm. Roffen. & Lincoln.; marchioni Northampton.; domino St. John comiti Arundel domino admiral, & domino Wentworth.*

Anno 5 Edw. VI. 16^o Febr. *Hodiè 1 vice lecta est billa*; to avoid regrating, forestalling, &c.; & *commissa magistro Hales, magistro Molineux, magistro Saunders, & sollicitatori regis.*

And there are very many precedents, that bills have been committed at the first reading, in the times of Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth; as may appear by the committees of those times.

The like precedents I find in most of the journals of queen Elizabeth, *prout, &c.*

Anno 8 Eliz. 3^o Oct. *billæ*, for the better executing of certain statutes, &c.

Eodem anno, 5^o Oct. touching fines and recoveries, &c.

Anno 13 Eliz. 20^o April. against fraudulent conveyances, &c.

Anno 14 Eliz. 12^o Maii, for preservation of wood, &c.

Eodem anno 8 die, for the punishment of vagabonds, &c.

And so in many other parliaments of Eliz. &c.

The second Reading.

In the same manner, the clerk reads the bill the second time; and delivers the same, without a brief, to the lord-chancellor.

His lordship recites the title thereof only, and saith, 'This is the second reading.'

Then if no man speaks against the bill, it is ordered to be engrossed, if begun with the Lords; or to have a third reading, if brought from the Commons.

If any doubt be conceived, which is often *pro formâ tantum*, the bill is committed.

V. inter ordines, &c. an. 18 Jacobi.

Bills are commonly let pass at the first reading, and committed at the second.

Yet it appears by many precedents of Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, and queen Elizabeth; that if the Lords did apprehend any dislike or doubt in the bill at the first reading, it was then committed immediately, *prout anted.*

The Commitment of Bills.

AT the second reading, if the bill be required to be committed, the lord-chancellor demands of the Lords, how many of each bench shall be of the committee?

Which being agreed on, to three, five, or six, &c. the Earls are first named, then the Bishops, then the Barons.

The like order is observed, in the naming of committees for any other business.

And if there be five earls, then five bishops, and ten barons; the reason whereof I know not. *Neque fuit sic à principio.*

Anno 3 Edw. VI. 14^o Nov. the committees, to frame a bill for the jurisdiction of bishops, were the marquis of Dorset, four bishops, and two barons.

Eodem anno, 2^o Januarii, the committee, sent to the duke of Somerset, were, one earl, five bishops, and two barons.

Anno 27 Eliz. 4^o Decemb. the bill for the clothiers of Boxsted, &c. was committed unto three earls, one viscount, one bishop, and three barons.

Eodem anno, 3^o Dec. the bill for the landing of merchandise, &c. was committed unto eight earls, two bishops, and four barons.

Eodem anno, 27 Eliz. the first bill, for increase of mariners, was committed unto two earls, and six barons, and no bishops.

Eodem anno et die, the bill, for the Sabbath-day, is committed unto six earls, one viscount, five bishops, and seven barons.

The precedents hereof are infinite, that no such order was observed to name a set number of each bench, or to double the number of barons until in the latter parliaments of our late king James. Neither was this constantly observed, until the parliament of 12 *Jacobi regis*, and afterwards. For in the fourth session of the parliament, *anno 1 Jacobi regis*, sometimes the number of each is equal; and sometimes the barons are the greater number. But they seldom double the number of the other bench, unless in the committees of a small number.

But here may be a question, *viz.* Whether a bill may be committed by the orders of the House, if no lord move any doubt, or imperfection in the same?

And I am of opinion that it may not; neither is it necessary.

My reason is, for that I find many bills to pass without commitment, and some at the second reading in the times of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and queen Elizabeth.

But now the constant order is to read every bill, save the pardon, three times.

And the general voice, to commit the bill at the second reading, shews that the Lords do conceive some doubt thereof, though none move any.

The Manner how Committees are named.

THE number of each Bench being agreed, they are named, *promiscuè*, by any of the Lords; but the clerk is to be careful to set down those whom he hears first named: which is done in this manner:

First, the Earls are named, and those that sit on that bench.

The clerk, having written them, stands up and reads their names.

Then the Bishops, and then the Barons, in like manner.

And if the clerk happen to set down more than the number agreed on, it is in the liberty of the House to take out the latter, and so to leave the just number, or to admit them.

Then the House names the attendants, which are of the judges, the king's learned council, and the masters of the chancery.

The clerk reads their names also.

The last is the time and place, where to meet; which being agreed on, and set down, the clerk reads that also.

Who may not be Committees, and who ought to be.

IF any lord speak against the body of the bill, he is not to be named of the committee of the same bill.

No absent lord is to be of any committee, unless officers of state, when the bill or business concerns their office. And, then, they are to be named, and to have notice sent them thereof.

V. anno 1 Jac. 14^o Junii, subsidy of tonnage and poundage.

That lord, which moved any doubt, concerning the bill, ought also to be named, and to be of the committee, if he be present.

This is also a received opinion, and often in practice; and the clerk ought to be attentive, and hearken after the names of such lords.

The number of the committees being agreed on, named, and read; the clerk delivers the bill, with a note of the committee affixed, unto the first of the committee then present.

The committees being met, though not all, yet if the better half, they may proceed.

Anno 18 et 19 Jacobi, 30^o Novembris, It is ordered that, if ten or upwards of any committee do meet, (though not the one half of their number,) they may proceed notwithstanding.

At the committee, the judges and other attendants do neither sit, nor are covered, unless it be out of favour; and then they sit behind, but are never covered.

One of the attendants reads the bill, and writes the amendments, if any, in paper; with directions to the places to be amended.

And if any addition or proviso be conceived, he writes the same in paper also; with directions, where they are to be placed.

Any other member of the House may be present at this committee; but they may not vote: and must give place to all of the committee, and sit below them.

If the business be not dispatched, at the first meeting, the committees themselves may appoint another day.

V. an. 4 Jac. 26^o Febr.

But this must be done, before their departure.

Council heard at the Committee.

AT this committee, if it be a private bill, they will not only call both parties before them, but hear their council.

Wherein this order is observed, that the council, who speaks against the bill, is heard first, for it is already understood, what the bill desires.

And either part may desire to have their council heard in the House; which, being reported by the committee, is so ordered.

There also the council, against the bill, speaks first.

And, for public bills, council is also heard, if any oppose it.

And if a public bill concern any officer, corporation, or particular person, or any artificers, they are usually sent for to attend the committee.

The Bill reported by a Committee to the House.

THE committee, or greater part, being agreed, what report to make to the House: the first of the committees, that was present, makes report thereof standing, and uncovered, with the bill in his hand. And all the rest of that committee, then present, stand up, and are uncovered; whereby, they signify their assent unto the said report.

The report being ended, he delivers the bill and the amendments, addition and proviso, if any, unto the clerk; who goes from his seat, and receives the same from his lordship.

If the report be, for the bill to sleep; it is so ordered, and entered by the clerk in the journal-book, and endorsed on the bill also.

If amendments, additions, or provisos be reported, when the House orders the same to be read; they are read on this manner, by the clerk, *viz.* The amendments of the bill, &c. reciting the title thereof, or the additions, or provisos to be added to the bill, &c. And so reads the same, as they are in the paper delivered by the committee.

Then, the clerk delivers the same, kneeling, unto the lord-chancellor, having first endorsed on the amendments, &c. *1 vice lecta.*

His lordship first reads the title of the bill. Then, that the same is returned by the committees amended thus, *viz.* In such a line, between such a word and such a word, insert these words, &c.

Or, in such a line, put out this word, &c. and saith further; Before it was thus, and now it is thus.

If additions and provisos are only reported, and no amendments; then, his lordship first recites the title of the bill; then, that it was committed and returned with such or such additions, or provisos, and so repeats the effect thereof briefly.

This being done, the lord-chancellor demands, "Whether their lordships be pleased, that their amendments, &c. shall receive a second reading?" And, if so agreed on; the clerk receives the bill, with the amendments, &c. of his lordship, and reads the same again, and endorseth on the amendments, &c. *2 vice lecta.*

And, kneeling, delivers the same unto the lord-chancellor again.

His lordship reads the same, thus: first, recites the title of the bill; then, that it hath been committed and returned with amendments, &c. the which amendments have been twice read. And demands their Lordships' pleasure, if the bill began above, "Whether the bill shall be engrossed with the said amendments, &c. or no?" And, if answer be made affirmatively, and no lord speak against it; then it is so ordered to be done: and the clerk receives the bill again, and endorseth on the said amendments 'To be engrossed.' If the bill be sent from the Commons, then the lord-chancellor demands their Lordships' pleasure, "Whether the said bill, and amendments, &c. shall be read the third time or no?"

At the second reading, any of the committee may speak against the body of the bill, or against the amendments, &c. before they be engrossed. *V. an. 39 Eliz. 24^o Jan.* This was debated, but not then determined. But, *an. 43 Eliz. 12^o Nov.* it was resolved by the House.

Recommitted.

THE bill being thus reported by the committee: if any doubt be moved, and the House think good then, before the amendments be ordered to be engrossed, or ordered to have a third reading, the same may be recommitted, either to the former committees only, or to the same and others.

If the committee find the bill so imperfect that it can hardly be amended, then they may, without further order from the House, frame a new bill: which is most commonly done, by one of the attendants.

This new bill being agreed on, and returned with the old bill to the House, and the cause thereof reported by the committee, the old bill sleeps.

And the lord-chancellor demands of the Lords, "Whether they be pleased, that the new bill shall be read or no?" Which is done accordingly.

If any doubt be conceived of the new bill, the same may also be committed, as the former was recommitted.

Or, after the second reading, the House may order a third bill to be framed. *V. an. 1 Jacobi, 4^o Junii,* recusants. But, after the third reading, this is not now done.

The third Reading.

The clerk first reads the title, and then reads the bill, and delivers the same to the lord-chancellor, (in manner, as before,) having first endorsed *3 an. V. lecta.*

His lordship repeats the title only, and says, "This is the third reading of this bill."

If no lord speak against it, then his lordship demands, "Whether he shall put it to the question?" Which being agreed on, or not denied, the question is thus:

"Such of your Lordships, as are of opinion, that this bill is fit to pass, or shall pass, say 'Content.' They, which are of another opinion, say 'Not-content.'"

Then, the lowest baron begins, and saith, 'Content,' or 'Not-content,' without any more words. And so they proceed in order to the first baron. Then the bishops. Then the viscounts, and earls; and those, that sit on the earls' bench, in like manner. The lord-chancellor, or lord-keeper, if he be a baron, earl, or bishop, removes to the first place, on the earls' bench, and giveth his voice, 'Content,' or 'Not-content.' The prince, if present, speaks last.

If any doubt be of the most voices; then, one lord who said 'Content,' and another lord, who said 'Not-content,' are appointed to number them by the poll, which they do in this manner: They go together to the barons' bench; and every lord, who said 'Content,' stands up. Then the bishops' and earls' bench, in like manner. Then, they return again to the barons' bench; and every lord, who said 'Not-content,' standeth up; and so of the bishops and earls.

And, according to the relation, it is agreed, whether 'Content,' or 'Not-content,' had the more voices: and the bill doth pass, or is rejected accordingly.

This order is observed in all questions.

Upon examining of the votes, the proxies of the absent lords may be demanded, and such lords as gave their own vote, with the question, may give his proxies, against it. *Prout.*

Nova Billa.

IF the bill, began below, be committed, and a new bill brought in by the committee, when the same is past, by the Lords, it is to be returned to the Commons, together with the old.

Hereof are many precedents, *temporibus Hen. VIII. Edw. VI. & Eliz.* And one 4 *Jac.* 27^o *Maii*; *pro comite Darby.*

So likewise the Commons are to do, if they make a new bill.

But if the Commons send up a new bill, and the Lords read the same, and reject it; the Commons cannot send up another bill of the same argument, in the same session; *V. an. 3 Jacobi, 27^o Maii.* Purveyors.

If the Lords pass a bill, and send it to the Commons, and they reject the same, without conference with the Lords, they cannot send up a new bill of the same argument, in the same session; *V. an. 29 Eliz. 22^o Martii,* Handford's bill. But note, this new bill was sent up without the old; otherwise, I conceive, it had been according to order.

And I suppose the reason to be, for that the Lords will not proceed in a new bill, before they understand what is become of the old, which they formerly passed: nor unless they may also have by them the former bill.

And therefore, either a conference, or the old bill to be returned, is necessary.

The same order is observed, if the Commons send up a bill to the Lords.

Amendments, and Additions, or Provisos added afterwards, how lawful:

V. *An. 27 Eliz. Decembris 17^o.* The Commons sent up a bill for the Sabbath-day, to the Lords; who passed the same with amendments, and so returned it to the Commons. They sent it back to the Lords, with new amendments, who rejected the same as against order.

It seems the Commons had some conference with the Lords concerning the same; for afterwards, in the same parliament, the third of March, it is thus entered, *viz.*

Memorandum, That this day were chosen for committees, to examine the record touching passing amendments of amendments, moved to the same by the Lower House, the lord-treasurer, the earl of Sussex, the viscount Montague, the bishop of Winchester, the

lord Hunsdon, the lord Buckhurst, the master of the rolls, and Mr. attorney; about the bill for the better observing of the Sabbath-day.

The precedents they named, were the bills for treasons, and bringing in of bills; acts passed in *anno* 13 of the queen.

But these precedents appear not in the Journal of the Upper House.

It should seem, that the Lords were then satisfied, and signified the same unto the Commons; for afterwards, 6^o *Martii*, the Commons returned the same again with amendments of amendments, which the Lords publicly read three times, and passed the same.

Vide the Journal of the Lower House, 22^o *Febr.* fol. 97 & 99. 'That the Commons desired the Lords, that search might be made in the Upper House, for precedents touched by them of the Lower House, and reported by the committee. That, upon search of precedents, their House might add to the Lords' former additions to a bill *pro billa* Sabbath-day.' *Vide tamen anno* 39 *Eliz.* 14^o *Jan.* The Lords having returned to the Commons their bill for houses of correction, with amendments and provisos, the Commons prayed a conference touching the said amendments and provisos.

The Lords yielded to the conference thus far, to satisfy the Commons what moved their lordships to make those amendments, with this caution, that nothing can now be altered by the order of this House.

Amendments upon amendments were very usual in the times of Henry VIII. and queen Mary, *prout an.* 32 *Hen. VIII.* 2^o *Jul.* 8^o 5^o, 12^o, 19^o, 21^o, 22^o, & 24^o *Jul.* *Billa annexorum honori de Petworth.*

An. 32 *Hen. VIII.* 1^o *Martii*, & 4^o, 5^o, 6^o, 10^o, & 18^o *Martii.* *Billa* concerning the first article.

An. 35 *Hen. VIII.* 4^o *Martii*, &c.

Billa for the Lords' decrees.

An. 37 *Hen. VIII.* 27^o *Nov.* &c.

Billa pro Custode Rotulorum, &c.

An. 6 *Hen. VIII.* 15^o *Martii*, & usque 3 *April.* *Billa ducis Suff.*

An. 4 & 5 *Phil.* 8^o *Mar.* 18^o *Febr.* 8^o *c.* *Billa* for musters.

Anno 31 *Hen. VIII.* 10^o *Junii.* The bill for the first articles is sent to the Commons, 14^o *Junii*; it is returned with a proviso, and expedited, 16^o *Junii*: and, 24^o *Junii*, the Lords and Commons agree to some amendments. Afterwards, the 27^o *Junii*, the Lords agree to another proviso, and send it with the proviso to the Commons, 28^o *Junii*, who returned the bill expedited the same day in the afternoon.

Anno 37 *Hen. VIII.* The bill for the *Custos Rotulorum*, returned from the Commons with a proviso, rejected by the Lords, and sent back to the Commons, and returned by them expedited, without the proviso, 16^o & 18^o *Decembris.*

Anno 4 *Jac.* 29^o *Junii.* The Lords having returned to the Commons their bill of hostile laws, with amendments and a proviso, the Commons prayed a conference for consideration thereof.

At the conference they moved, that they may clear their doubt of the said amendments and proviso, either by amendment, or by another proviso; of which kind of proceeding, they affirmed they had good precedents of former times in like case.

And, accordingly, they did amend the same: and the Lords passed the bill after the third reading thereof. *Vid. ib. Junii & in pomeridiano.*

Amendment of the Amendments, how lawful.

THE amendments of a bill coming from the Commons (as hath been said) are to be written in paper, and to be inserted into the bill by the Commons, at the return thereof unto them. And, if the Commons do think fit, that those amendments be amended, they are to signify so much to the Lords, and to move their Lordships to amend their own

amendments, before the same be inserted in the bill. *Vide* the Journal of the Lower House. *Anno 27 Eliz. 10^o Martii, fol. 132.*

Divers lords were of opinion the last parliament, *anno 18 & 19 Jac.* that a bill might be amended after the third reading.

But, in the same parliament, *27^o Novembris*, in the bill for suits, and *1^o Decembris*, in the bill for monopolies, it was agreed, *per plures*; but the question for it was denied, that it was against the orders of the House to recommit a bill after the third reading.

Yet it was agreed, that a bill might have a small amendment after the third reading, with which agreeth that *anno 27 Eliz. 13^o Martii*. In the bill for provision to be made for the queen's royal person, &c. which was thus amended after the third reading, and before it was put to the question, *viz.* in the 24th line, after this word (left) put out (so as) and in place thereof put in (foreseeing that). And such small amendments are usual after the third reading. *E. IV.*

A Proviso added, after the third Reading, not usual now.

ANNO 35 Eliz. 9^o April. A saving of the queen's right, and all men's right, added to the bill for repealing of certain uses, and concerning the lands of Anthony Coke, esq. was added to the bill after the third reading and question.

This bill was sent up by the Commons, *28^o Martii, & 6^o April.*; it was read the third time, and expedited. The saving was added, the 9th of April, with this caution; that the Lords, upon weighty considerations, have ordered, that this shall not hereafter be drawn to make any precedent. Then the bill was returned to the Commons, who sent it up the same day expedited.

According to this order of *anno 35 Eliz.* the House hath forborne to add any thing to the bill after the third reading *prout. Anno 3 Jac. 13^o Martii, 3 vice lecta est billa*, for the establishing of the possessions of Edmund, late lord Chandois of Sudley. And ordered, that the lady Chandois shall give security for the payment of seven-thousand pounds to her daughter Catharine, before the bill be sent to the Commons; for that the same is not sufficiently provided for by the bill.

15^o Martii, this is referred to Mr. justice Tanfield, and Mr. justice Crook; and they to acquaint the lord committees that were named on the bill with the cause by them advised on; that the Lords might proceed for the security, as they should find cause.

27^o Martii. This bill, with others, is sent down to the Commons, with a recommendation from their Lordships, to be had by them, touching assurance to be given for the said portion; which was not remembered to their Lordships, until the bill was passed this House.

But this order was not thus nicely observed, *tempore Hen. VIII. Anno 6 Hen. VIII. 1^o Martii. Billa concernens debita regia lecta est 3.*

3^o Martii lecta est 4, & Domini deliberabunt.

15^o Martii lecta est 5.

16^o Martii lecta est.

20^o Martii lecta est, & Domini deputaverunt principalem justiciorum, & ad confiniendum quendam effectum pro securitate regiâ pro debitis suis obtinendis.

Here it appears, that, at the third reading, the Lords not being agreed, the bill was read again the fourth time; yea, and the sixth and seventh times; and at last the Lords appointed a new bill to be drawn.

There are many precedents that bills have been read oftener than thrice in that king's time, and of Edward VI.; by which it appears, that bills might then be recommitted after the third reading. *Vide* my collection of those times, which I will not here relate; for that it is now constantly observed, to read bills but thrice.

A Proviso added by the one House, and desired to be taken away by the other House; whether lawful.

THIS was usual in former times; yet, in the parliament 21 *Jac.* 21^o *Maii*; the Lords having returned unto the Commons their bill for ease of pleading of licence of alienations, &c. with a proviso; the Commons, misliking of the proviso, desired a conference, and moved to have the proviso taken away; and some doubting, and others affirming, that this could not be done by the orders of the House, the Commons framed a new bill to that purpose, without a proviso, and sent it up to the Lords the next morning, and with it returned the old bill, and the Lords passed this new bill.

Anno 3 Hen. VIII. 24^o die parliamenti, billa concernens coriarios lecta est primò, &c. sent to the Commons; & 29^o die parliamentum assentitum est, demptâ additione.

Anno 6 Hen. VIII. 31^o die Martii, billa ducis Suff. remissa est in Domum Communem, & due provisiones eidem priùs per Communes annexæ abstrahuntur, & eodem die recepta est, ablatis provisionibus priùs annexis.

Anno 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. The bill for the supremacy of Rome, 4^o *Jan.* a proviso added by the Commons misliked, a new bill made, and the old taken away by the Commons, at the Lords' request.

Anno 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. The bill of musters, returned from the Commons with two provisos, and sent back to have them taken away, and returned again, with certain corrections mentioned in a schedule, expedited 4^o & 6^o *Martii* & prout *M.* 6^o *Maii*.

Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost; sent from Elysium, to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England.¹

Virtutum comes invidia.

Printed in Paradise, 1624.

[Quarto; containing thirty-four pages.]

Nobles, Gentlemen, and Commons;

ALTHOUGH, in this most holy and glorious assembly of angels and saints, in the most high Star-chamber court of Heaven, (where Almighty God, and his Son Christ Jesus, are King and Prince,) we, the saints, do neither participate, nor sympathize, of the good or evil conditions of you mortals on earth; yet, seeing it is a part of that glory, that

¹ [A similar tract was put forth at the same time, intitled, '*Vox Cæli*, or News from Heaven;' in which the manes of Elizabeth, Henry, &c. are summoned, as that of Essex in the present, to animate the people against the match which James was so eager to conclude between his son (then in Spain with the duke of Buckingham) and the Infanta. But although written at that period, they bear a later date, and are supposed by Mr. W. Scott, to have been published by the direction of the duke, after his abrupt return; rather than by an obscure volunteer in the cause. To give this supposition its due, it must be remembered, that the Favourite was then engaged in procuring a parliamentary opposition to the match which he had before been so impetuous in forwarding; and with this view, such tracts as might most readily inflame the minds of the English against its completion, were published and dispersed. See the Somers' Tracts, edited by Walter Scott, esq. vol. ii. pp. 555, 597.]

God affordeth us in heaven, to have the measure of knowledge of your condition on earth; and I, particularly, taking knowledge of the miserable and distracted present state of the formerly flourishing realm of England, in the days of my then dread Sovereign, now fellow-saint, queen Elizabeth, of blessed and immortal memory on earth, and in heaven; could do no less, than give you this my sacred declaration, and admonishment, which I send you, by this my blessed genius, written with a pen made of an angel's pinion; and agreeing with my Apology, which I left behind me on earth, in mine own defence, and for the good of my country, after my decease.

The lawful succession of your now King, when I was amongst you on earth, I never questioned, but maintained (and was ever ready to maintain) with dint of my sword (if need had been) his title, against whomsoever offered to question the same; as was, and is well known to his Majesty. That he was a prudent, learned, and religious educated prince, I also never doubted; but that such a prudent, learned, and religious prince, should be so far misled, by some false-hearted counsellors at home, and fawning foreign ambassadors, from the enemies of God, and his Gospel, professed in England, to the detriment of the kingdom; that, I say, makes me not a little to marvel: and mourn I should, for my native country, but that here, in heaven, we are not subject to passion.

Upon my certain knowledge, notwithstanding all the fair show of league and amity, betwixt James, king of Scots, and Philip, king of Spain, the crown of Scotland was no longer safe on king James's head, than whilst my sovereign lady, and mistress, queen Elizabeth, by her valiant men of action, curbed king Philip, and kept him in awe; for, had his ambitious, wicked, and devilish design, of England's invasion, in 1588, taken effect; is there any so childish, to think, that his invasion would have had any period at Berwick? Sure I am, king James had wisdom enough to know, that his crown and kingdom lay then at the stake, in the second place, next unto England. For king James, then of Scotland, made a sweet sonnet, as a monument, and commemoration, of his and our deliverance, from that foreign and godless fleet, as he then termed it; which sonnet, as I then received it, I here present unto your view and consideration:

The nations banded 'gainst the Lord of Might,
Prepar'd a force, and set them to the way:
Mars dress'd himself in sick and awful plight,
The like whereof was never seen, they say:
They forwards came, in monstrous array,
Both sea and land beset us every where,
Braggs threaten'd us a ruinous decay.
What came of that? The issue did declare:
The winds began to toss them here and there,
The seas began, in foaming waves, to swell;
The number that escap'd it fell them fair,
The rest were swallow'd up in gulfs of hell.
But how were all these things miraculous done?—
God looks at them, out of his heavenly throne.

(The same sonnet is extant in Latin, by Metellanus², lord-chancellor of Scotland.)

Matters so standing, the marvel is, that upon the mature shutting in of the evening of your long summer's day, of queen Elizabeth's reign, king James lawfully and peaceably succeeding to the crown of England and Ireland, he so suddenly concludes, as it were, an inviolable league with that ambitious king Philip of Spain, that never made league with any king, prince, or state, but for his own end and advantage.

If I were on earth, I know some of you would answer me, "King James was a peace-

² [John Maitland, lord Thirlstone, who translated king James's 'owne Sonet' into Latin verse; and was repaid with an epitaph in the royal poet's very best style. See King James's Works, p. 89.]

able prince, and so loved to be at peace and in amity with other Christian princes." Yea, and it seems, your king himself is much affected with the very name of *Peace*, alleging, that he hath been a peaceable king from his cradle; that *Beati Pacifici* is his happy destined motto; and, with such like self-pleasing songs, hath, a long time, sung a *requiem* to himself, &c. I must confess, it is a happy thing for Christian and religious kings, princes, and states, to be at peace, in unity, and amity, one with another. But, on the other side, it is as unhappy and dangerous a thing to have league or amity with Roman-catholic kings, and princes, who are, I say, sworn and professed enemies to God, and his Gospel; as was, and is, this great Catholic king, Philip, and his Austrian-Castilian family.

When I was a servant to my prince and country on earth, my affection, in nature, was indifferent; *tam Marti quàm Mercurio*; and I was more inflamed with the love of knowledge, than the love of fame; which some of your men of state³, and great place, yet living, that know my heart, can bear me witness.

But my noble and religious father⁴, Walter, earl of Essex, upon his death-bed, gave me, in precept, three main and weighty matters, *viz.* First, To serve God, according to his ordinance in his word. Secondly, To obey my prince. Thirdly, To love and serve my country: unto which he added, to beware of, and to hate all popish superstition and idolatry. All which he religiously enlarged, and pressed unto me the more, in regard of my tender, youthful, and unripe years. Which swan-like song of my dear parent took so deep an impression in me, that I, being called by my sovereign, the queen, (and, being but a youth, she was pleased to call me 'her boy,') to serve her Majesty, and my country; did the willinger yield, and obey my prince's command, and entered into action.

First; In the year of our Lord, 1585, and the nineteenth of my pupil-age, I went, with the earl of Leicester, my father-in-law, into the Netherlands, where I had the honourable charge of general of the horse, in a fair army; where I ventured my life⁵, and subjected myself to many kinds of wants, disagreeing with my education and years, &c. which I did, for the honour of my prince and country.

Secondly; In the year 1589, I enterprized my voyage into Portugal, with a poor, distressed, and exiled king, Don Antonio; whom I, many times, with pity, heard repeat, with tears, the story of his oppressions, by Philip king of Spain; who, by force and tyranny, had usurped his crown of Portugal: also, considering the enemy against whom I went, an insolent, cruel, and usurping prince, that disturbed the common-peace, was a general enemy to the liberty of all Christendom, and, in particular, aspired the conquest of my country; and the cause I went for, was to deliver the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor, and by giving the Castilian his handful at home, to free both mine own country, and our confederates, from the fear and danger of his attempts: and, lastly, a time in which I went, when as my eyes, full of disdain, had so lately seen his, falsely called, 'Invincible Armada' sail by our shore; when all the brave hearts, in England, boiled, till they saw that insolent enemy taught, both to know himself, and value us. And, had the Portuguese risen, and assisted me, I should have gone nigh to have plucked Portugal's crown off the usurper's head, and placed it on the lawful king's head; but they, for fear of Philip, were faithless to Antonio. Yet, in that my voyage, what I attempted, to aid the wronged and banished king, and for honour of my prince and country, if you know it not, let your chronicles resolve you⁶.

Thirdly; In the year 1591, I conducted, and was general, of her Majesty my sovereign's succours, to Henry the French king; a prince, who, for his admirable valour, and often fighting with his own hands against his enemies, was not only the most famous, but the most renowned and redoubted captain of Christendom. And the end of that my service was to free the maritime parts of Normandy from the hands of the league and

³ Henry, earl of Southampton, &c.

⁴ He died earl-marshal of Ireland, *an.* 1576.

⁵ [*Viz.* in the battle of Zutphen, Sept. 22, 1586, where the renowned sir Philip Sidney fell. See Stowe's Annals, p. 737.]

⁶ [Vide Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the reign of Elizabeth, p. 15, 16, 17.]

power of the Spaniard; that, thereby, he, our enemy, should find less succour, or favour, in those seas, &c. This, also, was done, for the honour of my prince and country.

Fourthly; In the year 1596, I undertook my Spanish voyage to Cadiz, where not only I soon seized on, sacked, and burnt the town, and enriched my followers and soldiers; but we burnt his best shipping, and brought away his ordnance, and some ships, destroying his sea provisions; yea, put him to such charge and loss, as he, shortly after, played bankrupt with all his creditors, &c. And this, likewise, I did, for the honour of my prince and country.

Fifthly; In the year 1597, my Spanish voyage towards the Terceras was intended, with her Majesty's leave, and by her command, for Fayall to assail the Adelantado there, and thither I shaped my course; and, had it been prosperous and fortunate, I had made my sovereign such an absolute queen of the ocean, and disarmed, and disabled the enemy at sea, as that she might either have forced him to any conditions of peace, or made war on him, to her infinite advantage, and his utter ruin⁷.

But that my design was fatally frustrated, by violent and long tempests, which took us in the height of forty-six [degrees], which scattered our fleet, disabled, and almost drowned most of our principal ships; and, when we could no longer bear it up against the wind, drove us back, upon our own coast, and to what a desperate case my own ship was brought, there witnesses were enough; my attempts and endeavours were never the less; my danger, and endurance of hardness the more, &c. and all for the honour of my prince and country.

When Philip, king of Spain, that mortal enemy of my prince and country, who had made many attempts and assaults upon us, failed, and was frustrated in all; then he begged, of the pope, my sovereign's kingdom of Ireland, and sent his bastard-brother, Don John d'Aquila, to take possession of it.

But this messenger (a viceroy in his conceit) was soon sent back, with an English flea in his Spanish ear, that made such a buzzing in his head, that either with that, or else by a Spanish fig⁸, the good Don, discontentedly, departed this life, in short time after his return into Spain.

At length, (and it was my last voyage,) by command of my sovereign, I was made, and sent lord-general into Ireland of all her Majesty's forces; and there, when I had begun to subjugate those head-strong rebels, and brought their ring-leader, that notable rebel Tyrone⁹, upon his knees; I was forced¹⁰, abruptly, to return back into England, and my commission was conferred upon another nobleman¹¹, my inferior; who was sent over, to wade against those rebels, after I had broken the ice beforehand; and he had the honour, happily, to perform, what I had carefully, and painfully, projected and intended. In the interim, the fatal thread of my mortal life was almost spun, and my glass nigh run through; my enemies laying many heinous crimes to my charge, and, there-with abusing my sovereign's ears, and incensing her sacred Majesty against me.

But, beloved mortals, it is not my meaning, neither would I have you expect it, to touch the injury of the times, in that my latter time, nor the state-faction of men in place, my then enemies. I forbear to touch also, how, by the machinations of men, my gracious sovereign was forced to sign the hastening of my death: for, before my head was severed from my shoulders, (with which stroke my immortal soul was separated from my mortal body,) I forgave them all; and left my cause to God, to whom vengeance is due; and certainly, my God hath been thoroughly avenged of them all (my enemies) to their

⁷ [A very exact and full account of this expedition, written by sir Arthur Gorges, will be found in the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrims.]

⁸ [To those, says Mr. Steevens, who were the objects either of Italian or Spanish revenge, it was the custom to give poisoned figs. See note in Shakspeare. Hen. V. act iii. sc. 6.]

⁹ [Or, Tir Owen.]

¹⁰ [It is not true, as is here said, that the earl was 'forced' to leave Ireland; it being his rash and unexpected return to court, that proved instrumental to his final ruin. See Stowe's Annals, p. 789.]

¹¹ [Charles, lord Mountjoy.]

dishonour and disgrace upon earth; yea, before men and angels. And all was but like an impetuous storm, to hasten my arriving in the harbour of heaven. Here, where there is no room for revenge, nor aught else but holy love; which hath moved me to send you, of my *quondam* country, this my declaration or discourse, call it what you will; wherein, I list not neither to meddle with the *arcana imperii*, of your king and state, further than shall beseech a zealous patriot, that tendereth still, and wisheth the welfare and flourishing state of his once dear and native country.

And now, well-beloved Englishmen, in the premisses I have given you a brief account of my life, and, as it were, an epitome of my time-spending on earth: in which employments, I impaired my hereditary estate, lost my dear and only brother¹², the half-arch of my house, and buried also many of my nearest and dearest friends; subjected myself to the rage of the sea's violence, general plagues, famine, and all kind of wants; discontentments of undisciplined and unruly multitudes, and reception of all events; and all, for the honour and renown of my gracious prince, and dear country, keeping in mind my father's charge: *Sic tota Britannia testis*.

Now, beloved mortals, let me come more nearly to counsel and advise with you. First, That the Spanish king's revengeful humour was insatiable, appeared, when, in my time (*anno* 1597), when he came newly out of a trance, which was thought would have been his last swoon, he asked, (the first word that he spoke,) whether the Adelantado were gone for England? And, if remorse of conscience would have quenched his thirst of revenge, he would not, a little before his death, in his devotions, being all mass, have 'vowed to be revenged on England, though he sold all those candlesticks upon the altar before him.'

Secondly, That all treaties with Spain (an idolatrous and irreligious nation) were both unsafe and dangerous, I proved by unanswerable arguments in my Apology¹³; pages 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. And, how 'injurious the zealous peace-makers of those times' were to the state, I proved, pages 35, 36. 'How necessary, gainful, and honourable it was, for the state of England, to have wars with Spain,' I proved, pages 36, 37, and so to the end of my 'Apology.' But some of you haply will now say, That now the times are changed; and, with the times, the Spaniard's mind is altered. Indeed, I remember the old poet said,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis.

But that is quite contrary in the Spaniard. For, although old king Philip be dead, yet there is a young (jesuited) Philip sprung from his loins. It is an old and homely proverb, 'That which is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh;' but it is a true and observable saying, and in that house above all others. For, as I told you in my 'Apology'¹⁴: 'Whenever old king Philip should die, his son's blood would be as hot, and hotter than his father's; and his humour of ambition was like to be greater, as having been bred in *domo regnatrice*, and his mind swoln *vetere & insita Austriacæ familiæ superbiâ*.' So as, in the Spaniards' seeming proffers, there is no hope, &c.

Nay, if it chance there be infancy, or idiotism, found in any heir or offspring of that race, the state of Spain are politic enough, as being sworn thereunto, (though by never so dishonourable and degenerate means and machinations,) to promote the enlargement of his western monarchy. And, certainly, he having of late years, since the death of my sovereign lady Elizabeth, gotten such a footing in Christendom, by dispossessing of and incroaching upon some princes and states, their ancient and lawful inheritance, prince-doms, and territories; by which means he hath, as it were, begirt France with his garrisons: is, I say, his ambition thereby lessened? Surely, no: but as his conquests are enlarged, so his ambition and malice are abundantly increased towards other Christian

¹² Mr. Walter Devereux was slain in a skirmish at the siege of Rouen, *an.* 1591.

¹³ ['To Mr. Anthony Bacon, an Apology of the Earl of Essex, against those which falsely and maliciously take him to be the only Hindrance of the Peace and Quiet of his Country.' Reprinted under the title of 'The Earl of Essex's Vindication of the War with Spain,' in 1729.]

¹⁴ [Apol. page 19.]

princes and states. Witness his late cruel and bloody attempts, and perpetual designs to his universal monarchy; and the progress of his conquests, with the help of his confederates of the (terrestrial) omnipotent Austrian house, in Italy, the Grisons country, Switzerland, Bohemia, Germany, and I say, the frontiers of flourishing France, since the death of Henry the Fourth, the French king, of famous memory. And, in all these places, he and the emperor, his confederate and cousin, do labour to extirpate the Gospel, and persecute the professors thereof, even unto the death¹⁵.

It would be known, what king James saith to all this; who is defender of the Faith, and head of all the united kings and princes of that religion in Christendom.

There is here, in heaven, secret intelligence, that he, not contenting himself with making that league with Spain, hath also entertained a treaty of marriage for the prince his only son, with the daughter of Spain. And certainly, the very angels have blushed at this news, that your king, who is of so profound judgment, learning, and knowledge in divine matters, should ever assent to treat of matching his only son, with a wife of a contrary religion: especially, with an imp sprung from such an incestuous generation, as is that of Austria and Spain, or Spain and Austria, choose you whether; which is unanswerably proved by one¹⁶ of your most acute and ingenious writers. Without doubt, king James cannot but know in his conscience, that it is directly against the revealed will of God in Holy Writ, for Christian princes and people that profess the Gospel, to match with Roman-catholicks; which made himself match with Denmark's daughter, a Protestant princess; and afterwards he matched his only daughter with the count Palatine, a Protestant prince; witness also his Majesty's own pen, in '*Basilicon Doron*.'

How comes it then to pass, that he is so misled, as not only to entertain this treaty with Spain, but suffer himself to be so baffled and abused, as that, about the said treaty, he hath wasted the treasure of his kingdom, in a far greater measure than his royal predecessor queen Elizabeth, my gracious sovereign, did to maintain wars against Spain, and all his adherents. I fear, I fear, you of his nobility and council (unto whom it belongs) are not so faithful, true-hearted, and stout, as religiously to advise, and counsel your king, as you ought, not to suffer himself to be so abused, his kingdom to be well nigh ruined, and his subjects impoverished.

Oh! the flourishing state of your fairy-land, in the days of yore, whilst I lived on earth, under the government of that glorious queen, of eternal memory! The Christian world did admire her government, and your flourishing state; nay, the very Mahometan monarchs did admire and acknowledge the same¹⁷.

But, now, the case is altered; and I can hardly forbear to weep, to see what a piteous petition that glorious queen, my now fellow-saint Elizabeth, lately received from you, the Commons of England. But thereof I say no more; considering she, according to her commission from the highest power, answered that your petition.

Let me now admonish you all, of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty: first, seriously and yet submissively, to exhort and dissuade your king, to leave off, and absolutely dissolve all treaties of matches, or whatsoever else, with that perfidious and dangerous Spanish nation; and, in lieu of the Spanish match, to promote the English match. What, though his Majesty's treasure be drawn deep into, the poor countryman by these late hard years be impoverished, the merchandise and trading of your kingdom much decayed, &c.; yet, if your sumptuous buildings, your surfeiting diets, your prodigality in garments, your infinite plate, and costly furniture in your houses, and the pride of your wives, especially, be considered; England cannot be thought so poor.

Can you exceed all nations in Christendom in wasteful vanities? And can you not arm yourselves against one nation, which you have ever beaten, for your necessary defence? Was Rome so brave a state, as that the very ladies, to supply the common treasure, and to maintain the wars, despoiled themselves of their costly jewels and rich

¹⁵ [Acts xxii. 4. 'And I persecuted this way unto the death.']

¹⁶ [Sandys's Relation of the West Parts, pages 26, 27.]

¹⁷ [Speed, in Hist. pages 852, 853.]

ornaments? And is England become so base a state, as that the people therein will not bestow some part of their superfluous expences, to keep themselves from conquest and slavery? (The only end of all Spanish treaties: witness their treaty of peace in 1588, when, even at that instant, their mighty navy came to invade us.) Did the godly kings, and religious people, which you may read of in the Old Testament, to maintain the wars against the enemies of God, sell the ornaments of the Temple, and things consecrated to holy uses? And will ye, that have as holy and as warrantable a cause of war, spare those things that you have dedicated to your idle and sensual pleasures? Could your nation in those former ages, when the country was far poorer than now it is, levy armies, maintain wars, achieve great conquests in France, and make their powerful arms known as far as the Holy-land? And is this so degenerate an age, as you will not be able to defend your own land? No, no; I hope there is yet left some seed of that ancient virtue. Remember with what spirit and alacrity the gentlemen of England did contribute, and put themselves voluntarily into action, in my time on earth. And, doubtless, there will ever be found some Valerii, who, so the state may stand and flourish, will not care, though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves; though other some bury their money, not caring in what estate they leave the state.

You had a queen, in my time on earth, who was ever open-handed to men of desert, yet never wasteful in her private expences; but maintained armies and garrisons, not a few; a well-rigged navy; assisted and lent money to her neighbouring states. And why will ye doubt but with your seasonable counsel, in a parliamentary course (the ancient and laudable course of England), your king will rather sell his plate, and jewels in the Tower, (which in my time were of inestimable value,) if yet they be not sold, nor given away; rather than his people shall be undefended? And ye, his people, I hope, will turn your gold and silver coats into coats of mail, or iron jacks; and your silver plate into iron corslets of plate; rather than your sovereign and country shall be unserved. But what need all this? A free and cheerful contribution to the wars, according to your abilities, will serve the turn. And so, oh noble prince, and valiant people! agree to go on; the one to send forth, the other to lead on God's armies, to fight his battles, against his and your enemies; lest they suddenly surprize you unawares, by some new invasion: and remember, that the Almighty, as he is a God of peace, in the conscience of his elect; so is he a man of war to his enemies: even so his Majesty hath expressed himself in Holy Writ.

Again, in any wise beware of disuniting yourselves from the united states of the Netherlands; for it will be to your infinite disadvantage so to do: but rather, assist, cherish, and hearten them: they are the best confederates you have. Remember, in what stead they stood you, in that memorable year 1588. And they, being firmly knit unto you, are of more use unto you, than all the friends you have, or can have, in Christendom. In my time on earth, they were able, upon my certain knowledge, to find sixty or eighty-thousand fighting soldiers, three-hundred ships of war, besides an infinite number of transporting vessels and commodious ports, that are but a day's sailing from the very heart of England. Since my time on earth, they are increased in men, in ammunition, in shipping, and in wealth; and (which should make the knot of unity more strong and fast with you) they were, and are of the same true religion, which you profess. And moreover, now, (which should not be of least consideration, with your king and you,) they are, of late years, harbourers of the exiled princes, his Majesty's children¹⁸; who are beaten out of their lawful inheritance by Spain and Austria.

And, verily, (were it not that my condition here, I say, were free from all passions,) my very heart would bleed to think of the deplorable state of Christendom; how drunk those two houses of Spain and Austria have made themselves, in the blood of Christians, professors of Christ's Gospel; and the very angels do wonder to see how they are suffered to go on in their inveterate malice, and furious rage, against God's church, and that other Christian princes do not stop the current of their fury: especially, that our king,

¹⁸ [The king and queen of Bohemia.]

who is a professor of the Gospel, and Faith's great defender on earth, is so backward in the business.

Which considered, it is your parts, especially, that are of his Majesty's council and nobility, with faithful hearts to persuade and stir him up, not to let the lion in his princely breast, any longer to sleep and slumber, but to awake and rouse up himself, and to go forth against the Romish wolves, and Spanish foxes, who have devoured so many of Christ's sheep, and laid his vineyard so waste. Yea, the blood of the saints doth continually cry at heaven's gates for vengeance.

To draw to an end; I will not cease to intercede to the Almighty, my ever-glorious God, that he never denounce the curse against your king, or you his nobles, which he once in his word denounced against Meroz¹⁹, &c.

My conclusion still is, and shall be: *Justissimum iis bellum quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus nullum nisi in armis spes est.* And for an *ultimum vale*; as in my 'Apology,' I advised to remember, how Bernardine Mendoza, the then ambassador of Spain, spent his time here in England: so, I now advise you, remember how your late Spanish ambassadors have spent their times, and behaved themselves here in England, &c.

The peace of God, which passeth all (earthly) understanding, be with you, and dwell in your hearts.

My declaration's ended, I must no longer stay,
Because heaven's cornets summon me away:
The blessed choir of heaven I do hear,
Tuning their voices to th' Almighty's ear.

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah.

A Postscript, or a Second Part of Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost.

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England.

THRIE-BELOVED mortals; I being still studious of your welfares; and, having obtained leave of the Almighty, I am now to give unto you, and commend unto your consideration, a catalogue, and commemoration, of such cruel plots, as were practised, in my time, on earth; by the king and state of Spain, against the queen and state of England. Wherein, I will not meddle with practices and cruelties to other nations: and, therefore, I omit to tell you, how far their cruelties extended to the poor naked Indians in America; though, I remember, whilst I was on earth, to have seen a book, as well in English, as in Spanish and Latin, intitled, 'The Cruelties and Tyrannies of the Spanish Colonies; perpetrated in the West-Indies, commonly called the New-found World: written in the Castilian tongue, by the reverend Bartholomew de las Casas, a friar of the order of St. Dominick, and bishop of the royal town, called Chiapa: serving as a warning to the twelve United-provinces of the Low-countries:' translated into English, and printed (as I take it) in the twenty-fifth year of the happy reign of that virgin empress, queen Elizabeth, my gracious sovereign: the lamentable relation whereof, if you would particularly know, I wish you would have recourse to the said book. And, of their cruelties and tyrannies, exercised by their arch-tyrannous general, duke 'D'Alva, towards the Netherlanders, if you know them not, look but into their chronicles: and for their plots and practices towards England, before my time, look but into your own chronicles.

But, before I come to my catalogue, I must commend unto your consideration: when I was but an infant, there came a certain bull from Pius Quintus (that impious pope of Rome) against queen Elizabeth; the copy of which bull is, also, to be seen in your chro-

¹⁹ ['Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Judges, v. 23.]

nicles ; but the copy of her sacred Majesty's answer unto the said bull, because you have not elsewhere seen it ; as most worthy your reading, and observation, I here insert it :

THE LORD that reigns on high, in Heaven's throne,
 Doth kingdoms rule below ; 'tis he alone
 That earth doth govern with high thundering might,
 And moderates the staff of kingdoms right :
 'Tis he that guides, with his Almighty Name,
 The wheel of all the universal frame :
 'Tis he, that kings anointed, and elect,
 And sacred captains strongly will protect.
 Why should this bull-head bishop, therefore, full
 Of rage, against me roar, with Basan bull²⁰,
 To pluck from me my sacred seat and throne ;
 T' out-root the plant, which Christ himself hath sown ?
 Why doth this Pius seek, with impious guilt,
 To pull down that, which God himself hath built ?
 Christ, me anointed ; and, anoint, I hope
 Will keep me from the jaws of this proud pope ;
 His powerful hand hath kept me yet from harm,
 Nor will the Lord make short his out-stretch'd arm.
 If God be on my side, why doth this popish wonder
 Seek to affright me with his beastly thunder ?
 Why doth this new-born giant seek to ride
 Above the clouds, with his prodigious pride ?
 'Gainst Heaven, why doth this Nimrod make new wars,
 And with JEHOVAH breed these impious jars ?
 Pius, this anchor of thy Peter's boat
 Is broke, thy hope and faith do float.
 Ye, in whose hands th' Almighty God ordains,
 To put the people's, and the kingdom's reins,
 Do not yourselves, and people bring,
 Under the yoke of this vile barbarous king.
 Away with him, that doth for sceptre fight,
 And royal crown ; that is not bishop's right :
 What, must the pope so many states devour ?
 'Tis not priest's part to use the carnal power ;
 To make these madding bulls fits not their names,
 And set on fire these hot rebellious flames.
 Their sword the word should be ; the word's interpretation
 Their key should be ; this is the foundation
 Whereon Christ's saints do fight ; such men Christ's sword do wear,
 Such do his holy keys and standard bear.
 Oh ! kings, the Father's blessed Son, then, kiss,
 The King of Kings, the Head of Heads, he is :
 Who serves not him, not reigns ; a shadow vain
 And cypher is ; learn this all by my reign.
 He'll never fail you, whom a woman bore ;
 Away with popes, to them set ope the door ;
 Set wide the gate, shut forth these new-made kings ;
 Let in the Lord, which with him justice brings.

²⁰ [' Fat bulls of Basan close me in on every side.' Psal. xxii. 12. Basan was a country famous for its pastures and breed of large cattle, which were very fierce and furious. See Deut. iii. 13, and xxxii. 14.]

Dear England! my own bowels, daughter, mother,
Fear not this bulling Pius, or such other.
What have I done, that thou shouldst angry be?
Oh! England, 'cause thou'rt happy, hat'st thou me?
'Cause God by me so many gifts hath given,
And I these gifts, on earth, God loath'd in heaven?
Why do my English love the Egyptian pot?
Why looks on Sodom back the wife of Lot?
Whilst that my sister was at Romish call,
There was a stage and scene most tragical;
Religion was corrupted, all your rite
Divine was stain'd, faith wrapp'd in error's night;
Home-jars, and strange, my muse now shall not shew,
Even I, myself, drank cups of gall with you.
Now manna rains from heaven, heavenly food;
Now floweth peace and joy, and every good:
He that feeds ravens, makes my lilies flourish,
Hairs of my head and diadem doth nourish:
Judah's strong LION keeps our Lion's nest,
The Romish Leo's but a fearful beast;
Fear ye the ensigns of a mitred priest?
Can we with sword, keys, club, be e'er oppress'd?
Rather thank Christ, pray him that all evil
He would resist, all ambushes of th' devil:
Double your prayers to Christ, that he would deign,
T' assure your good, and let no Rhombus reign;
Double your prayers for church, and purest faith,
Pour forth your prayers for Queen Elizabeth.

I have inserted this answer of queen Elizabeth, not only for the worth of it, (though I hold it worthy to be written in letters of gold;) nor will I say, that Philip, king of Spain, was an instigator of Pius, pope of Rome, to send that cursed bull: but it was plain, and more than probable, that that bull was the ground, which set on fire the hearts of her popish Romish subjects to rise in rebellion against her; and, sure I am, that Spain soon backed them, and suborned them in their rebellion, and cruel practices, against her sacred person, and flourishing state: witness the bead-roll of their cruel practices here following.

In the year of our Blessed Saviour 1583, and twenty-fifth of queen Elizabeth's reign, Francis Throckmorton²¹, being solicited by Bernardin Mendoza (the then Spanish ambassador-leiger, lying in London), undertook a most dangerous design, against his dread sovereign and native country; which was to bring in a foreign, Spanish army, and to alter religion, with alienation of the crown and state. And, for the charges of which attempt, the said Mendoza promised, that the king, his master, would bear half the charge of the enterprise²².

In the next year, *viz.* 1584, William Parry, as he named himself, being instigated by Benedicto Palmio, and Christophero de Salazar, secretary to the catholic king Philip, undertook to murder her sacred Majesty; and one Hanibal Codreto, a Spanish priest, approved the same diabolical design.

In the year 1586, Babington and Ballard, and their fellows, complotted with the afore-said Mendoza, to betray the land to a Spanish invasion: which being discovered, they enter into a new resolution to kill the Queen; whereof they were prevented.

²¹ [See Vol. III. p. 190.]

²² [The greater part of the account, which here follows, of the treacherous practices of Spain, has been inserted by Mr. Oldys, in his introductory prefix to 'A Discourse concerning the Spanish fleet invading England,' in Vol. I. p. 119 of the present Collection.]

But Philip of Spain, seeing that all former attempts failed ; in the year 1588, he set forwards his long premeditated invasion of England, sending a mighty armada, which he termed the 'Invincible Navy,' meaning then, as it were, to devour England at a bit ; but he found so many bones in the bit, that in attempting to swallow it, they stuck so fast in his throat, that he was the worse for it, every day of his life after.

This great, noble, and invincible army, (as pope Sixtus termed it,) and terror of Europe, (as the papals both term it and took it to be ;) consisting of one-hundred and thirty-four sail of lofty towering ships, besides galleys, galleasses, and galleons ; threatening, as it were, the heavens, and spreading in the wind their flags, streamers, and ensigns, seemed to darken even the sun ; and were furnished with this provision following.

Bullets, for great shot, twenty-two-thousand ; powder, forty-thousand two-hundred quintals, every quintal an hundred weight ; lead for bullets, one-thousand quintals ; match, ten-thousand two-hundred quintals ; musquets and calievers, seven-thousand ; partizans and halberts, one-thousand ; besides murdering-pieces, double cannon, and field-pieces for camp, and store of mules, horses, and asses ; so as they were sufficiently provided by sea : and for land, bread and biscuit was baked, and wine laid aboard, for six months provision ; bacon, sixty-thousand five-hundred quintals ; cheese, three-thousand ; besides other flesh, rice, beans, pease, oil and vinegar ; with twelve-thousand pipes of fresh water ; store they had of torches, lanthorns, and lamps ; canvas, hides, and lead to stop leaks ; butcherly knives, iron-gives, shackles, wire-whips, whips with spur-rowels, and other torturing instruments ; intended to torment us, old and young ; all such, I mean, as would not suddenly submit to the Spanish yoke.

This mighty navy, thus prepared as you have heard, loosed anchor from Lisbon, the nineteenth of May, 1588, and made to the Groine in Galicia, it being the nearest haven to England ; whence, I say, hoising sails, with great hope and no less pride, they bent their course hitherward : but suddenly the heavens, hating such hostile actions, poured down revenge, by a sore and unexpected tempest, which drove the duke of Medina (the chief general) back again into the Groine ; and divers others were dispersed and driven upon the coast of Bayonne in France, and there perished. Not long after, their navy, nevertheless, appeared in the narrow seas, betwixt England and France, in manner of a half-moon (the arch-enemy of Christ's ensign), where our English fleet gave them such an encounter, (the God of the main ocean fighting for us in the narrow seas,) that we soon defeated and dispersed that invincible navy, and made it vincible.

Now, because the subject I am upon is a catalogue of Spanish cruelties, I would fain know, whether there was ever invented a greater cruelty towards and against a famous and flourishing state and kingdom ? Surely, in my judgment, which did concur with the judgment of the Christian world, there was never such and so great a cruelty hatched under heaven, as that Spanish invasion in 1588 : our deliverance from which hath made the year ever since famous and memorable. Upon my knowledge, when I was on earth, there was a day set a-part, and commanded by my sovereign to be kept holy, for that our great and miraculous deliverance from the jaws of the Spaniards ; and I wish, that your unthankfulness, in the neglect of celebrating that day holy, be not required at some of your hands : and certainly, those reverend divines, that do never cease, in their public prayers, to give God thanks for that your great deliverance, do shew their zeal not a little, and deserve double commendation ; yea, and let my posterity no longer live and prosper, than they have thankful hearts to God for that general deliverance ; and let the posterity of all religious people say, Amen.

For all men and women, that would not have bowed the knee to Spanish Baal, had then, doubtless, been put to the sword ; their children, now haply living, men and women, had been tossed at the pikes' ends, or else their brains dashed out by some ill-faced Dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that time of England's deliverance ; and, amongst others, I remember reverend and religious Theodore Beza, of pious memory, wrote a sweet and pathetical poem gratulatory of the aforesaid tragi-comedy

in Latin, inscribed to the Queen my sovereign, and sent unto me to deliver unto her royal hands; the which is thus excellently rendered into English:

Spain's king, with navies huge the seas bestrew'd,
 T'augment with English crown, his Spanish sway;
 Ask ye, "What caus'd this proud attempt?" 'Twas lewd
 Ambition drove, and avarice led the way.
 'Tis well; ambition's windy puff lies drown'd
 By winds, and swelling hearts by swelling waves:
 'Tis well; the Spaniards who the world's vast round
 Devour'd, devouring sea most justly craves.
 But thou, O Queen! for whom winds, seas, do war,
 O thou sole glory of the world's wide mass!
 So reign to God, still from ambition far,
 So still, with bounteous aids, the good embrace;
 That thou, England long, long may England thee enjoy,
 Thou terror of all bad, thou good men's joy.

O, let the remembrance of that time have an eternal being, in the minds and mouths of men!

I have been somewhat long in the commemoration of this part of my catalogue of cruelties; I now proceed to the residue, as followeth:

In the year 1594, Roderick Lopez, doctor of physick, a Portuguese by birth, and entertained physician in ordinary to queen Elizabeth, being instigated by Christophero de Moro (a special counsellor of king Philip's), covenanted to take away the life of her sacred Majesty, by a poisoned potion: for the performance of which deed of darkness, the said De Moro promised him fifty-thousand crowns; and he had earnest given him a jewel of gold, with a diamond and ruby of rich value: but that plot was detected by God's Providence, and Lopez received condign punishment.

In the year 1595, Edmund York and Richard Williams, being set on work by one Stefano Ibarra (king Philip's secretary at Brussels), who promised them the reward of four-thousand crowns, undertook to kill the Queen by some means or other: but that also was detected by the vigilant eye of the English state, and they received the reward of their deserts.

When king Philip saw all his practices still frustrated, he (as audacious as ambitious) began to tamper with myself; and, by his instruments, sought out me as a fit man to betray both my sacred sovereign, and dear country. I forbear to trouble your ears with the latitude of his large bombasted promises of reward unto me to effect the same: but, in lieu of accepting his cursed proposition and offer, I vowed a further revenge of him; and, with my sovereign's leave, and God's assistance, I had performed what I vowed and intended, &c.

The last public attempter in my time, which in no wise I must forget, was one Edward Squire, who, being taken prisoner in Spain, was set on work by Walpole the jesuit, and other officers of king Philip, to murder her sacred Majesty and myself; which he undertook, and brought over a new-invented Castilian confection: first, to poison the pommel of her Majesty's saddle; and then the pommels of a chair, wherein I usually sat at sea; both which he failed not to attempt: but, by God's goodness, his cruel and treasonable attempts proved also successless²³, and this proper Squire had the reward of his devilish practices.

Of all these cruel Spanish practices I was more than an ordinary witness: and, these

²³ [Upon the failure of this attempt, the Spanish jesuit, suspecting the man, and not his drug, caused information to be given in England against Squire; who, finding himself betrayed by his confessor, opened the whole scene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to dispatch both the queen and the earl; for which he was deservedly executed.]

premisses considered; what treason was ever attempted against her Majesty's sacred person, or flourishing state, but the Spaniard was at one end or other of it? Nay, since my time on earth, and the death of her Majesty, that horrid Gunpowder-plot, hatched in hell; was it not consulted on, and approved of, in the Spanish king's court? Look well to the confessions of the traitors. And did not king Philip promise a hundred-thousand crowns towards the expedition of that damnable deed of darkness? Look into your own chronicles²⁴.

Now, all the premisses well weighed and considered; certainly, the Turk ought not to be more hated and abhorred by Christendom, than the Spaniard deserveth to be detested by England, &c. *Discite, ô mortales!*

Iterum, in Christo, valete.

²⁴ [Speed, in Hist. p. 1246.]

A true Copy of a Letter, from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mulgrave¹, to Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury.

[Folio; containing four pages.]

SIR;

NOTHING in this world is, or ought to be, so dear to any man, as his reputation; and, consequently, the defence of it is the greatest obligation that one man can lay on another. There are also some circumstances, that render this obligation yet more acceptable and valuable: as when it is conferred generously, without any self-interest, or the least desire or invitation from the person so defended. All this happens to be my case at this time; and, therefore, I hope, you will not be surprized to find I am not the most ungrateful and insensible man living; which certainly I should be, if I did not acknowledge all your industrious concern for me, about the business of the ecclesiastical commission, which now makes so much noise in the world. You have, as I am told, so cordially pleaded my cause, that it is almost become your own; and therefore, as unwilling as I am to speak of myself, especially in a business which I cannot wholly excuse; yet I think myself now a little obliged to shew my part in this matter: though imprudent enough, yet it is not altogether unworthy of so just and so considerable an advocate.

The less a man says of himself, the better; and it is so well known already, how I was kept out of all the secret councils, that I need not justify myself, or trouble you, as to those matters; only I appeal to the unquestionable testimony of the Spanish ambassador, if I did not zealously and constantly take all occasions to oppose the French interest; because I knew it directly opposite both to the king and kingdom's good; which are indeed things inseparable, and ought to be so accounted, as a fundamental maxim in all councils of princes.

¹ [John Sheffield, afterwards marquis of Normanby, and duke of Buckinghamshire. Though in some respects, a man of nice honour, he was 'apt to comply with any thing that he thought might be acceptable;' and went greater lengths to serve the king, than were consistent with that or any other social principle. He was not only an advocate for the dispensing power, but he sat in the ecclesiastical commission: not with a view of introducing popery, as he seems to have been, at least, indifferent to all religions; though he went to mass, and kneeled with the rest; but purely from a zeal of serving his sovereign. It must, however, be acknowledged that he was far from being inclined to join the inquisitions of that arbitrary court in *all* their proceedings. His pardon, therefore, was procured with less difficulty at the revolution, by the friendly mediation of Dr. Tillotson. On this occasion the present letter was written.]

This, I hope, will prepare the way a little for what I have to say, concerning my being one of the ecclesiastical commissioners; of which error I am now as sensible, as I was at first ignorant: being so unhappily conversant in the midst of a perpetual court-flattery, as never to have heard the least word of any illegality in that commission, before I was unfortunately engaged in it.

For, though my lord of Canterbury had very prudently refused to be of it, yet it was talked at court, it proceeded only from his unwillingness to act at that time, and not from any illegality he suspected in the commission; having excused himself from it the most respectful way, by the infirmities he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the laws, and in such a station at court; I need not desire a man of your judgment and candour, to consider the hardness of my case, when I was commanded to serve in a commission with a lord-chancellor, a lord-chief-justice, and two bishops; who had all of them already acted some time there, without shewing the least diffidence of their power, or hesitation in the execution of it. And, perhaps, a man of more discretion than I can pretend to, might have been easily persuaded to act in such a conjunction, and to think he might do it safely, both in law and conscience. But I need not say much to shew my desire to have avoided, if possible, a troublesome employment, that had not the least temptation of honour or profit to recommend it; and which, therefore, I continued in upon no account in the world, but to serve both king and clergy with the little ability I had; in moderating those councils, which I thought might grow higher, if I left my place to be filled by any of those who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill designs.

And I may expect the more credit in this, when it is considered that the two important affairs which passed in that ecclesiastical court, being the bishop of London's suspension, and the incapacitating the members of Magdalen-college: the first was done some months before I was a commissioner, and I opposed the last, both in voting and speaking, and with all the interest I was able to make use of, which indeed was but little after that opposition; in which being out-voted, I seldom came, and never acted in that court after, except to restore the bishop of London; though sent for continually, by reason of my lodging so near it².

And, since I have been forced to mention my good-will at least, if not my service, to such learned men of the clergy who I thought deserved it, it may be allowed me to give this one instance more of it; that, although in preferring men to all other places of the household, I ever used to ask permission first, and, accordingly, was often refused, for the sake of Roman-catholicks, and others, who were recommended by persons more in favour than myself; yet I was so careful of keeping that considerable part of the family unmixed with mean or unworthy chaplains (whom others, I feared, would have imposed on his Majesty), that I constantly filled up those vacancies, without giving him the least notice or trouble about it, and supplied them with the ablest approved divines I could possibly find, most commonly recommended to me by the bishops who were not of the court: which I conceived the most proper course, in a matter concerning clergymen, with a king of a different persuasion from theirs, and intended for his real service; believing it had been better for him, as well as the kingdom, if the greater ecclesiastical dignities had been disposed of by others with as much caution.

And thus, sir, I have endeavoured to confirm you in your favourable opinion of me; which must be acknowledged by every body an approbation of such weight, that, as I hope it may be an example of authority to many, so it is sufficient of itself to balance the censoriousness of others. I am,

White-hall,
March 27, 1689.

Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

MULGRAVE.

² [In the quarto edition of the Duke of Buckingham's Works in 1723, the whole of the preceding paragraph is omitted.]

The last Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador. Faithfully
Translated into English.

London, printed for Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle, near the
Royal-Exchange, in Cornhill, 1681.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

SIR:

DON Pedro Ronquillo, ambassador of Spain, saith, that by a memorial, which he presented to your Majesty, the fifteenth of December, he did set forth the infractions which the most-Christian king hath made since the peace of Nimeguen, from the month of September, after the difference was agreed about the title of the Duke of Burgundy; which was alleged for a pretence to suspend the conference at Courtray, according to the fifteenth article of that treaty: in order, to the adjusting in an amicable way all the limits, pretensions, and differences of the two crowns, which should result from that treaty. And your Majesty was pleased, by your royal order of the fifteenth of December, to order your envoy-extraordinary, at Paris, to put in execution what was contained in the said memorial. By the last post, the said ambassador received letters of the first instant, from the marquis de la Fuente, who is ambassador at Paris, in which he gives him an account of the complaints he had made to the Christian king, about the excesses and infractions, which are committed against the inhabitants of Fontarabia, and in the Low-countries; and particularly about a message, which the governor of Tournay sent to the prince of Parma; pretending, that not one pallisado should be laid at Bovignies, which incontestably hath been a separated state, and comprehended in the country of Namur. After many violent contestations, the answer of the most-Christian king was, 'That he did not doubt, but that the Catholic king would give order to his commissioner at Fontarabia, to proceed in the treaty, leaving each party in the possession, which at present, they hold:' as if a violent usurpation, under the surety of the good faith of the conference, could, in one day, be concluded to be an actual possession; that for what relates to the Low-countries, he cannot abstain from taking possession of that, which he supposes doth appertain to him; according to what he shall declare, at the conference of Courtray.

To this violent, as well as undecent answer, the marquis de la Fuente, with the strength of the undoubted justice and reason which the king my master hath, concluding he did not receive the same, not knowing how to impart it to his Catholic Majesty, and that he beseeched him to resolve what was just: to which reply it was answered; that he would consider it. And, at the same time, his most-Christian Majesty hath ordered his forces to enter in the Spanish Low-countries, to hinder the fortifying of Bovignies.

This proceeding doth exceed all limits, and cannot be reasonably endured: for the most-Christian king will, by force of arms, be arbitrator, and command in the dominions of the Catholic king; thereby hindering him from fortifying a place, which is his own; when, by the article of Nimeguen, it is allowed to be done, by both parties. And when the French king himself hath made use of the same article, in order to have the course of the waters stopped, that they may not hinder the fortifying his towns; as it was more particularly done at Mennin, causing the river Lisse to be lowered, that they might, with more facility, fortify that town; a place which was wholly open, and which, the French king is fortifying and enlarging in extent, much more than it was before. So that now, Sir, these are not infractions, but a declared war: the designs of the French being public, that they intend to besiege Luxemburg, and that, from thence they will go to

Namur; when the fact of hindering the fortification of Bovignies, which is upon the Mose, almost over-against Dinant, makes it clear and past doubt; especially, the most-Christian king having possessed himself of all the towns, that are upon the river Mose, from Charlemont, and of the most part of the territory between that river, and the Sambre, in such a manner, that they have gotten almost all the county of Namur, as well as that of Luxemburg; and, thereby, those two provinces are left without communication.

By these infractions, and clear beginnings of war, the underwritten ambassador doth apply himself to your Majesty as a mediator, that you would cause what was agreed, by the peace of Nimeguen, to be observed; and as an ally, that you would defend it, and resist the violence of France; your Majesty being obliged to the one, and to the other, by the treaties. In which consideration, he cannot omit saying, that although the frontiers of Spain by Cantabria and Catalonia are infested, and by the treaty of Cassal, between the French king and duke of Mantua; the dominions of Italy are in apparent danger, and no less the Indies, where count D'Estre is with a squadron of ships; all which are the countries, that do compose the greatest power of the Spanish monarchy. Notwithstanding this, his Catholic Majesty has postponed these his greatest concerns, to the defence of that little, which remains to him, in the Low-countries; although it be lessemed of a great part of territory, which the French have violently possessed themselves of, since the peace of Nimeguen; which hath been the only cause, that we have not been able to keep that country in a better posture: for each unjust usurpation, of the French, had broken the measures which were taken, and reduced us to seek others; and, therefore, his Majesty hath already sent considerable supplies to Flanders, and appointed the prince of Parma, governor thereof, as an experienced soldier, and one who hath been viceroy of several kingdoms; thereby to encourage those subjects, with these endeavours; and that they may be governed by a grandson, and of the same name of Alexander Farnese, whom, with so much love, they reverence.

All this, Sir, hath been done, in hopes that the union and interest of England with Spain, will produce mutual effects of conveniences to both crowns: for no good Englishman can doubt, that, if there be no opposition made to the present great power of France, it is impossible, but that, in a few days, they should possess themselves of the Low-countries; and that the States-general should subject themselves, by reason of the impossibility of resisting the powerful. And afterwards, your Majesty and England shall be the first in perceiving this mischief; to remedy which, it will be then impossible; and, at present, nothing is capable to suppress these evils, but the power of England; at this time, the only in Europe, that can restrain the torrent of France. The differences which are at present in England, do occasion these bold attempts of the French king, and encourage him in the continuation of his vast designs; upon the whole so apparent already, that there is no clear-sighted understanding, but will apprehend them. All the princes and powers of Europe, as also his most-Christian Majesty, are in expectation of the success of this parliament, and of the agreement of England; the first, to take measures, in order to shake off the yoke, which they are like to be made subject to. And the most-Christian king hath also for a time restrained his ambition, and at present nothing doth encourage him to deliver himself up to it, but the differences, which he sees, breaking out here; giving it out as well within as without this kingdom, 'That he is assured, they will not be reconciled; and that, in the mean while, he may make up the conquest of the Low-countries, which is the master-key of the universal monarchy.' And the first door which he will open with it, shall be that of England; without further trouble, than that of maintaining the differences, with great promises, and with a small charge; and whatsoever he shall find most for his advantage, will be first invaded by him.

That this disunion is the chief encouragement of the design and enterprises of the most-Christian king, in the Low-countries, is apparent; and there are so great proofs of this truth, that it is blindness not to see them. And the ambassador will only acquaint your Majesty, with one late instance, which doth manifest the same, which is, that his most-Christian Majesty sees the Emperor is making considerable levies; as also, the Elector of

Saxony, and other princes of the empire; that the Electors of Bavaria, and Brandenburg, have declared, that they will not suffer his proceedings against the empire, and the princes of the same, and that they will oppose it with all their power.

His most-Christian Majesty, after so many violent answers, which he himself had made, and also his ministers, to all the princes of Germany, hath now answered the emperor's envoy-extraordinary, that he doth agree, in appointing a conference, in one of the Imperial cities, to decide and explain the ambiguous points of the articles of the peace of Nimeguen, concerning the possessions taken in Alsatia; and that, as soon as the commissioners are met, the chamber of Metz shall cease its proceedings, and all manner of novelty, and that they will hear such a person as shall treat for the duke of Lorraine. And although it is evident, that this is intended to lay a-sleep the minds, as well of the emperor, as of the other princes concerned, and that they may cool the vigour of their preparations, which they are making for their defence; it is also known, that this is in order to work with more safety against the Low-countries; for, at the same time that he offers to suspend the attempts in the empire, he continues in possessing himself of all the Spanish open country; executing acts of open war, by hindering the fortification of Bovignies; which is the same thing, as blocking up of Luxemburg and Namur: so that it is made evident, that if he saw the differences of England appeased, and united to its own defence, (for such ought to be reputed that of the Spanish monarchy, and, in particular, that of the Low-countries,) it is infallible and certain, that he would moderate his designs, and limit his resolutions, as it appears he doth in Germany; seeing that the emperor, and all the body of the empire, do unite for its defence.

The ambassador doth very well know, that the agitation of this kingdom is great, and that the pretensions seem to be distant; but he is sorry, and it makes his heart bleed to see, that there is no way opened to an union: and as there is nothing impossible in human things, his pain doth increase, seeing there is no step made to quench these heats. If England was not so much threatened with ruin, by the exaltation of the French, as the Low-countries are, the pretensions and rights might be followed to the uttermost point; but running the same fortune with the monarchy of Spain, because Flanders is a battery to England and Spain, and the Indies the treasure of its riches, and the chief strength of its commerce, beyond all places, where this nation doth trade; and, therefore, it doth not allow that their interest should be considered as a foreigner, nor that the distractions, in which all are now involved, should be calmed by the same methods, which could be done in a secured tranquillity: so that the ambassador doth promise himself, that, considering these reasons, and that France being at this time a gangrene, which doth penetrate to the very heart of England; all grounds of differences shall cease, and that it will not, with its own ruin, involve the rest of Christendom in the same fate.

Therefore, the ambassador doth pray your Majesty, that, as a mediator, or as an ally, you would effectually apply yourself to prevent the loss of the Low-countries, and consequently of all the rest; hoping from your Majesty's great prudence, that you will make choice of the most efficacious means to that end, and to the establishing the quiet of Europe.

An Answer to the Propositions made by the English Ambassadors, as they stile themselves; the Nineteenth of March; in the great Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the States-General of the United Provinces. As also, to their Memorials of the Sixteenth of April, and the Ninth of May, 1651, respectively. And likewise, to the thirty-six Articles of the desired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir William Macdowal, Knight, Resident for his Majesty of Great-Britain, after his Return to Holland, in the said Great Assembly. June the Seventeenth, 1651.¹

- ‘ My son, fear thou the Lord and the King; and meddle not with them that
 ‘ are given to change:
 ‘ For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of
 ‘ them?’
 PROV. xxiv. 21, 22.

Printed at the Hague, by Samuel Brown, English Bookseller. 1651.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

THE said pretended ambassadors have offered, and withal required a strict confederacy, and holy league (as they term it), betwixt the Commonwealth of England, and the United Provinces; alleging to that end,

- I. The ancient and successive Contracts, and mutual Friendship betwixt both.
- II. The Advancement of Trade and Traffick.
- III. A Conformity in the Reformation of Religion.
- IV. The like Success and Blessings upon both.
- V. An answerable Change in the Condition of both States; as likewise, in the restored Liberty of the People. *Hinc inde.*

¹ [The following extract from Rapin, will tend to elucidate the contents of this pamphlet.

‘ The prince of Orange dying in October 1650, the parliament judged the occasion favourable to treat with the States, because the interest of that prince could no longer obstruct the negotiation. They sent therefore, in March 1651, Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland to the Hague, to negotiate, not a bare alliance, but such an union, as might render them one commonwealth. This proposal met with great opposition from the States. First, the English pretended, the States should renounce all their alliances, except those common to them with the Republick of England. Secondly, the conditions proposed by the English were of such a nature, that all the advantages were of their side, and the forces of the United Provinces were properly but to serve for the augmentation of those of England. Thirdly, if the time of the arrival of the two envoys at the Hague be considered, it will be easily seen, that the affairs of the parliament were not yet in a situation to oblige the States to be contented with conditions, so little advantageous. Lastly, the party of the house of Orange, not being yet entirely suppressed, strongly opposed the union of the two republicks, which would have destroyed all the hopes of the young posthumous prince of Orange. On all these accounts, the English envoys returned in July, dissatisfied not only at their ill success, but also at some insults on their persons from the rabble at the Hague. By that they perceived, the subjects of the States were more inclined to the king, than to the parliament, and were confirmed in the suspicion, that the States waited only a favourable opportunity to espouse openly the king’s interest.’—Rapin’s History of England, ii. 587. See likewise Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, iii. p. 691, edit. 1807.]

Which specious motives, and inducements, viewed aright, and laid in just balance, will appear, by their favours, to have no warrantable ground. For the clearing of which, the high and mighty States are desired to look back, and consider :

I. That, formerly, all Contracts have been made betwixt the successive kings of England, their lawful heirs, and the high and mighty States-general, and not with England, as is alleged. Not to look further back; the sovereignty of these countries was offered to queen Elizabeth, of happy memory, in the year 1585, which she in wisdom thought fit to decline; but, withal, assisted the States, with five-thousand foot, and one-thousand horse; as likewise advanced to their lordships, before the year 1596, in the space of eleven years, eleven-hundred-thousand pounds, sterling, according to the calculation of her Majesty's counsellors and high-treasurer for the time.

Her royal successors, James and Charles, of immortal memory, in the years 1608, 1614, 1635, respectively, have not only assisted these states, in their great straits, in a very considerable way, but also engaged with their lordships, *offensive & defensive*; and that without any the least communication had with the people of England concerning it. And if a ratification of such an alliance should be concluded with a factious commonalty here, and that they might at pleasure disturb the republick, and turn matters upside down: what an anarchy and woful confusion would ensue; as now, alas! we see too plainly follows in England? Truly, if that people had been so inclined, and governed, as they now are, by those, who, *regni causâ*, have violated the rights; and to make purchase of the Lord's vineyard, have murdered him; and oppose, with their utmost power and malice, the enthronement of his lawful heir, their undoubted sovereign; the Low-countries should not have obtained such real friendship and advantage from them.

Besides, that the now prevailing party is not the hundredth part of the people in England, in comparison of those, both of the clergy, nobility, gentry², and commons, who cordially adhere to the king's just interest; and passionately groan to be delivered from the continued oppressions of those cruel task-masters, whose little finger lies heavier upon them, than all their king's whole loins.

And an eminent member of the late house of commons, formerly a sufferer³, in his *Memento* affirms, that there are in the three kingdoms ten-thousand to one, who firmly and affectionately cleave to his Majesty.

In kingdoms and republicks, (as politicians speak,) it is the very same people now, as those that lived an hundred years ago; as likewise, that it is the same ship, although all the planks be renewed: but if the keel be destroyed, and the form of government and fundamental laws be utterly abolished, *non idem populus, nec eadem navis*; 'it is not the same people, nor the same ship.'

Moreover, by all proofs it is sufficiently known, that the predecessors of the now prevailing party in England were then so mean and inconsiderable among the people, that they were thought utterly incapable of having the least hand in the former favours, shewn to these states.

II. Trade and Traffick, which they call the common interest of a state, are *juris gentium*, common to all nations; consequently, not to be carried on by monopolies, and damage of a third party; especially the eldest, and sometime the most considerable ally of this estate: *Amicitias* (saith Polybius) *ita institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia & societas violetur*.

It is remarked by most of the authors of the Netherland history, that their lordships'

² [The royal cause was very generally supported by the nobility and gentry, who held the republican party in the highest disparagement, as composed of the meanest of the people.]

³ [William Prynne; who, in 1649, put forth a 'Brief *Memento* to the present unparliamentary Juncto, touching their present Intentions and Proceedings to depose and execute King Charles, Jan. 1, *an.* 1648.' Reprinted at London, 1660. His having been 'formerly a sufferer,' alludes to his losing his ears twice, for his seditious writings.]

predecessors upon a time, being more moved by the impositions of the duke of Alva, of the ten and one-hundred penny respective, than for the violence offered to religion; and therefore compared to the Gargasenes, who preferring their swine before their Saviour, were the more severely punished by God.

And shall the high and mighty States now hazard their religious and high esteem in the favour of those, who, in regard of commerce, enlarging of their limits, and usurped power, are big with such monstrous mysteries? And of whom it was said long before their troubles:

Gens tacitis pręgnans arcanis ardua tentans.

Who derive their power and authority merely from themselves, as formerly hath been said, in the dominion of the Chaldeans, over the Jews, and of Cinna and Carbo, amongst the Romans, who in the time of Sylla, made themselves consuls without any court election: *violent imperia*, (saith one to Cęsar,) *sunt magis acerba quęm diuturna*. The rather; because no nation under the sun is so subject to a change as England, even while they lived under their lawful sovereigns. The earl of Warwick, called 'the Titular King,' in eleven days; Edward the Fourth, in twenty; Henry the Seventh, in one day; as a Cęsar *veni, vidi, vici*, brought the English successively to their obedience.

Commerce and traffick are plausible pretences, but often accompanied with great jealousies, especially betwixt neighbouring republicks; the which (like twins, struggling for the primogeniture) are in a continual emulation, for profit and pre-eminence: and, therefore, compared to an *alluvies*, where the increase of one is the decrease of the other. Insomuch, that grave and judicious statesmen have judged it would be more safe and profitable to these states, that England continued a monarchy, than to be tumbled into a commonwealth; confirmed by a prognostication of a person of credit with them, living at London, given out the sixteenth of October last, alleging and applying with much confidence, against the United Provinces, Jeremiah li. 13.⁴

III. Concerning the pretended Conformity in Religion, in the third place; which, under the blessed and glorious government of kings, as a *palladium* and lamp, did out-shine all other nations; it is, alas! now become a Pandora, out of which, *tanquam ex equo Trojano*, do issue so many monstrous sects, heresies, and blasphemies, and is consequently so deformed, (as being utterly destitute of discipline, and differing in most points of doctrine,) that it is nothing like the religion here professed, nor indeed religion itself.

A good religion, as an upright and lively faith, issues forth into good works; insomuch that, in the primitive church, the Christians were discerned from the infidels only by their holy life, according to the proverb, *Christiani non sunt Cassiani*: but, alas! how many not only Cassii, but also Albii, and Nigri, are now-a-days to be seen? Witness, besides the treatises intitled, *Defensio pro Carolo Rege*; *Vindicię pro Capite Regis Anglię*; *Elenchus Motuum*; Mr. Prynne's *Memento*; *Theatrum Tragicum*; *Vox Veritatis*; and others; two declarations also of the eighteenth of January, 1648; long before that lamentable catastrophe, by divers preachers, and learned divines, in and about London; subscribed by one-hundred and twenty-six of them, mourning over and complaining of horrible and scandalous abuses, as in the church, so in the civil, or rather military government; and strongly refuting their flattering of themselves in their continued Success, which may next be considered of.

IV. For as Solomon saith⁵, 'That there be just men, to whom it happeneth, sometimes, according to the work of the wicked: so again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous.'

Successes often are a punishment, as sometimes given for a blessing; where only those are to be valued, whose principal aim appears to be the true advancement of God's revealed will in his word; which, as it strictly commandeth obedience to kings, and

⁴ ['O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness.']

⁵ [Eccles. viii. 14.]

those in authority under them, so it doth severely punish sedition and rebellion against them; not sparing the curse of condemnation to those, who comply with, and adhere unto them. Neither hath the great Turk come far short of that undoubted blessing, good success; the now prevailing party justify their cause, and measure its righteousness by; though they may seem to disavow him.

Finally; The resemblance made for the manner of the recovered Liberty of both states, (to use the expression of a great personage,) is not more different than milk and ink; both in regard of the ancient condition of the people on both sides, and the way of attaining to it.

The Low-country-men, especially the Batavi, have been reputed by all ancient writers, for a free people, neither subject to the Romans, whom they did acknowledge only *Civilli*, (as Tacitus saith,) nor to any directors, counts, and governors, which were constituted by themselves.

The English have more than a thousand years been governed by kings, all sprung from the same royal stock; to whom they have successively sworn obedience and loyalty.

The king of Spain, after a war of almost eighty years, hath in two solemn treaties (the one before the twelve-years truce, and the other in the late concluded peace,) acknowledged the United Provinces to be a free state, and that *privativè*. Whereupon his Catholic Majesty, for himself and his successors, hath disclaimed all pretences of sovereignty here⁶.

Whereas Charles the First (that blessed martyr, whose innocent blood, like that of Abel, cries loud to the highest heaven for vengeance against those who now sit upon his throne) not only was, but was ever by them acknowledged for, their lawful sovereign; instead of disclaiming his royalty over them, as must be, if the resemblance stand complete, was both divested of his power, and deprived of his life; and his princely successor, so far as in them lieth, kept back and disabled from the exercise of his undeniable power over them: whereof let them find an absolute parallel from the Creation until now.

In Israel, king Ahab did tyrannize, and as a man sold unto sin, above others provoked God's wrath against him. In Rome, there was Nero, more like a monster than a man. Amongst the Christians, Christiernus in Denmark, Wenceslaus in Bohemia (who was likewise emperor), behaved themselves so wickedly, that it was said of them, 'that they had cast off human nature.' Nor much unlike to them was Richard the Third, called, 'the Tyrant of England:' yet none of all these was ever condemned to die by the sentence of their subjects. Insomuch, that it is observed, that the Israelites, after they had deserted their king Rehoboam (although an oppressor), never enjoyed a happy hour; but were infested with continual wars, both civil and foreign; till at last they were utterly destroyed, and carried captives into Babylon.

Of Nero it was said, *Primum damnati principis exemplum*; I add, *Postremum, non mactati tamen*, as in this case. The confederate provinces were first forced in their religion, their persons and goods seized, and one-hundred-thousand of them killed. The prevailing party in England (after those insolent and high affronts done to his Majesty, before his constrained removal from his court at White-hall,) took up arms, gave out commissions, levied men, according to his Majesty's last true and undeniable words, and seized upon the regalia, before he once put himself into a posture of defence.

In the Low-countries their liberty was, *more majorum*, fully restored to them, without prejudice to any man.

In England, religion and liberty are shamefully trampled under foot, and the house of commons so dismembered, and its privileges violated, that the eighth part of ten were beyond all parallel cast out, as the declaration and protestation of the secluded members, Feb. 13, 1648, doth testify.

⁶ [See in the Somers' Tracts, 'The declaration of the States-general of the United Provinces; setting forth, that Philip the Second had forfeited his right of sovereignty over the said provinces. At the Hague, 26 July, 1581.' Vol. i. p. 323.]

The proceedings of the high and mighty States are approved and justified by all the world: on the contrary, those of the English condemned and abhorred, and by themselves confessed as irregular and unwarrantable; and a most pregnant proof and *probatio probata* of their wrong, as is contained in the said declaration of the ministers.

The which premisses, the high and mighty States being pleased to take into serious consideration, according to their accustomed wisdom and justice; and calling to mind those divers treaties betwixt the king's royal predecessors, and their lordships, in his Majesty's person, yet firmly standing; and seeing, likewise, divers of their lordships resolved for a punctual observation of a neutrality, since the year 1642, between the late king, his Majesty's father, of blessed memory, and his parliament; the which, by the partial confederacy with the one party, now laboured for, will, in all appearance, be violated and infringed.

Therefore, their lordships are earnestly entreated not to hearken to the said propositions, as being prejudicial to the king my gracious master's interests, and dangerous to this state; likewise, that the acknowledging them for a free republick, which possibly the condition of the times, and benefit of trade, hath occasioned, be not drawn into a farther consequence, much less an occasion given thereby; forgetting Joseph's sufferings, that the afflicted be yet more afflicted, their liberty retarded, and their calamity lengthened.

His Majesty's affairs (God be praised!) are yet in a very good and hopeful condition, far better than some of his royal predecessors; who have, notwithstanding, run through all difficulties, and became considerable to their friends, as well as formidable to their enemies.

King Robert Bruce, about three-hundred years ago, being likewise by the rebellion of his subjects, and the disloyalty of Baliol and Cumming, and their adherents, fiercely assailed by king Edward of England; who, at once, was possessed of most of the towns and strengths in Scotland, kept a parliament in St. Andrew's, took his queen prisoner, killed four of his brethren, (amongst whom were those *duo fulmina belli*,) defaced or removed all the monuments and registers of that kingdom; was constrained, with one or two servants, to hide himself among the hills: yet, notwithstanding all this, in a short time after, recovered his whole kingdom, was crowned with honour and glory, and forced his insolent enemy, in confusion, to fly from Sterling to Dunbar, and thence in a fisher-boat (Xerxes-like) escaped narrowly with his life: I say Sterling,

Invictum, & fatale Scotorum propugnaculum:

Of which it is said,

Hic Latium remorata est Scotia cursum.

His Majesty's royal grandfather, Henry the fourth, king of France and Navarre, (yet of fresh memory,) was in a lower condition, and had less power to resist those of the league and the powerful king of Spain: yet, at last became victorious, in the overthrow of his enemies; to the great advantage, and very considerable succour of the Netherlands.

The distressed condition of the predecessors of the high and mighty States-general, whom, after so many changes, the Almighty God hath, to the admiration of the whole world, brought into a safe haven. However Sirius, a Spanish writer, jesting with those of Holland and their confederates, did say, "What can the Hollanders do against the king of Spain?" as now, some scoffingly ask, "How can the Scots stand against the powerful English?" is an eminent and visible example, that it is all one, with the Lord, to help with few or with many; and that, when all strength and human hopes do fail, he will arise gloriously, for the deliverance of the righteous; crowning them, in the end, with honour and good success.

I. Shall we then look upon the present successes, and prosperity of that party, as alone unchangeable; for the which such strange grounds are by them pretended, as are nowhere found; being so diametrically opposite, according to the declaration of the said divines in and about London, to,

1. God's Holy Word.

2. The instinct of nature.
3. Natural reason.
4. The laws of all nations.
5. The constitutions particularly of the kingdom of England; who, above all other people, most obsequiously and affectionately regard and reverence their kings, as in those maxims of their law : *Rex non moritur ; Rex nullifacit injuriam*, &c.
6. The judgment of all casuists.
7. Their oaths of fealty, supremacy, and allegiance, repeated particularly at the admission of every member into the house of commons; their protestation, their covenant, their solemn league and covenant, and an hundred declarations; besides the public faith of the kingdom of England, solemnly given to the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, upon their receiving his Majesty at Newcastle; in all which, they professed to the world, that they would maintain and preserve, with their lives, and estates, the king's person, honour, rights, and royal posterity.

II. Or, shall we rest satisfied in the sophistry of those sectaries, who, out of Christ's answer to the subtle questions of the Herodians and Pharisees, If it were lawful to give tribute to Cæsar? answered, *Ostendite mihi numisma ; cujus habet imaginem ?* infer, that *fide implicitâ*, the party now in England, is to be acknowledged, without any further enquiry or examination; since our Saviour's answer speaks nothing for their advantage. But, on the contrary, his commanding tribute to be given to Cæsar, whom the Jews formerly acknowledged to be their king, confirmeth and establisheth lawful power, and consequently condemneth sedition and rebellion; else David should have submitted unto and acquiesced in the usurped power of Absalom, who was possessed of all the land, even unto Jordan, and carried away all Israel after him; and Solomon in the power of Adonijah, Jehoiada in Athaliah's, and the Maccabees in the power of Antiochus Epiphanes, the grand enemy of the Jews: yea, the estates of the United Provinces should have then obeyed the force of the duke of Alva, who, by the emblem of his statue formerly set up in Antwerp, did signify that he had invested himself with the absolute power. It is well said, by one of the ancients, *Omnis potestas est à Deo ; sed acquisitio potestatis, furto, rapinâ, incendio, aut perduellione, non est à Deo, sed ab hominum affectibus & Satanæ malitiâ*.

III. Or, may we suffer ourselves to be abused by the examples and precedents, which the said sectaries allege of the kings, Edward the Second, and Richard the Second, who, by reason of their incapacity, were forced to resign their crowns; the one to his son, the other to his competitor king Henry the Fourth; but neither of them to an inconsiderable, small remainder of an house of commons, or the people? Only, in a full parliament, both their resignations were confirmed, and neither executed, but were always afterwards honourably entertained; yea, one Roger Mortimer, (which is worth the observing,) the chief author and actor in deposing of Edward the Second, and crowning his son Edward the Third in his father's place, (according to which precedent his Majesty, Charles the Second, ought by these to have been crowned,) was by a parliament four years after, together with his fellow-murderers, condemned as a traitor and enemy to the king and kingdom, because he killed the said deposed king in Berkely-castle.

Besides, the now prevailing party, by solemn protestations, did publish and declare to all the world, that they did not intend to follow those accursed precedents; although they should suffer never so much by the king and his party. Exact. Collect. pag. 69.

IV. Should we not rather deeply apprehend, and with fear look upon those exemplary punishments inflicted upon perjury, and covenant-breaking, in God's Holy Word; as may be seen (to omit others) in the person of Saul; who, together with his posterity, as also the whole kingdom of Israel, was so severely punished, because he destroyed the Gibeonites, against the covenant made with Joshua, above two-hundred years before;

notwithstanding they procured the same deceitfully? As likewise in the history of England, and other kingdoms, many pregnant examples to that purpose might be alleged; particularly that of William Thorpe, chief-justice of the king's-bench in that realm, who, for taking a bribe of eighty pounds sterling, was put to death, and all his goods confiscated to the king's use, in regard that in so doing he violated the oath of a judge, as the words run; *Quod sacramentum domini regis, quod erga populum habuit custodiendum, fregit malitiosè, falsè, & rebellitè.* Parl. 23 Edw. III.

An Answer to their Memorials.

THE memorials I pass over, as monstrous; and which, by inevitable consequence, not only tend to cut off all treaties and alliances between the king's Majesty and this state, and all commerce with his loyal and faithful subjects; but likewise, in some cases, to the not suffering them to dwell or reside in these parts.

A demand which is against the band of common society amongst men, the sovereignty of the United Provinces, and liberty of the same, which have ever been a sanctuary for honest men, and a receptacle of all nations whatsoever: in a word, such, *quale victor victo dare, non socius socium rogare solet.* The cruelty of Tiberius, Nero, Domitian, and others, hath, for the most part, been confined within the walls of Rome, or the borders of Italy, without persecuting their opposers, in a strange land, as an *omnibus umbra locis adero.*

Concerning the thirty-six Articles of the Treaty.

THE thirty-six Articles evidently tend,

1. To hinder his Majesty's just right, and restitution to his hereditary crown, and kingdom of England.
2. To involve the high and mighty States-general in a labyrinth, and great inconveniences, who, at present, have no enemy.
3. To encourage and strengthen the king's irreconcilable enemies, and rebels, as the fourth, fifth, sixth, and thirty-first articles do import.
4. Against the forementioned resolutions of the high and mighty States, in the year 1642; concerning the keeping a neutrality between his Majesty's father, of blessed memory, and his parliament of England; namely, those of the first of November, and thirtieth of December, 1642, and the sixth of November, 1648.
5. Against a declaration and protestation of the noble and mighty states of Holland and West Friesland, dated the sixth of November, 1649, to the same purpose.
6. Against all former treaties and alliances between his Majesty's royal predecessors and this state.

As, amongst others, that of the fourteenth of February, 1593, likewise consisting of thirty-six articles, between king Henry the Seventh of England, his heirs and successors, made in his name, and by his authority, as the words of the said treaty do bear; and Philip, archduke of Austria, and duke of Burgundy, which bind and oblige, to this very day, divers of the United Provinces, and the chief members and towns thereof, to assist the said Henry the Seventh, and his heirs, (which unquestionably pleadeth for my master Charles the Second, he being the sixth from him in descent, *in lineâ rectâ,*) and to afford them all favour and friendly assistance, as well by sea as by land, and prohibiteth any treaty and alliance to be made with the rebels, and the enemies of one another.

Whose undoubted right, according to God's sacred word, the laws, and the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom of England, as, *Rex non moritur*, &c. is firmly radicated in his Majesty's person, however he by violence be kept from it:

——— *Non unquam perdidit ordo
Mutato sua jura loco.* ———

Insomuch, that the ancient Romans, by the light of nature, did refuse to enter into any alliance with Nabis, the usurper of Lacedæmon; but continued the same with the just and lawful king Pelopides. *Amicitia et societas nobis nulla tecum est*, (saith Titus Quintus, in the behalf of the Roman empire; *apud Livium*, lib. 34;) *sed cum Pelopide rege Lacedæmoniorum justo et legitimo facta est*.

Finally, against the renewed treaty in the year 1550, December the fifteenth, made at Bins in Henegow, called 'The Perpetual Treaty,' between the tutors of Mary queen of Scotland, in her minority, and queen Mary of Hungary, regent for Charles the Fifth in the Low-countries; renewed again in *solemni formâ*, word by word, at Edinburgh, 1594, between king James the Sixth and the high and mighty States, after the baptism of the late prince Henry, his Majesty's son, celebrated at Sterling.

In the which it is promised and agreed upon, inviolably to maintain and preserve mutual friendship one with another, for all ages to come; and, as far in them lay, to prevent and hinder any damage that may befall either of them: that they shall traffick in safety and security, and likewise, that they shall assist each other with ships, and all sort of ammunition; as may be seen at length in the treaty itself, inserted by Peter Borr, in his thirtieth book.

But how opposite is this to their fourth, fifth, and thirty-first articles, propounded to your lordships, appeareth clearly out of the words there contained, where they not only deny to the king, and his subjects, *privativè*, all favour, friendship, and provision of war; but likewise endeavour to oblige your lordships, *de facto*, to infest and make war upon them; as having now no other enemies, as they themselves give out, but Scotland.

But, expecting better things of the high and mighty States, and a religious observation of all treaties, resolutions, protestations, and declarations, your lordships are entreated not to give ear to the said propositions, and memorials; as also, that the said thirty-six articles, perishing in their birth, may not be taken into any further consideration.

The Lord will reward every one according to his works: and I wish, that he may ever bless the high and mighty States with his fatherly protection; and keep them from contracting any league and alliance, which may be attended with dishonour and damage unto them.

The Orders, Proceedings, Punishments, and Privileges, of the Commons-House of Parliament in England.

Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641.

[Quarto; containing thirty pages.]

CHAP. I.

What Persons may be Burgesses in Parliament, what not.

THE son and heir of an Earl may be; and so was the lord Russel, *Eliz.* 6.
He that hath no voice in the Higher-House; so the son and heir-apparent of a Baron; and so was Mr. Henry Brooke.

A Prebendary may not be; and therefore Alexander Nowel was refused, because he was prebendary of Westminster; whereupon a writ was issued to choose another for Leo¹ in Cornwall.

Sir Henry Piercy was chosen Knight for two several counties; and thereupon it was adjudged by the House, that he should serve for that county which first chose him, 13 *Eliz.*

If a Burgess be incurably sick, another may be chosen in his place, by licence of the House; but not if he be easily sick, or sent in his Majesty's service, unless the House will allow of a new election, 18 *Mar.* 23 *Eliz.*

And it was then ordered, That during the session, no writs should issue to choose Knights or Burgesses, but by warrant of the House to the clerk of the crown; according to the ancient usage.

The Burgesses of Sandwich were kept out of the House, until the perfect return was known. 15 *Edw. VI.*

One Cavell was returned for Travayny and Ludders-hall: he appeared for Ludders-hall: and therefore a writ issued to choose another for Travayny, 11 *Mar.* 7 *Edw. VI.*

William Gregham and ——— were returned Knights for Norfolk; and the writ, returned by the lord-chancellor, suppressed it by great motion, and directed another writ to choose others.

A Burgess, indicted of felony, shall not be removed before conviction; 8 *Feb.* 23 *Eliz.*

Walter Vaughan was received, notwithstanding an outlawry; because it appeared that it was for debt, and that he had compounded for it.

A Burgess outlawed was denied the privilege of the House; but, upon the question, and upon a division of the House, he was allowed the privilege against an arrest in London, 24 *Feb.* 5 *Eliz.*

CHAP. II.

The Choice of the Speaker, his Presentment, Placing, and Speech.

HE that shall be Speaker, must be a Knight or a Burgess returned; and cometh to the House, and taketh the ordinary oath, as others.

The fittest seat for him is the lowest row, and the midst thereof; for so he may be best heard, when he shall speak.

One of his Majesty's council doth use to propound, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that they shall freely choose a Speaker for them; and yet commendeth, in his opinion, some person by name.

Then he, which is so recommended, standeth up, and prayeth to be heard, before they proceed to the choice of him; and, withal, disableth himself, (giving them thanks for their good opinion of him,) as being not equally learned in the laws with others, that have had the place. Not being eloquent by nature, or art; nor experienced in the affairs of the commonwealth, or in the orders of the House; being of mean countenance, wealth, or credit. Being careful for their credit, more than his own; and therefore bound to shew and discover his wants, which otherwise might be covered by their good opinion.

If they press him, he is to yield, and so is brought to the chair: and then they usually give him two or three days' respite, before he be presented to the King.

Upon the day of his presentment to the King, he cometh to the bar of the Higher House, or other appointed place, where his Majesty shall assign; and after their solemn courtesies, sheweth how he is elected, reneweth the reasons of his disability, desireth to be discharged, and that they of the Commons-House may have licence to proceed to a new election of another.

Then the lord-chancellor, receiving his Majesty's pleasure, enableth him.

¹ [*i. e.* Looe.]

Hereupon, the Speaker gives thanks for that opinion conceived of him; promiseth to do his dutiful endeavour; and desireth, that his ready good-will may be accepted in place of all.

And so, with a low courtesy, beginneth his oration, which commonly standeth upon these parts, *viz.*

1. Entrance aptly taken from the time or person.
2. The praise of his Majesty's government, or laws of his time.
3. Thanksgiving for summoning the Parliament, whereby the sores of the commonwealth may be prevented and remedied.
4. Promise of all diligence and fidelity, in them of the Lower House.
5. Assurance of his own duty, as power will permit.
6. The petitions that be ordinary, &c.

First, For enjoining the privilege of the House; then for themselves, their goodness and servants.

CHAP. III.

The first Reading of any Bill.

UPON the first reading of a bill, the Speaker, taking the bill in one hand, and his cap in the other hand, may say: 'You have heard the bill, the contents whereof are these,' &c. And, after the rehearsal thereof, may read another; without suffering any man, if he may stay him, to speak unto it, but rather to advise thereof until the next reading: which is a means not only to hear effectual speech, but also to save a great deal of time.

A bill may not be committed upon the first reading; and yet, *27 Jan. 23 Eliz.* the proviso for the clerk of the market was, upon the first reading thereof, committed with the bill.

See afterwards, that the subsidy of the clergy passeth at the first reading; and so the pardon.

CHAP. IV.

The second Reading of a Bill.

AT the second reading of a bill, it ought to be either ingrossed, committed, or rejected; and if any shall offer to speak thereto, after that three have spoken all on one side, the Speaker may say, 'That the bill is sufficiently spoken unto; what is your pleasure? Will you have it ingrossed, or committed?'

And if the more voices will have it ingrossed, it must be done accordingly.

And if the more voices will have it committed, then the Speaker entreats them to appoint the committees; and, that done, their names, and the time and place of meeting, and the day of their report shall be indorsed upon it.

If the more voices be not apparently discerned, then the Speaker may put the question again still: 'As many, as will have this bill ingrossed, say Ay.' And, after that voice, 'So many, as will not have it ingrossed, say No.'

Again, if the sides seem equal, the Speaker may pray all those that be on the affirmative, to go down with the bill, and the rest to sit in their places; and the sides shall be numbered by tellers to be appointed by the Speaker, and the greater number shall prevail, and the less number shall go, and fetch them up, in token of consent; and the Speaker shall report the 'Yea,' or 'No,' according to the stronger side.

One bill may be twice read in one day.

A bill may be committed after the ingrossing.

C H A P. V.

Orders to be observed by such as shall speak.

IF two persons shall arise to speak, the Speaker must appoint him to speak first, that first arose, and offered to speak.

One man may not speak twice to one bill in one day, although he will change his opinion; except it be only for the moving of some order.

Every man, that will speak, must direct his speech to the Speaker, and not to any other, but only by circumlocution; as by saying, ‘He which spoke with the bill, or he which made this, or that reason.’

If any touch another by nipping, or unreverent speech, the Speaker may admonish him.

If any shall speak dishonourably of the King, or his Council, he is not only to be interrupted, but may be also sent by the House unto the Tower. As for example:

Withers, a burgess for London, (Elizabeth,) uttered certain speeches, whereby it seemed, that he noted the lord William Howard, then lord-chamberlain and sometimes lord-admiral, with corruption, but named him not; and therefore it was thought, he should not be punished, nor put to answer for it.

If any speak too long, and speak within the matter, he may not be cut off; but if he be long, and out of the matter, then may the Speaker gently admonish him of the shortness of the time, or the business of the House, and pray him to make as short as he may.

But if he range in evil words, then to interrupt him, saying: ‘I pray you to spare these words, they become not this place of state and council. It hath not been the order here so to do; I pray you take care of us all, considering what danger the report hereof may breed unto us.’

No speech ought to be made but only in matter in bill, and therefore all other motions ought to be represented, and the movers, if the matter be good, to put their desire into a bill.

C H A P. VI.

Licence from the King to proceed.

A BILL exhibited by clothiers of Devonshire, for remitting the act of relief, for making of cloths, re-delivered unto them, with promise, that they should receive an answer thereof, at the return of the knights of the shire the sixth of November, 1 Edward the Sixth; and afterwards suit was made by the Speaker, the privy-council, and twelve others, to know his Majesty’s pleasure, whether they might treat thereof.

And three days after it was answered, they might treat thereof, having in regard the cause of the granting of that relief.

The Speaker shewed, that it was the queen’s pleasure, that the House should proceed no further with the bill, for the revenues of the queen, because it extended to divers which had accounted, 5 *Mart. et 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar.*

Three of the privy-council (whereof sir Edward Rogers, then comptroller, was one) delivered to the House her Majesty’s express commandment, that they should proceed no further with their suit, which was in a sort moved to be reiterated by a speech of this writer, W. L. but, that they should satisfy themselves with her promise.

And then, Peter Wentworth and James Dalton moved, Whether this did not restrain the liberty of the House? Upon which, after many arguments, they resolved to cease till the next day, 9 Nov. 8 *Eliz.* And afterwards 23.

Now the queen revoked her said commandment, and gave them liberty to proceed; but, upon consultation, amongst themselves, they spared to proceed any further.

It was ordered, That Mr. Warner should receive, of the Speaker, a bill, exhibited by Hubbart, and his wife, against sir Nicholas Hare; and that certain of the House should

hear, and (if they could) determine the cause: the protector's grace to make an end thereof. 11 Feb. 1 Edw. VI.

CHAP. VII.

Calling of the House, and the Pain of their Absence.

IT is a common policy, to say upon the reading, that the House shall be called on Saturday; to say it shall be called on Wednesday; and so from day to day, by fear thereof, to keep the company together.

It was ordered, That no knight, or burgess, should depart without licence of the House, or of the Speaker; to be entered with the clerk of the crown, that he make no writ, to levy such fees or wages, 18 Mar. 23 Eliz. and upon the first day of the parliament, there was moreover laid upon each knight, which had not appeared, twenty pounds; and upon every burgess, ten pounds.

See the statute *Ed. V. fol. 2. statute cap. 4.* whereupon this double punishment, for absence, is grounded.

After that the committees have made their report and opinion of any bill, referred to their consideration; it shall be thrice read, and it may be spoken unto at every reading.

It was ordered, That the committees of the Lower House, upon a conference with the Lords, might urge any reasons, tending to the maintenance of any thing that had passed the House; but, not of any new thing to be propounded, until the House were first made privy thereto.

CHAP. VIII.

The third Reading of a Bill.

WHEN a bill is ingrossed, and hath received the third reading, it must either pass, or be rejected by the more voices: if it pass, then it must be indorsed, '*Soit baillé aux Seigneurs*;' and if it be rejected, it must not come any more in the House.

At one day, after a bill is passed, and not sent away, the Speaker may discover any mistaking of words therein, which may be amended, and thrice read, and passed by. Question, 30 Januarii, 23 Eliz.

If the Lords agree to any bill sent unto them from the Lower House, it must be indorsed, '*Les Seigneurs ont assentis*;' and then it shall be remanded to the Lower House.

And if the Lords first pass a bill, and send it to the Lower House, which also agree thereto, it must be indorsed, '*Les Commons ont assentis*.'

But if there be any difference for alteration of a bill, between the Lords and Commons, then it is requisite that some special persons of each House meet, and confer; that the one House may understand the meaning of the other.

A bill signed by the King, and sent to the Lower House, may not be altered in any part thereof, without his Majesty's licence.

But if a bill come from the Lords, and not signed by him, it may be altered by noting, what should be taken from it, or added unto it.

A bill that came from the Lords was amended, and a scroll of addition in parchment, put unto it, and sent to the Lords, without any indorsement, '*Soit baillé aux Seigneurs*;' and for want thereof they would not proceed, but remanded it to pass the bill, and withdraw that addition, or else to indorse it, and thereupon it was indorsed; 8 Mart. 23 Eliz.

A bill from the Lords is wont to be sent by some of the king's learned council, who are to make three courtesies upon the delivery thereof.

The Speaker is to receive it with his cap in his hand, and to say, 'the House will have consideration of it.'

Then must he shew unto the House the intituling of them; and after two or three days, according to the exigency of the cause, he may read and pass them as before.

A bill, which passed from the Lower House, was remanded by the Lords with an addition; and Puckering the Speaker, foreseeing the inclination of the House to overthrow the bill, demanded the question only, touching a small addition, which was denied; and so the bill indirectly dashed, but the body thereof saved and untouched.

If a bill pass by the question, yet any addition may be made, thrice read, and agreed, *sedente curia*, and so any addition to a bill itself.

The bill of navigation was but half read, and by reason of a long argument, was respited the next day; but some doubted of that order.

The bill of counterfeiting instruments, or seals of office, was, at the third reading, long argued, and referred for further argument till the next day; and then also committed to the first committees, and others, 9 Feb. 29 Eliz.

CHAP. IX.

Respite from Sitting.

IF the sitting be respited for a day, or more, by order; yet then the Speaker, accompanied with some, ought in that respite, to read a bill *pro forma, exceptis diebus non juridicis*.

CHAP. X.

Evidences given by the Lords in the Lower House.

UPON the attainder of sir Thomas Seymour, lord-admiral, it was ordered in the Lower House, that the Speaker and privy-council should desire of the queen, 'That the Lords, which gave evidence in the Higher House, might also give the same in the Lower House.' 2 Mart. 10 Ed. VI.

CHAP. XI.

Fees for the Speaker and Serjeant.

THE Speaker is wont to have one-hundred pounds of the prince, for the parliament.

Of the subject; for every private bill for assurance, five pounds before he deliver it out of his hand.

For every name in any bill for denizens, five pounds, unless he do agree for less.

The Serjeant hath two shillings of every burgess, and four shillings of every knight, for each session of parliament.

CHAP. XII.

Punishment of Offences.

UPON complaint of sir Robert Brandling, burgess of Newcastle, that Witherington, and others, had made an assault upon him: It was ordered, that the lord-chancellor should award an attachment to the lord-president in the North, against Witherington; and the House desired the lords of the council to receive the bill of sir Robert against Witherington, and to take order therein, according to their ancient custom.

And when the bill was read to Witherington, he confessed the assault; and after, one Ellaker, servant to the duke of Suffolk, was, for the same cause, sent in by his master; and it was ordered, that he should remain in the ward of the serjeant of the House, till he found surety to appear in the King's-Bench, when he should be appointed, and to be bound to the peace. And, after that he was bound to the peace, sir Robert sued for his discharge, and four of the House were appointed to desire the duke's favour for him, 15 Feb. 6 Eliz. et 5 April. 7.

Monington was sent to the Tower for striking Johnson, a burgess; and yet he excused himself, that he knew him not to be a burgess: and, after two days, he was fetched by the serjeant, and discharged by the House; and, for that Johnson prayed that he might go safe, that was committed to two of the House, 24 April. 1 Mar.

John Savage wounded Ceder Meniall, servant to Brooke, a knight of the parliament; and it was established, that proclamation shall be where the fact was done, that Savage should render his body in the King's-Bench within a quarter of a year.

Moreover, it is accorded, that likewise it be done in time to come, in like case. *Statute 5. fol. 2. cap. 6.* and the same is confirmed 11 Hen. VI. cap. 11.

CHAP. XIII.

Punishment of Offences committed by them of the House.

THE chancellor of the duchy, sir Ambrose Cane, complained of sir Thomas White, alderman of London, for calling him to witness of misliking the 'Book of Common-Prayer.'

Sir Thomas answered, That he said, that Mr. Chancellor wished that the book might be well considered; and he asked the chancellor forgiveness, and had it; 6 Mart. 1 Eliz.

Upon the bill of confirmation of letters-patents, Thomas Copely said, "That he feared that by this, the queen might give away the crown from the right inheritors;" and therefore he was committed to the custody of the serjeant: but, forasmuch as he excused himself by his youth, the House moved the Queen to pardon him, who would not presently grant, but said, "That she would not be unmindful of their request." 5 Mart. 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar.

Thrower was committed, for saying, If a bill came in for women's wires, they would dispute it, and put it to the question, 7 April. 1 Eliz.

Upon Story's submission, being in the Tower, it was ordered, That the privy-council of the House should declare unto the House, that their resolution was, to have him discharged, and to pray the King to pardon his offences.

Sir Edward Warner, lieutenant of the Tower, was sent out of his house to the Tower, for an offence done before the summons of the parliament; and sir William Cecil, then secretary, said, "That the queen was then assured by her justices, that she might commit any of the House during the parliament, for any offence against her crown and dignity; and that they shewed divers precedents thereof."

The servants of sir Henry Jones, a knight of the House, did hurt a servant of one Gardiner, a burgess: the master was awarded to the sheriff of London to bring them into the court; and their master gave sureties, that they should appear the next term, and answer both the queen and the party; and so they were delivered by the privilege, to wait upon their masters: and so, by conference of this case with sir Edward Warner's, it seemeth a man shall not have the privilege of the House for a criminal offence, that immediately toucheth the queen, but where it toucheth her indirectly, as by trespass against another.

Pearne was committed to the Marshalsea for pickery, without any notice given to the House.

If any of the House be to answer any contempt, or offence, he must go to the bar, and not keep his place.

Arthur Hall², burgess, for Grantham in Lincolnshire, submitted himself at the bar, for

² [In the Lansdowne MSS. vol. xxxi. appears a copy of the judgment against Arthur Hall, esq. for writing a certain book; with his submission and acknowledgement before the lords, in April 1580; and a complaint of 'the rigour of the lower-house of parliament,' dated from the Tower, March 10, 1580-1. Hall translated out of French verse into English metre ten books of Homer's Iliad, which he published in 1581, with a dedication to sir Thomas Cecill, in which he speaks of his vexation in law and vexation of spirit produced by the effects of his ungoverned youth.]

writing and imprinting a book, wherein he defaced the authority of the Lower House, or their estate of parliament; and he was put out of the doors, and these points, touching him, were resolved, *viz.*

‘ That he be committed to the Tower, which is the prison for this House, for a certain time, and pay a fine to the queen, and be severed from being a member of the House; make a warrant to the clerk of the crown, to direct a brief to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, for the borough of Grantham, to choose and return a new burgess: that it be published by order of the House, that his book is false, and seditious; and that himself be brought into the House, to have this judgment pronounced against him by the Speaker, in the name of all the House; that the serjeant be commanded to convey him to the Tower, by warrant from the House, signed by the Speaker, and that all the proceeding be written, read, and entered, as other causes of the House are.’ 14 Feb. 23 Eliz.

Dr. Story was reprehended, for being of the Lower House; he came of council with the bishop of Winchester, before the Lords in the Higher House, touching a parliament-cause, and acknowledged his offence. 23 Mart. 1 Eliz.

The House had agreed, 23 Eliz. to have a common fast, whereof the queen misliked not for the matter, but for the innovation of order without her privy, and without ecclesiastical authority; for which the Commons submitted themselves, and she gave them their pardon.

Amongst many questions resolved upon in that parliament, 21 Fol. 2, this was one: after the assembly of the parliament, and after the chief matters being propounded by the king, for which he called the parliament:

The Lords and Commons might treat of other matters first, and forbear to handle those, until the matters, propounded by them, were discussed; notwithstanding that they were also enjoined to the contrary by the king.

It was answered, that they might not so treat, and that, if they did, they were to be punished as traitors; but 1 Hen. IV. this parliament and those resolutions of 21 Fol. 2. were repealed, and sundry of the judges that joined in that resolution were hanged; so before.

Note, That the king, 15 and 10 of the parliament, may as well dissolve, as he did summon it, if he like not their proceeding; and therefore this resolution was needless.

Mr. Cope, Lukenor, Hurleston, Braynbridge, and others, were committed to the Tower by the queen; for that, before the parliament, they had sundry conventions for the preferring in parliament a book touching the rates of the church, and a form of an act for the establishing the same.

Which also they did print, prefer, and urge in parliament. But it seemed, that if they had treated thereof only in time of parliament, being burgesses, they should not have been impeached. Feb. 28 Eliz.

That the Gate-house is sometimes used for a prison to this House.

CHAP. XIV.

Privileges for them of the House.

SEE the statute, 8 Hen. VI. cap. 1, where it is said, that the clergy, called to the convocation, shall enjoy such liberties, or defence, in coming, tarrying, and going, as the Lords and Commonalty of England called to the parliament.

It is the order, that, if any burgess require privilege for himself, and his servant, he shall have a warrant signed by the Speaker, to obtain the writ of privilege; and, for that William Ward, burgess for Lanc. got such a writ, without such a warrant, it was committed to divers to be examined, 22 Feb. 6 Edw. VI.

Certain of the House went, by order, to the Common-pleas, to excuse the appearance of Mr. Palmer, a burgess, in attain. 4 Nov. 3 *Edw. VI.* Hugh Lloyd.

It is ordered, that Hugh Lloyd, by *procedendo*, should be put from the privilege, and be delivered to the sheriff of London, in whose ward he was before. But he escaped, and was taken, and sent to the Gate-house for the time, and the next day sent to London, in such case as he was before the privilege granted; and to abide the order of the House, whilst it should sit, though he agreed with his creditor, called Gordon, or, after the session, to abide the order of the privy-council for his misdemeanour, 28 Mar. 6 *Edw. VI.* And, afterwards, 15 April. it was ordered, that, when he had satisfied his creditors, he should be delivered from the Compter to the serjeant of the House, and discharged of imprisonment there, notwithstanding any action laid upon him in London, after his first imprisonment.

There was also one Criktoft then committed to the Gate-house, and discharged, paying his fees.

Beaumont, of the Lower House, served a *subpœna* upon the earl of Huntington, of the Higher House; whereupon the Lords sent complaint thereof to the House, which certified, that it was no breach of the privilege, 17 April. 1 Mar. because it requireth no appearance, (as I think,) and restraineth not the person.

William Allen, burgess for Caln in Wiltshire, had the privilege against an attachment upon a process out of the Exchequer, 21 April. 1 Mar. to consider, whether the process were for the queen, or for a common person.

Pledall, burgess, was bound by recognizance to appear in the Star-chamber within twelve days after the end of the parliament; and upon complaint thereof, it was answered, by conference of the Lords with the justices and learned council, that it was no breach of the privilege, 6 Decemb. 1 et 2 Phil. et Mar.

Stroode, burgess, intending to exhibit bills in parliament, for abuses in the court of Stannaries, was there, by means of one Turse, an under-steward, presented and taken, for certain sums that were laid upon him; and thereupon this act, 4 Hen. VIII. cap. 8, was made, *viz.*

‘ All suits, accusations, -condemnations, executions, fines, amercements, punishments, corrections, charges, and impositions, put or had, or hereafter to be put or had unto, to, or upon, the said Richard Stroode, and to every other of the persons, that now be of this present parliament, or that of any parliament hereafter shall be, for any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters, concerning the parliament to be commanded, or treated of, shall be utterly void, and of none effect.”

CHAP. XV.

The Bill of Subsidy.

THE manner is, when a subsidy is granted, to carry it alone, and the pardon to the king, leaving the rest of the bills in the chamber; and this is done to prepare the royal assent to the rest, and to present the subsidy.

The bill of subsidy is offered by the Commons only; for the Lords, besides the common usage for other bills, do send it to the House again, after that they have thrice read it, and there it remaineth to be carried by the Speaker, when he shall present it. 18 Mar. 25 *Eliz.*

After motion made for a subsidy, the device and dealing therein is committed to divers, who agree upon articles, which they do bring in to be ordered by the House: That Mr. attorney-general shall draw it into form of an act; which done, it hath three readings, and so passeth all other bills: only the considerations in the preamble are penned by some committees, whereof some are always of the privy-council.

CHAP. XVI.

Subsidies of the Clergy.

THE confirmation of the subsidy, granted by the clergy, passed to the question upon the first reading thereof, 4 Mart. 23 Eliz.

CHAP. XVII.

The general Pardon.

IT is sent to the House, signed with the king's hand; and being once read, it is demanded, if they be contented to accept it, and so passeth to the question. 18 Mart. 25 Eliz.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Presence of the King.

IF he come not the first day of the parliament, then must there be an adjournment until another day, by letters-patents; for otherwise all is dissolved.

If he come in the end of the parliament, then it may be prorogued by his word only, uttered by the lord-keeper, or chancellor.

CHAP. XIX.

The Royal Assent to Bills passed both the Houses.

THE royal assent is commonly in person yielded by the words of the king uttered by the clerk of the crown, in French, thus, viz.

To all bills generally to be enacted; '*Le roy le veut.*'

To private bills; '*Soit fait come c'est désiré.*'

To those that shall not pass; '*Le roy se advisera.*'

To the grants of subsidy; '*Le roy rendra grand mercies;*' and according to the variety they are indorsed also.

But the royal assent may be by letters-patents in his absence.

CHAP. XX.

The Attendance of the Warden of the Fleet.

IT was ordered, That the Speaker, in the name of the House, should command the warden of the Fleet (which is a minister of this House), that two of his servants should attend at the stair-head, by the door of the Lower House, to repress, and apprehend lacqueys, and servants, and to bring them to the House, 2 Feb. 23 Eliz.

The Protector's Declaration against the Royal Family of the Stuarts, and the true Worship of the Church of England. Printed and published by his Highness's special Commandment.

London, printed by Henry Hills and John Field, Printers to his Highness.

[From a folio page.]

HIS Highness the Lord Protector, upon advice with his council, finding it necessary, for the reasons and upon the grounds expressed in his late declaration¹, to use all good means to secure the peace of the nation, and prevent future troubles within the same, hath thought fit to publish and declare, and by and with the consent of his council, doth publish, order, and declare, that no person or persons whatsoever, in England or Wales, whose estates have been sequestered for delinquency, or who were actually in arms for the late King against the then Parliament, or for Charles Stuart his son, or have adhered to, abetted, or assisted the forces raised against the said Parliament, do, from and after the first day of December, 1655, buy, use, or keep in his or their house, or houses, or elsewhere, any arms offensive, or defensive; upon pain, that every person and persons, so offending, shall forfeit and lose such arms, and be otherwise proceeded against, according to the orders of his Highness and the council, for securing the peace of the Commonwealth. And his Highness, by the advice of his council, doth also publish, declare, and order, that no person or persons aforesaid, do, from and after the first day of January, 1655, keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of any college, or schoolmaster; nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against in such sort, as the said orders do direct in such cases. And that no person, who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, for delinquency or scandal; shall, from and after the first day of January, keep any school, either public or private; nor any person, who after that time shall be ejected, for the causes aforesaid.

And that no person, who, for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall, from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family; nor shall administer Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common-Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained; upon pain, that every person, so offending in any of the premisses, shall be proceeded against, as by the said orders, is provided and directed. And to the end all persons concerned may take notice hereof, and avoid the danger of any of the said penalties, his Highness doth charge and command all sheriffs, within their respective counties, cities, and towns, to cause this declaration to be proclaimed and published. Nevertheless, his Highness doth declare, that towards such of the said persons as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given, or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present

¹ [After publishing the well-known 'Act of Decimation,' a declaration was drawn up by Cromwell, to make the justice as well as the necessity of that proceeding appear; in which he not only set down the grounds of his actions against the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed against any other party that should provoke or give him trouble.]

government; so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of this nation.

Given at Whitehall, this fourth day of October, 1655.

An honourable and worthy Speech, spoken in the High-Court of Parliament, by Mr. Smith of the Middle-Temple, October 28, 1641; concerning the Regulating of the King's Majesty's Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subjects. With a Motion for the speedy Redress of all Grievances, under which the Church and State do lie.

London, printed by Bernard Alsop. 1641.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

Mr. Speaker;

THE last time we assembled, we sat like a college of physicians, upon the life and death of three great patients; whose bleeding hearts lay prostrate before us; and were arrived at that critical minute, either to receive relief, or eternal destruction. The three fortunate nations were presented to us, in all their distractions, and grown to such a superlative in their miseries, that like nursing mothers bereaved of their tender infants, they were careless of what might happen to them, *quia perdiderunt libertates*. These three kingdoms, whose peace and amity filled the remaining world with envy and emulation, and were (like that happy trinity of Faith, Hope, and Charity) in a perfect union; had but now their swords edged to each others' confusion. *O scelus hominum!* height of impiety! *Kai su, teknon!* said Cæsar in the senate: it was not his death that grieved him, but that his son should advance his hand to his slaughter. How many sons and Neroes had we, whose earnest endeavours were to rip up their mother's womb, and like vipers eat through her bowels, and to lay desolate their father's house:

— *Quis talia fando*

Temperet à lachrymis? —

And yet all this had been but a prologue to our tragedy, had not God Almighty pleased to interpose his hand, and to have been a pillar of fire betwixt us and our captivity, and to have wrought our deliverance, by his great instrument, the Parliament; whose constant labour it hath been, for this year past, to create a true understanding and firm peace between the nations: which I hope is so accomplished, that it is not in the power of the devil, or all his works, ever to dissolve it. This, I say, was the work of our last sitting. Give me leave, Sir, I beseech you, to deliver what I conceive convenient to be of this: 'To give God his due, to establish rights between king and people, and to compose things amongst ourselves.' That we may give God his due, we must advance his worship, and compel obedience to his commands, wherein he hath been so much neglected. Honour and riches have been set up for gods, in competition with him; idolatry and superstition have been introduced, even into his house, the church, and he expulsed; his name hath been blasphemed, and his day profaned, by the autho-

city of that unlawful 'Book of Sports¹;' and those, who would not tremble thus to dishonour God, would not scruple to do it to their parents, or injure their neighbours, either by murder of themselves, or names, or by adultery, David's great crimes. They have not only robbed God of his honour, but men of their estates, and of part of themselves; members and ears have been set to sale, even to the deforming of that creature, whom God had honoured with his own image. That they might colour this their wickedness, perjury and false testimony have been more frequent with them, than their prayers; and all this proceeded out of an inordinate desire of that which was their neighbours'; and thus God in all his commandments hath been abused. Can we then wonder at his judgments, or think he could do less to right himself upon such a rebellious people than he hath?

I beseech you, Sir, let us do something to seat him in his throne, and worship all with one mind, and not that every one should go to God a way by himself: this uncertainty staggers the unresolved soul, and leads it into such a labyrinth, that not knowing where to fix, for fear of erring, sticks to no way; so dies before it performs that, for which it was made to live. Uniformity in his worship is that which pleaseth him; and if we will thus serve him, we may expect protection from him.

The next thing that I conceive fit to be considered, is to cause the rights, both of the king and people, truly to be understood; and in this, to give that authority to the prerogative which legally it hath, and to uphold the subjects' liberty from being minced into servitude.

That the king should have a prerogative, is necessary for his honour; it differences him from his people; but, if it swells too high, and makes an inundation upon his subjects' liberty, it is no longer then to be styled by that name: the privilege of the subject is likewise for his Majesty's high honour. King David gloried in the number of his people; and queen Elizabeth delivered in a speech in parliament, that the greatness of a prince consisted in the riches of his subjects; intimating, that then they stood like lofty cedars about him, to defend him from the storms of the world, and there were ample demonstrations of that, in that renowned queen's reign: but what encouragement can they have, either to increase their numbers, or estates, unless they may have protection both for themselves, and estates? Therefore, the privilege and greatness of the subjects are relatively for the honour of the prince.

Prerogative and liberty are both necessary to this kingdom; and, like the sun and moon, give a lustre to this benighted nation, so long as they walk at their equal distances; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse. What shall be the compass then, by which these two must steer? Why, nothing but the same by which they are, the law; which if it might run in the free current of its purity, without being poisoned by the venomous spirits of ill-affected dispositions, would so fix the king to his crown, that it would make him stand like a star in the firmament, for the neighbour-world to behold and tremble at.

That they may be the better acted, I shall humbly desire, that after so many times, that great charter, the light of the law, may be reviewed, the liberty of the subject explained, and be once more confirmed, and penalties imposed on the breakers; and let him die unto the bargain, that dares attempt the act.

The last thing, that falls into consideration, is to set things right amongst ourselves, the subjects of England: and in this, so to provide, that the Mæcenasses of the times may not, like great Jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on. This hath been a burthen we have long groaned under:

¹ ['Some of the bishops (says Arthur Wilson) pretending recreations and liberty to servants and common people (of which they carved to themselves too much already) procured the king to put out a book to permit dancing about may-poles, church-ales, and such debauched exercises upon the Sabbath-day, after evening-prayer, (being a specious way to make the king and them acceptable to the rout;) which book came out with a command, enjoining all ministers to read it to their parishioners, and to approve it; and those who did not, were brought into the High-commission, imprisoned, and suspended.']

for if a great one did but say the word, it was sufficient to evict my right, even from my own inheritance. They had both law and justice so in a string, that they could command them with a nod; and thus people have been disinherited of their common right, the law, which is as due to them, as the air they breathe in.

On the other side, we must take care, that the common people may not carve themselves out justice, by their multitudes. Of this we have too frequent experience, by their breaking down inclosures, and by raising other tumults, to as ill purposes: which if they be not suddenly suppressed, to how desperate an issue this may grow, I will leave to your better judgments. My humble motion therefore is, that an intimation may go forth unto the country, to wish those that are injured to resort to courts of law: and, if there they fail of justice, in parliament they may be confident to receive it.

A compendious History of the Taxes of France, and of the oppressive Methods of raising them.

London, printed by J. M. and B. B. for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms, in Warwick-lane, 1694.

[Quarto; containing forty pages.]

To the Right-Honourable Thomas Earl of Stamford, Lord Gray of
Grooby, &c.¹

My LORD;

THE design of this treatise being only to inspire the English nation with a greater love of their liberties, by representing, in its true colours, the miserable slavery to which France is reduced; it could not properly be addressed to any other, than to a public assertor of the public liberty. But, amongst the several competitors for that glorious title, I think, I may with justice say, no person has so good a claim to it, as your Lordship. Your being committed to the Tower, and a scaffold erected for your trial, are demonstrations, that they, who then conspired the ruin of England, looked upon your Lordship as a principal bulwark that obstructed their design; and, therefore, did their utmost to remove you, in order to their farther progress. Your Lordship's sufferings, for the nation's safety, entitled you to the general thanks of the kingdom; though, I must not say, your Lordship was the only nobleman that was struck at by the persecution (not to say tyranny) of those times.

But whosoever recalls to mind the transactions of 1688, must, withal, remember the important services wherewith you signalized yourself, for the rescue of this nation. You, my Lord, amongst the illustrious undertakers, durst shew a good example, by appearing the first in arms, and displaying, in open field, the colours of liberty; thereby giving

¹ [Thomas Grey, who succeeded his grandfather as earl of Stamford in 1673, was imprisoned in the Tower by the prevalency of the popish party, on a charge of being concerned in the duke of Monmouth's rebellion; but admitted to bail, and at length pardoned, in March 1685-6. He was one of those who were most active in bringing forward the revolution, for which he was repaid with several lucrative and honourable offices. See Macky's Secret Memoirs, p. 72, &c.]

life to that famous, but languishing association, when it had been almost cast away in a storm at sea.

This is a glorious circumstance, and must be allowed peculiar to your Lordship.

There are some persons in the world, who appear very zealous for their country, and for their princes; and yet have been so unhappy, as not to escape the prejudices of having their zeal been thought to have chiefly centered on their private interests. What your Lordship has done, leaves no room for any such suspicion; for nothing can be found more disinterested.

You have vigorously asserted the right of your country and as vigorously expressed your zeal to their Majesties, in contributing so much to the placing the crown on their heads; and, afterwards, your fidelity, in that great share which it is well known your Lordship had in its further settlement, by the Recognition-bill.

You have done all to an eminent degree, and all this too at your own expence: for, hitherto, your great and noble services have only been their own reward.

What I have as yet mentioned, concerning your Lordship, has been only with relation to public affairs, and the service of their present Majesties; but what could I not say of those shining qualities and virtues which are conspicuous in your Lordship, and render you eminently valuable to all those who have the honour of being personally acquainted with you?

These are particulars I could easily enlarge upon, without fearing any other censure than that of your own modesty, which I am unwilling to offend: but justice obliges me, at least, to say, that what your Lordship has performed for the publick, deserveth the gratitude that distinguished the first age of the Roman commonwealth; and will be admired, so long as people retain any sense of, and love for liberty.

These, my Lord, must needs be the sentiments of all true Englishmen, since, even natives of other countries are charmed with so extraordinary a merit; for which I cannot but express the greatest veneration, though I was born and bred up in a country wholly infected with servitude. Wherefore, upon so just an occasion, I thought it my duty, as it is my ambition, to profess myself, with all imaginable respect and sincerity,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient Servant.

HOW very great the tyranny is, that the French king exercises over his subjects, I hope this English nation, in general, are not to learn now; because so many learned pens have, in their various excellent ways of writing, endeavoured to acquaint all the world with it. This, I must confess: but yet, at the same time, I cannot forbear to say, that in my opinion, none of those admirable authors have hit upon the true turn of it. For though it is plain and manifest, that the French king could never have built so many beautiful and costly palaces, never have bought so many towns, corrupted and bribed into his interests so many men in all the courts of Europe, and kept such numerous armies as he has in pay, without vast sums of money; and that that money could be no other than the blood and sweat of his people: yet, in my judgment, such a consequence, how natural and plain soever it be in itself, is not fitted for all capacities. This very consideration alone has obliged me to take another method; and that I may the better convince all men of the excessive tyranny of Lewis XIV, I will not make use of the pathetic figures of rhetoric, but only set before the eyes of this nation a compendious history of the Taxes, which the French king's subjects are forced to pay to their insulting master: and, if I am not extremely mistaken, these will give us a true and impartial idea of the gentleness of the French government, which is so much talked of, and so much admired by the enemies of the felicity of England.

Though the execution of my design may seem at first pretty easy; yet, when it is narrowly and thoroughly examined into, it will be found attended with innumerable

difficulties; and, I dare say, that the matter I design to handle now, is not only an original, but also a very dark mystery, almost impenetrable to strangers, and much unknown to the greatest part of Frenchmen themselves. It is not then to be expected, that I should be nicely exact in every particular; that is what I dare not promise. But what I engage myself to do, is to advance nothing in these papers, but what shall be most certainly true; and which I have set down, as they have occurred to my mind, without having any regard to the antiquity of the taxes I speak of. Another difficulty which has been insuperable to me, is a genuine translation of the names which the French have given to those impositions: for, as England has always vigorously preserved her liberties, the very words which express the servitude and slavery of other nations, are wanting in her language. O fortunate Island! Mayest thou for ever continue in that happy ignorance.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Taille.

THE *Taille* is a tax or subsidy, which was formerly granted to the kings of France, by the three estates of the kingdom, upon some extraordinary and emergent occasion: but, in process of time, it became a tax *jure divino*, and was continued in succession by arbitrary power². Lewis the Eleventh, who was the first that openly invaded the liberties of his subjects, was also the first that raised this tax without the consent of the three estates, and who made it successive likewise. The *taille* is threefold: *viz.* Real, personal, and mixed. Real is, when it is only imposed upon lands, as in some parts of the province of Guienne, where a man must pay a certain sum to the king for every acre of land he is possessed of. Personal is, when it is assessed upon any personal estate: that is, among the French, the money that a man is supposed to have in his own hands, or to be worth in lands, and houses; in his industry, art, or ability, to get money. Lastly, The mixed is so denominated, because in some parts of that kingdom the lands are not only assessed so much *per acre*; but the proprietor besides is taxed for his money, art, and ability. This explanation I thought necessary for the better understanding of my subject.

The real *taille*, though very burthensome, yet, however, it is the least heavy upon the people. For, if a man has but forty acres of land, he cannot be assessed for fifty; whereas, in all provinces of France, except Guienne, the *taille* being every where personal, or mixed, a man is assessed for what he has, and for what he has not; that being at the discretion of the intendants of the provinces, or some other officer, called *Eleus*, who are not only appointed for those things. Hence it comes to pass, abundance of people are assessed much more than what their yearly rent is really worth; and a cobbler, or other poor fellow, that hath nothing in the world to live on but the benefit of his arms, shall yet, notwithstanding, be taxed four or five crowns a year. Were it not beyond my design, I could easily give you many instances of the extreme heaviness of this tax; but, for brevity-sake, I shall content myself with this: that a baker, of Gonesse near Paris, was assessed for his personal estate, though he had not an inch of land, twelve-hundred French crowns a year; that is, two-hundred-seventy pounds sterling. This is a pattern by which we may readily judge of the whole piece.

To say positively what the whole sum amounts to, that is imposed upon the kingdom for this *taille*, it is in a manner impossible; for the French king does increase or diminish it, according as he himself pleaseth: that is to say, according to the expences he sees himself obliged to be at. *Anno* 1684, when I was in France, the said sum amounted to forty millions of French livres; that is, above three-millions sterling. But, if we consider,

² [The *Tailles* were first imposed in form of subsidies necessary for the support of the war in the Holy-land. They were then extraordinary levies, and were raised by capitation, but were afterwards made perpetual under Charles VII.]

that at that time the French king had peace with all the world, we may easily believe that this tax exceeds now fifty millions and above. How this tax is imposed and levied, all inquisitive persons, I hope, will be glad to know; and therefore, for their satisfaction, I will relate it as plainly as the darkness of the matter will permit.

The king resolveth first in his council what sum of money is to be levied on his subjects: then commissions are issued forth to the general treasurers of the generalities of the kingdom, to give them power to levy the sum agreed upon. These commissions being received, the treasurers make a division of the sum to be levied, proportionable to the extent of the several elections under them: which division, or repartition, is sent to the king, who thereupon sends a commission to the officers of each election, by which they are ordered and enabled to raise such a sum in their respective districts. These officers meet, and make the registers of taxes; wherein each town, borough, hamlet, or parish, is assessed. Each parish has one of those registers sent to it, whereupon the inhabitants make choice of one or more of them to raise the sum assessed by the officers of the elections. These are called Collectors, and they tax each inhabitant according to his estate. But, though they are forbidden to do it out of any ill-will or malice, yet they will ease their friends, though they crush others: and this is the cause of a great many mischiefs, and of divers families being absolutely ruined by these unjust stewards.

The kingdom of France being so very great, it is not forty nor fifty millions that would ruin its inhabitants, were that sum but equally shared; but, as I have already observed, some being eased, when others are over-charged, and this misfortune coming upon every man in his turn, the collectors being changed so every year, it happens that at last all become poor and miserable. Well; we have now seen how that tax is imposed: let us, in the next place, see how it is levied. Should I say, that the manner of collecting the *taille*, is very near as grievous as the *taille* itself, I should say nothing but what is very true; though at first it seems almost incredible. To clear therefore this point, I shall observe to you only, that the people being grown very poor, they cannot exactly pay all that they are assessed; and upon failure thereof, which must be quarterly, the general receiver or treasurer of each election immediately sends an officer, called *porteur de contrainte*, or commissary, to quarter upon the collectors or inhabitants of such a parish, which is so in arrear; with two or three men, whose pay amounts to thirteen or fourteen shillings a day; where they remain till they have other orders from the receiver, which he never grants but upon full payment. And though this way of levying is rude and severe, yet it is very gentle, if compared with what they do in some provinces of France; where the receivers, instead of commissaries, make use of soldiers, whom they quarter at discretion upon those who make the least default in payment: and this is nothing less than dragooning. It is also worth our remark to observe, that when an inhabitant is become so poor, as he is utterly unable to pay his tax; or suppose that the collector should prove a rogue, and play away the king's money; the other inhabitants are bound to answer for each of these disasters.

There are some provinces in France that are not liable to the *taille*; for those of Burgundy, Brittany, and Languedoc are free from it, at least as to the name. Yet truly, at the bottom, they pay too as well as the rest; but with this only difference, that, instead of *taille*, their subsidy is called *don gratuit*, a free gift of the estates of those provinces. What those of Burgundy give, I cannot tell at present; but the free gifts of Brittany and Languedoc amount every year to above six-hundred-thousand pounds of our English money. Those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the state of France, will likely fall into a great mistake at the first reading of this; and fancy to themselves, that the states of those provinces are like the parliament of England: but lest I should give any occasion for so great an error, I think it necessary to explain myself. The truth is, that the states of Languedoc and Brittany were formerly like those of England, but now they are only a shadow of what they have been. They meet every year, and upon their meeting, the governor of the provinces, or some other great lord, demands from them, in the name of the king, three or four millions of livres, more or less, as the king pleaseth. His speech,

for the formality-sake, is indeed taken into consideration; but the sum must be granted, with his only shadow or remain of authority, that they grant somewhat less, perhaps, by fifty crowns, than the king hath demanded. This is all: for they have no power to meddle with any other affairs. After such a digression (which I have thought necessary for my reader's information), give me leave to resume the thread of my discourse.

Some towns also are free from the *taille*: but instead of that, they pay some other duties, more than an equivalent with that horrid tax. Those duties are called *Entries*; but they deserve to be considered apart by themselves in another article, which will be no less curious, or useful to be known. Where the *taille* is personal, the noblemen and chief magistrates, as counsellors in parliament, are also free from it, at least as to their personal estate; but their lands are assessed, as well as those of other men, except seven or eight acres, and provided they plough them themselves; as the king is resolved to lose nothing, it happens that their farmers are a great deal more taxed than other men; and I remember thereupon, that a farmer of a manor at Villeneuve St. George, called *Les Bergeres*, about four leagues from Paris, was assessed every year ³ nine-hundred livres, though he paid but five-hundred to his landlord, monsieur De Commartin, counsellor of state.

These are the observations I have thought fit to make upon the *taille*, which, I hope, will give a pretty clear idea of it. I will now proceed to consider the consequences of it. For it is not of this monster, like that of the naturals, that those die without any issue; but this has a numerous posterity. The first is the *taillon*, which is an additional tax, and that was raised at first by Henry the Second, *anno* 1549, towards the increase of the pay of his *gens d'armes*, who then lay billeted in villages, and to enable them to pay their hosts whatever they had from them. The poor countrymen thought then to have got a little ease; but soon after they became as much oppressed by their unruly guests as ever: so that whatever had been pretended to them, for their ease, proved only a trick to drain their purses the more. Now every body knows, that the custom of billeting the *gens d'armes*, in villages, has been laid aside; but for all that, the *taillon* is still continued, and so the people are bound to pay it, which amounts to above the third part of the *taille*.

The other children of that monster are the contributions which the French king raises upon his subjects, and a subsidy for the winter-quarters of his soldiers. To explain this, it must be observed, that in time of war, the French king is obliged to quarter his troops upon the frontiers; as also, or at least the greatest part of them, in time of peace; because of the numerous garrisons he is forced to have. Now, to keep them in pay, there is a general assessment laid upon most of the towns of the kingdom; whereby they are forced to pay the subsidy called the Winter-quarters, at the rate of five-pence a day for each private centinel: and because the country-people are bound to contribute oats and hay for the maintenance of the horse that are garrisoned in the towns, when the troops are in Flanders, or in other frontiers, they are likewise forced to convert those oats and hay into money, and this is called Contribution; which brings to the king a great sum of money; those commodities being valued at the discretion of those officers who are appointed for that purpose. Now, what sum that subsidy or contributions produce, it is impossible to determine: but it cannot but be very great; considering the vast number of soldiers that the French king has in pay, and the number of towns he has in France.

And yet, how chargeable soever that subsidy is, the French soldiers are such insulting and saucy guests, that the people would pay twice as much more, if they could but free themselves from those troublesome visits: and this insolence is countenanced by the government so much the more, because of the great advantage the king receiveth by it; many towns paying more to be free from their Winter-quarters, than they do for the *Taille*; which they should not do, were these soldiers kept under as severe a discipline as they are in England, and only quartered in public-houses.

³ Sixty-nine pounds, four shillings, and sixpence sterling.

ARTICLE II. Of the Gabelle.

THIS is not so much a tax laid by the French king upon his people, as it is the engrossing of a trade to himself, whereby his subjects are forced to buy the salt from him at his granaries, and at his own price. How great a profit he maketh of that commodity, few people know; and, I am afraid, that few will believe what I am going to say upon that subject. For, though we are used to hear of the great and advantageous returns, that our merchants receive from the East and West Indies; yet they are not to be compared to what the French king gets upon his subjects by this Gabelle.

How common salt is in France, those that have travelled in the Pays d'Aunis, or Xaintonge, cannot be ignorant of; but, for those who have not seen the salt-marshes of that country, I hope, it will be sufficient to let them know, that a certain measure, called *muyds-de-bosse* (weighing five-thousand two-hundred pounds) is bought there, at some times, for three shillings and six-pence, and never dearer than four shillings and six-pence, of English money. It is there that the French king buys that commodity, to sell it again to his subjects, in all the provinces of his kingdom, except Poictou, Xaintonge, Guienne, and Brittany, where the gabelle is not as yet imposed. There may be also some other tracts of land free from that tax, but they are very inconsiderable.

Now, to understand what profit he maketh upon that merchandise, it ought to be observed, that the *muyds-de-bosse* contains fifty-two other measures, called *minots*, that is, one-hundred pounds weight; and that each *minot* is sold, at this time, in Paris, at the king's granaries, for sixty-four livres: so that, there being fifty-two *minots* in each *muyds-de-bosse*, (as I have said,) it follows, that the same quantity of salt that the French king buys for four shillings and six-pence, at utmost, is sold to his subjects, at his granaries in Paris, for three-thousand and three-hundred and twenty-eight livres; that is, two-hundred and fifty-six pounds sterling. It is true, it is not sold at that rate in all the provinces where the gabelle is imposed; but there is a very inconsiderable difference: and now every where near Paris, as in Normandy, &c. it bears the same price.

I do not question, but that, at the first sight of so extravagant a price, many people will be apt to think, that I impose upon their credulity; but there are so many considerable witnesses of what I say, in this kingdom, it is very easy for any man to enquire into the truth of this matter. I must only give you this caution, that in time of peace, the *minot*, which is now sold for sixty-four livres, was then bought for forty-four pounds; but, with this difference alone, the whole account is but pure matter of fact.

How necessary soever the commodity of salt be, that high price would discourage many people from making use of it; but to prevent that, there are such good orders made, that it is impossible to avoid it. First, The importing of foreign salt is forbidden, upon pain of death: so that, let the salt of the king's granaries be never so dear; yet, because it is absolutely necessary, the French are forced to buy it. Secondly, Salt is imposed upon the people there, as the *taille*; so that each family must take every year a certain quantity of it, proportioned to the number of their family and estate; and so, let them be never so willing to eat their bread and meat without salt, yet the king will lose nothing by it.

This is the reason that some provinces are said to be liable to the salt of granaries, and others to the salt of imposition. To understand this distinction, it must be observed, that in Paris, and some other cities and countries, salt is not imposed upon the inhabitants as the *taille*; and that, if they buy any, it is out of necessity, and not from any other violence. But, in Normandy, Picardy, Champaigne, Anjou, and other places, there are officers appointed to examine each family, and to assess them a *minot* more or less, according to their number and estate. Let people say what they will, as, "That they are so poor, they are unable to pay it," they must take the quantity assessed; and, if they do not pay it within six months after, they must expect a military execution; and God knows how severe that is.

A man so compelled to buy a commodity, which is a great deal too dear for his purse, would gladly sell it again, could he find a favourable opportunity. And there is nothing in this, but what is very natural; but there are such penalties, both for the buyer and seller, that it is very dangerous for either of them to drive on such a trade. The first offence is punished with a fine; but in case the offender be unable to pay it, he is condemned to the penalty of the second offence, which is corporal: *viz.* To be branded with a red flower-de-luce upon the cheek, or the shoulder: and so hard a punishment ought, one would think, to deter any man from offending twice. Yet there are some who offend a third time; and those, upon conviction, are sent slaves to the galleys, were it only for a pound of salt, given, sold, lent, or bartered. The same punishment is inflicted upon the *faux sauniers*; that is, a sort of people, who, invited by the high price of salt, convey it secretly from Poictou and Brittany, into the provinces liable to the gabelle.

The fishermen, and other inhabitants of the sea-coasts, would have a very officious neighbour, were they but suffered to make use of salt-water: but, to hinder it, there are watches appointed; and were a man once convicted for having made use of it, he would be no less severely punished than a *faux saunier*.

How heavy that cursed gabelle is upon the French nation, will appear, I hope, by what I have already said. But yet, were it fairly managed, it would not however be intolerable. For it is certain, that the cheats and knaveries, committed on that account, are more to be feared than the imposition itself. This tax robs a man but of his money; but the managers of it can deprive him both of his reputation, life, and estate. For the tools of slavery and arbitrary power being always, and every where alike; I mean covetous, base, unmerciful, and treacherous; it happens, many times, that under colour of searching a man's house upon pretence of forbidden salt, they will hide some themselves in a corner, where they are sure to find it again upon a second visit; and this is sufficient to fine a man, perhaps, more than he is worth in the world. But, if a man should have an enemy, who is so base as to bribe the officers of the salt into his interests, and oblige them to serve that trick thrice upon him, which he can do for a little sum of money, that man shall be sent a slave to the galleys, which is a punishment worse a thousand times than death itself. This observation is not grounded only upon a bare peradventure, but there are many examples of it; and were it not for fear of bringing a disgrace upon some families that are now in England, I could produce very good authorities.

I have said, that the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Brittany, and Guienne, are free from the gabelle; and, perhaps, some will wonder at it: and, should I omit to say what I know upon that point, likely enough I should be blamed. That distinction, in my opinion, is grounded upon three reasons.

First, Brittany being united to the crown of France but since Charles the Eighth, who married the heiress of that fine duchy; it is no wonder that the inhabitants of that province have greater privileges than others. And so I may say the same thing as to Poictou and Guienne, those countries being formerly subjected to the crown of England. But as for Xaintonge, or Pays d'Aunis, truly there is another particular reason: for,

First; Would it not be too severe, nay, and inconsistent too with the French king's interests, to impose the gabelle in that very place where the salt is made?

Secondly; If we consider how common and general the insurrections were in Brittany and Guienne, in 1674, when the French king attempted to put that burthensome excise upon them, perhaps we shall find a reasonable cause to conclude, that, if the gabelle be not introduced in those provinces, it is purely because the inhabitants are no ways disposed to suffer it. Their insurrection was so great, that they were forced to give over that design; and, had the confederates but made use of that favourable opportunity, it might have proved of fatal consequence to the grandeur of that prince.

Thirdly; Though these reasons seem very probable, and it is possible that they have in a measure contributed to the ease of those provinces; yet I take the French king to be so great an enemy to every thing that has but the shadow of liberty, and so jealous of his arbitrary power, that, I do verily believe, he would have crushed the pretended privileges

of those provinces, and imposed upon them the gabelle, had he not been kept from it by other considerations. What they were, I cannot tell, except those great sums of money which those counties have, *finance*, from time to time, presented to the king: at least, I know this, that they were given for that end, that so they might be free from that terrible tax. And I see no cause why I may not conclude, that this is the principal reason, why they have not yet undergone a fate that is common to all the other provinces of France.

Now an excise that is so heavy and burthensome, would bring into the king's coffers a world of money, were he not forced to be at such vast expences: first, in transporting of salt from the place where it is made, into other provinces; and, secondly, in maintaining above twenty-thousand men, that are employed about raising the gabelle, or for watching over the *faux sauniers*, and others, who would cheat the king otherwise, in all probability.

ARTICLE III.

Des Aides. Of Aids.

LES AIDES are an excise upon wine, which is very considerable: but for the better understanding of it, I must, in the first place, tell you something of the measures that are used in Paris. We had so great a trade at Bourdeaux for wine, that, I believe, very few are ignorant of what the measure is the French call there a *tonneau*: but in Paris, and the environs of that city, they speak only of *muyds*, which is the third part of a *tonneau*, and contains about two-hundred and eighty pints, Paris measure, which is about as many London quarts. And now, after this explanation, I will proceed.

When the proprietors of the vineyards about Paris have sold their wine, they are obliged to declare it at a certain office, which is appointed for that purpose, in a convenient place; and to tell the officers, or clerks, at what price they sold it *per muyd*, and to pay one penny *per livre*⁴, besides an additional duty of six-pence halfpenny *per muyd*. The wine-coopers, or whoever have bought that wine to be carried into Paris, are forced to make a like declaration at the gates of the city, and to pay the like sum, *viz.* one penny *per livre*, and sixteen pence halfpenny *per muyd* for the additional duty. But here we must take notice, that this second office has a greater power than the first: for, by their own authority, they may arbitrarily put what price they please upon the wine, which very much increases the duties upon it; and, God knows, they seldom, if ever, fail of this. But, over and above all these impositions, they pay for the duty of entry twenty-two livres *per muyd* to the king, besides some other duties to the town-house.

Wine being thus brought into their cellars, they then must pay yearly to the king eight livres one sous, or penny-halfpenny, for having the liberty to sell it again: and when they sell it, they must make again the like declaration as before, and pay the like sums. As these duties and declarations were too frequent, the wine-coopers used formerly to conceal the true price of wine; but now they dare not do it, for fear of being caught. For the excisemen knowing the general price of wine, as well as the wine-coopers themselves, and having power to take it, paying to the coopers the price he has put upon it in his declaration, they would run the risk of suffering great loss and damage.

We have hitherto seen what the duties are that the wine-merchants pay; let us see now what those are that are imposed upon the vintners; I mean those who sell wine by retail. It is not free for any man in Paris to set up a sign and sell wine, as it is in London; I mean, after he has served an apprenticeship, the time appointed by the customs. This liberty must be obtained from the French king; and, for it, a man must pay yearly eight livres one sous, or penny-halfpenny; this is called 'the duty of sign.' Besides, they

⁴ The French livre is eighteen-pence sterling.

were formerly obliged to give the eighth part of the money they received for the sale of their wine; but because this was too troublesome, as well to the king's officers, as to the vintners themselves, they made an agreement to pay eight livres one sous halfpenny, for every muid of wine they sell, let it be good or bad. This is what the French call *le huitième*, and in what duties that great excise upon wine doth consist, call *les aides*; I think now not improper to recapitulate all those duties, that we may see, in one view, what they amount to.

And, the better to illustrate the matter, I must put a price upon the muid of wine, and see what money comes to the king by the sale of that muid, that is somewhat like our hogshead, but a little larger; containing about two-hundred and eighty quarts. The common price, about Paris, was, in time of peace, eighteen or twenty livres *per* muid, but now it is four times as dear again. Supposing, however, for our purpose, that a muid of wine be sold in the vineyards for eighteen livres, that is, near twenty-seven shillings of our money; the proprietor must pay, in the first place, two shillings and ten-pence halfpenny, for the first duty of the declaration; the like sum must be paid by the wine-merchant at the gates of the city, supposing the officers to be honest, (but, if they will put a higher price upon it, for it absolutely depends on their roguery, or caprichio, I can say nothing to that,) and twenty-two livres, besides, for the duty of entry: so that it is manifest, a hogshead of wine, which was sold for twenty-seven shillings sterling, pays to the king, besides some duties to the town-house, thirty-eight shillings and nine-pence.

These are the duties of the first sale. Now let us suppose, that the same muid be sold to a vintner: as the wine-merchant must get something to live, he cannot sell it for less than sixty livres; having laid out forty-three already, besides the expences of the carriage; upon which, he must pay again, for the declaration, one penny *per* livre, and the additional duty, which comes to five shillings and tenpence-halfpenny; and the vintner, besides, being obliged to pay eight livres, one penny-halfpenny; it followeth, that the King receiveth, from this second sale, twelve livres and seven-pence; that is, nineteen shillings and six-pence one farthing, of our English money; which, being joined to thirty-nine shillings and nine-pence of the first sale, it appears, that a muid of wine (sold at first for twenty-seven shillings) pays to the king two pounds, nineteen shillings, and three-pence farthing.

Now, it is not only in Paris that these *aides* are imposed; but all the provinces of this kingdom, except Languedoc, Guienne, Limosin, and Brittany, are liable to this excise. Indeed, the entries are not so considerable in the other towns, as they are in Paris; but they pay every where the *huitième*, that is, the eighth part of the price for their wine. And as to the countries, because there can be no duty of entry laid on them, they buy therefore, in lieu of it, another; which, in my opinion, is much worse. As soon as ever the vintage is over, the *rats de cave*, 'Cellar-rats,' (so the people call the officers for the *aides*,) go into every man's cellar, be he of what sort soever, and take an exact account of the wine they have in them. And, three months after, they make a second search, to see what is become of that wine; and if any has been sold, they must straight produce the acquittances of the office, which is appointed for the declaration of the price, and of the additional duty, which I have already explained. And as for wine which has been drunk in the family, they pay another duty, called *le trop beu*, that is to say, 'too much drunk;' and this tax amounts to eight livres, or twelve shillings sterling. Now, this visit, coming quarterly, must needs be very troublesome. But is not this an undeniable proof of the fatherly care the French king takes of his people? Perhaps, they would otherwise make an immoderate use of the creature; but this duty indoctrinates them to be sober, in pity to their purses.

I had forgot the province of Normandy must also be excepted; though others pay only the eighth part, but this pays the fourth of all the liquors that are sold in public-houses, as wine, beer, cyder, aquavite, and the like: so that, if a quart of wine should be sold for two shillings, the king must have six-pence out of it, besides all other duties of entry, &c. which I have before mentioned. These duties of entry are different one from the other,

almost in every town; but at Rouen (the capital city of the province) they amount to fifteen livres *per muid*, that is, twenty-two shillings and six-pence sterling. I cannot say positively, what it is they pay for cyder, or beer; but as much as I can remember of it, it is about the fourth part of what they pay for wine. It is likewise to be observed, that because Normandy produces no wine, and there are excessive customs every where upon the frontiers of that province, as well as the sea-ports; therefore, instead of the *quatrième*, or fourth part, the king receives above one half.

When I said, that the duty of entry for wine amounts, at Paris, but to twenty-two livres, or thirty-three shillings and nine-pence sterling, it is to be understood, of the most common wine; for the best pay a great deal more. The muscadine, for instance, pays two pounds ten shillings; and the aquavite three pounds, sixteen shillings, and six-pence: but I must observe to you, that the aquavite pays a double duty; that is, the fourth part instead of the eighth.

Though Brittany be a *pays d'états* (as the French call it), yet it hath a terrible excise there upon wine. Such are the great and little duties of the states, which come to a hundred livres, or seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and nine-pence sterling, *per tonneau*, Bourdeaux measure; that is, four hogsheads of wine, containing, in all, about eight-hundred and forty of our London quarts. And though this excise is raised upon wine, sold only in public-houses, and nowhere else; yet, about six years ago, was it let to farm for three millions of livres; which amounts to two-hundred thirty-thousand seven-hundred sixty-nine pounds, four shillings, and six-pence sterling; whereof, two-millions five-hundred-thousand livres are paid to the king, and the other five-hundred thousand, are to bear the charges of the states of the said province. Over and above these duties, there is another, called *impost* and *billot*, belonging only to the king; which brings every year into his coffers five-hundred-thousand livres. This duty consists in thirty-four shillings and seven-pence, which the king takes there upon every ton of wine. He hath also a custom of three shillings and nine-pence upon every ton of wine brought to Brittany by sea. So that all these duties, when compared together, make it plainly manifest, that the excise upon every ton of wine amounts to nine pounds, four shillings, and six-pence; which is more than the price of the wine. This, I think, is sufficient to explain the matter I was to make out, *viz.* wherein consisted the excise upon wines, which the French call *les aides*: but to have it more clearly understood, I would again desire the reader, to read it with care and attention.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Entries.

THIS is a general excise upon every thing that comes to Paris: for nothing there is free, but air, besides the river, which runs through the middle of the city. I wish I could be as particular upon this article, as I have been upon the others; but it cannot reasonably be expected, that the memory of a man is able to supply him, for such an undertaking: however, I will do my endeavour to explain it, as well as I can.

In the entries of Paris and Rouen, there is included a duty, which the French call *pie-fourchie*, that is, an excise upon all cloven-footed beasts; as oxen, sheep, swine, and the like. They pay for every ox, at this time, nine shillings sterling; for a cow, seven shillings and six-pence; three shillings and four-pence, for a calf, or a hog; half-a-crown for a sheep, and five groats for a lamb. I say, at this time; for in times of peace, this duty was not so high by one half. There is a duty too upon fowls, which is four-pence *per livre*, let unto farm, near twenty-five thousand pounds.

The imposition that is laid upon timber, and other wood, fit for work and service, is let (or, at least, was so some years ago) for fifteen-thousand three-hundred eighty-four pounds, twelve shillings sterling, *per annum*.

That upon fire-wood amounts to much more: but, indeed, I cannot now remember,

nor learn, how much the just sum is. But this I can say, that they pay one shilling and three-pence, for every load of fire-wood; and whosoever will consider the largeness of the city of Paris, the number of families in it, and that they burn no sea-coal, cannot but agree, that this tax must bring in a vast sum of money to the exchequer. I must plead the like excuse, as to the duties of entry laid upon charcoal, and hay, and both salt and fresh fish; but the reader may easily guess, that they are not in any disproportion to those I have already mentioned.

Eggs, butter, cheese, and all manner of herbs, pay four-pence *per livre*; that is, four shillings *per pound*.

If all the money, accruing from those impositions, were brought into the king's treasury, it would amount to a vast sum; but it must be observed, that, from time to time, the French king createth (to use the French phrase) many employments *en titre d'office*; that is, hereditary employments, to be overseers of the sales of certain commodities, with a privilege, that nobody shall sell what they sell themselves: and, besides, they take for their own use one part of the duties that are laid upon some certain commodities. Some years ago, there were forty-four *jurez* (so they call them) created all at once, to sell, or appraise fowls, and each of them paid down above three-thousand pounds; and, to repay themselves, they took three-halfpence *per livre*. A like number was created for fish, with the same salary. Those for hay are far more numerous, but then they are not altogether so dear; for they may be bought for two-thousand three-hundred-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and six-pence. Those upon charcoal cost above three-thousand pounds, but they are not many; but those upon wood are innumerable: and I am very well informed, that the French king has received, out of those offices for wood, near two millions four-hundred thousand pounds sterling. Now, to repay themselves, they are allowed, as I have said, some duties: but the king, very often, demands from them some ready money, and this increaseth their duties so much the more, and is the reason, that all manner of things are grown, *gradatim*, in Paris, to such an excessive price: for there is a general excise upon all things that come into that city, even to the very ashes, and old lees of wine; and the duty laid upon them, was let at twelve-hundred twenty-three pounds, one shilling, and six-pence.

And this duty of entry is not particular only to Paris, for it is imposed upon most parts of France; with this only difference, that the duties are not exacted so high, every-where. One example of this, I hope, will be sufficient:

At Caen in Normandy, (a place well known to our Englishmen,) they pay, for every pound of butter, a halfpenny.

For a load of firewood, ten-pence.

For a load of timber, thirteen shillings and four-pence.

For a load of hay, one shilling and eight-pence.

For a horse-load of wood, as they use in that country, two-pence halfpenny.

For a horse-load of fish, three shillings and five-pence.

For the load of a man, or woman, of fish, eight-pence. And,

For a horse-load of corn, one shilling.

ARTICLE V.

Of the King's Demesne and Customs.

I HAVE but very little to say upon these heads; for I do not look on them to be an effect of arbitrary power. All crowns in the world must have a sufficient revenue, either in lands, or customs, to support them; and so has the crown of France. But as the French kings have, within this last century, very much enlarged their primitive power, it is no wonder, if they have increased, likewise, their ancient patrimony. The duty joined to the demesne, which I take to be tyrannical, is that called *lods et ventes*; that is, a certain sum

of money, which people are forced to pay, whenever they sell their estates, or any part of them. Indeed, this duty is not in all places alike: in the country, where the customary law of Paris is received, the buyer is obliged to pay the king the twelfth-penny; that is to say, out of twelve-thousand pounds, one thousand: but, at Troyes in Champaign, they pay three shillings and four-pence, out of every pound; and that duty is paid, the one half by the buyer, and the other half by the seller. This is very hard.

This tax (for truly it deserves no better a name) is not of the creation of this French king; but, about twelve years ago, he created another very like it. For he ordered, that all people should pay the same duty, whenever they bartered their lands, as if they had sold them for ready money. This was harder yet than the other; and never were the French king's subjects so much harassed and plagued upon account of any tax, as they have been of this: for they have been forced to pay the arrears thereof, (if I may so call it,) having been called to give an account for these twenty years last past.

The *traites foraines*, or customs, are a duty laid upon all commodities, that are exported from France, or imported into it. But this, in itself, is not very surprizing; since some such duty as this is generally over all the world, and is, no doubt, the slightest of all taxes: yet the French king has raised it to such a vast degree, that it is become absolutely tyrannical and slavish. I will give you but one instance, *viz.* upon sugar, which pays three-pence *per* pound. Another observation, I shall make upon these customs, is, that the following provinces, to wit, Brittany, Poictou, Xaintonge, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphine, Lorrain, and the New Conquests, being looked upon all of them as foreign states, there is another custom upon all commodities that are exported or imported into these provinces, which is so severe and rigorous, as if they were exported into Holland. Why these provinces should be accounted foreign-states, I could never hear any other reason given, but that formerly they were subjected to some particular princes, and not to the crown of France: but pray, Was not Normandy ruled by her own dukes, as well as Aquitain?

ARTICLE VI.

Of several Taxes, and Creations of Offices.

THE offices of counsellors in parliament, in France, are not disposed of like those in England, for these are given *gratis*, but the others are sold by the French king. There is also another considerable difference between them, *viz.* that the place of a judge, here, is, *quamdiù benè se gesserit*; whereas the employments of counsellors in parliament in France are hereditary. But this must be observed, that to keep those places in their families, they are obliged to pay every year a duty, which is called *paulette*, from one Paulet, who was the first that contrived this tax. This duty amounts to fifty pounds *per annum* for each counsellor; and, besides all this, they are forced likewise to make a loan, or rather, a gift to the king, every five years, which is nine times as much as the annual duty; and, should they fail performing these conditions, they presently lose their right of inheritance. Whenever a counsellor dies, or (by any resignation) his son comes into his place, he must pay another duty, which amounts to the eighth part of the price of the place, whatever it be: so that, if the place be valued at fifty-thousand crowns, he must pay above six-thousand. There is an office appointed, for the receiving of this money, and for the sale of vacant places, called *Le bureau des parties casuelles*.

The *decimes*, or tenths of the clergy, is a tax, which all the clergy-men of the kingdom pay to the king out of their livings. This tax, at first, was granted the kings of France, upon pretence of a war against the Infidels; and, if I am not mistaken, it began in 1189. It was very inconsiderable at first, as appears by its very name, and granted only for a certain time; but succeeding kings have found out a way to raise it; and not only so, but to make it perpetual. This present king^s especially, (the most ingenious and exquisite prince in the world, for increasing his revenues,) has raised it, as he hath

^s [Louis XIV]

done other taxes, according to his own pleasure ; and from the tenth he has brought it up now to the fourth part : so that, if a curate hath a living but of a hundred pounds *per annum*, he must pay every year to the king twenty-five pounds of it, besides what he is obliged to contribute towards the free-gift, that the clergy make every five years to the king. If the clergy, who are favourites, be so much oppressed ; what must be the condition of the laity ?

The paper and parchment *marked*, was imposed in the year 1672. And they are so called from a flower-de-luce, wherewith they are stamped : all indentures, bonds, agreements, leases ; in a word, all manner of writings (except private letters, and bills of exchange), must be written upon this paper or parchment only, otherwise they are void in law. The paper is divided into sheets, half-sheets, and quarters of a sheet. The whole sheet is sold for three-pence, the half for three-halfpence, and the quarter for three-farthings. The parchment is dearer, for you must give twenty-pence for a skin. Now whosoever considers the great extent of France, must needs agree, that this must bring in a mighty sum of money.

At much about the same time, that this paper-tax was imposed, there was another tax found out, called *controlle*. Now to rightly understand, what this is, I must observe to you, that whereas law-suits generally begin, here in England, by arrests ; they begin in France by a summons, to appear before the judges. This summons must be controlled ; that is, viewed and signed by an officer, called comptroller, whose fee is five-pence.

All the silver and gold plate that is made, throughout the kingdom, must be also stamped with the king's mark ; and the goldsmith pays for that three shillings and four-pence, for every mark ; that is, for every eight ounces. This duty was yearly set to farm for twenty-five thousand pounds.

Pewter must be also stamped with the king's mark, which costs one penny *per* pound.

The stockings coming from foreign countries are also marked ; and the king hath, for his mark, two-pence *per* pair.

So are also all hats, and the duty upon them is ten-pence a-piece.

Iron, steel, copper, and leather, must be also marked ; but, indeed, I cannot positively say now, what the duty is.

Every hackney-horse, in the kingdom, pays yearly to the king two crowns.

The new tax upon chocolate, tea, and coffee, was let yearly at thirty-thousand seven-hundred and sixty-nine pounds, four shillings, and six-pence.

In many provinces of France, as in Normandy, &c. the pigeon-houses are assessed in ten years : some of them pay twenty-five crowns ; others, more or less according to the bigness of them.

The French nobility and gentry being obliged, or, at least, used to spend more than their yearly revenue ; it often happens, that they contract so many debts, as makes them forced to sell their estates. Now, if their noble manors are sold to any merchant, or other, under the quality of a nobleman ; they must pay, every twentieth year, a whole year's revenue to the king, and this is what the French call *francfief*.

There is another duty all over the kingdom, called *barrage*, which is paid by the waggoners and carriers ; and this was employed for the repairing of bridges and high-ways : now the king hath appropriated it all to his own use, under the promise, that he himself would take care of pavements, bridges, &c. But, he has kept his word herein, as religiously, as he hath the treaty of Nimeguen.

Every house in Paris was assessed at a certain sum for the poor, and the scavengers, as they are here in London ; but the king hath obliged the proprietors of each house, to redeem that tax, by paying a certain sum into his coffers, and he hath taken upon him the care of keeping the poor, and of cleansing the streets : but how he hath performed what he hath promised, we may learn from public intelligences, wherein we are told, ' that all the inhabitants of Paris have been now lately assessed, upon the account of the poor.'

Besides the duties of the custom-house, there is a kind of tax upon tobacco : I say, a kind of tax ; because it is rather, in reality, an engrossing of the trade of that commodity.

There are a company of people, that pay to the king a sum of money yearly, to have the privilege of selling tobacco, and that at their own word. This sum amounts to about sixty-thousand pounds sterling.

All people who let lodgings furnished in Paris, and all the inn-keepers, upon high-ways, have been taxed within these three months.

Though the counsellors in parliament be very numerous, yet the French king hath lately (I mean, since the beginning of this war) increased their number an eighth in each parliament, who have paid ready money for their places, each of them an hundred-thousand livres; that is, seven-thousand six-hundred ninety-two pounds, six shillings, and one penny half-penny sterling: and, over and above this sum, they pay the annual duty, as well as others; and each of them have been taxed, since that time, twelve-thousand livres, or nine-hundred seventy-six pounds eighteen shillings sterling.

The French king hath erected *en titre d'office* the mayors of all the cities of the kingdom; and, because this place is hereditary, and those in possession of them are free from quartering of soldiers, and other public charges, besides the honour, they have been sold very dear. I will give but an instance: the mayor of Caen in Normandy, which is not one of the most considerable cities in France, has paid about four-thousand pounds sterling.

Those who sell any brandy by retail in their shops, or in the streets, at a half-penny a glass (as they use in most parts of France) have been erected also, since this war, *en titre d'office*; and have paid twenty-three pounds, one shilling, and six-pence.

A very poor sort of people, called, 'Criers of old shoes, hats, and rags,' have also been erected *en titre d'office*; and each of them has paid seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and six-pence.

The barbers, who were peruke-makers, were erected *en titre d'office* in 1672, and then they paid one-hundred fifty-three pounds eighteen shillings; and, soon after, they were forced to pay a like sum; and, since this war, they have been taxed a-new, each of them at thirty-eight pounds, seven shillings, and six-pence.

I will not, however, say, that in all the cities of France they have paid so much; for I would have this be understood of Paris only; for, in the other cities, they have paid proportionable to their trade. Another observation, I must make, is, that the very country-village barbers have been forced to take letters of licence from the king; and, I suppose, nobody will think that they are granted *gratis*, when they are so forced upon them.

The French king begun by the peruke-makers to tax tradesmen; for, in a little while after, all the other tradesmen and artificers throughout the kingdom were assessed likewise. To be particular in this point would require a volume, and so I must content myself, for brevity's sake, with one example, which shall be of the weavers of Paris, (the most miserable tradesmen in France,) who were assessed at seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and six-pence.

All officers of justice, as judges, attorneys, registers, bailiffs, notaries, &c. have also been taxed, every one of them, according to the fees of their several respective places.

The packers have been also erected *en titre d'office*; but I cannot yet tell what they have paid.

Every month produces some new found-out offices; and, about a year ago, the porters were erected *en titre d'office*, under the title of *bouteurs à port*; that is, with the privileges of unloading the boats laden with wine, and some other commodities. They paid each of them about eight-hundred pounds sterling, and they are allowed about five-pence *per ton*. This will look somewhat romantic; at least, very surprizing: but it must be considered, that these places being hereditary, and of a great revenue, a man can make no better use of his money, than in purchasing of them.

Since the beginning of this war, the French king has created some officers for funerals, called 'criers.' When any persons die, these officers are appointed to take care of their funerals, which they make at what expence they please; for no body can oppose them, under a very great penalty. They are allowed for their trouble a certain sum of money;

and, besides, they enjoy some privileges and immunities, as from quartering of soldiers, and other parish-charges.

There is a world of other duties, taxes, and offices, which it would be too tedious to relate, and, in a manner, impossible. But, I hope, what I have said is sufficient to convince any man of brains and sense, that is not of a resolved and obstinate inflexibility, that this French king hath carried his tyranny, as well as his prerogative, to a degree unknown unto all former ages: I will therefore leave this subject, after this short remark, that, in the new conquests, people are no better treated, than in France. The brewers in Mons have been lately erected *en titre d'office*, and have been forced to pay a hundred crowns a-piece: a man cannot be admitted into holy orders without paying four crowns; nor contract matrimony without a licence, which costs ten shillings.

I had almost forgot mentioning one thing, which is even more intolerable, than the heaviest tax I have yet spoke of; I mean, the raising, or lessening the current coin: and, to explain my meaning, I must observe to you, that when the French king is at a pinch for money, then he raises his coin as high as he pleaseth; and afterwards he lesseneth it, when he hath no such need. Thus louis-d'ors are risen, at this time, from eleven to fourteen livres; and his crowns in proportion; so that, whenever this war shall be at an end, people will lose four shillings and six-pence in every *louis-d'or*; and sooner too, if this war continues. For the king, by his royal edict, will (as he hath already done several times) set a lower value upon the same pieces, and command them all to be brought into the mint, by a certain stated time, under severe penalties, to be new stamped; and then afterwards he will raise the price as high as he pleases: by which means he will get a vast profit himself, to the depression and ruin of his people. One instance will serve to clear up this: the louis-d'ors, which are current now at fourteen livres, will be valued but at twelve; and they must be carried to the mint, where the king will pay them in, at that price, with his new-stamped coin; and, some time after, those very louis-d'ors, with the new royal stamp, shall be worth fourteen and fifteen livres, or whatever other higher value the king is pleased to put them at.

I must not forget neither the five millions of livres, that the city of Paris is now, at this day, obliged to pay to the king, as we may see in our gazette. This forced payment, which amounts near to four-hundred thousand pounds sterling, is a little hard, considering the other taxes, which that city is charged withal.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the French King's yearly Revenue, and how it is collected.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the taxes I have already mentioned, and the many others, which I have here omitted; yet the French king's yearly revenue amounts not to so great a sum, as one would be easily tempted, at first, to imagine. I have been often told, that it came to above an hundred and fifty millions of livres; but after a narrow enquiry into it, I found, that at the death of Monsieur Colbert, it came only to an hundred-thirty-three millions, two-hundred-thousand livres; or ten millions, two-hundred-forty-six thousand, one-hundred and fifty-three pounds, sixteen shillings, and six-pence of our English money. Now, when we consider, that since this war, the French king hath raised his taxes higher than ever they were, and created many offices and employments; we shall be apt to think, that his revenues must needs be so much the more increased; but yet, if at the same time, we do but reflect upon the lamentable decay of his trade in that kingdom, we shall find, upon a serious examination, that the increasing of his taxes can hardly make amends for the loss of his customs; and, consequently, that his revenue is much about what it was at the time I speak of.

But, perhaps, somebody will say, "How can the French king keep such great armies in pay, if his yearly revenue be no more?" The answer to this objection is very easy to any one, who knows, that twenty-thousand horse stand this nation in more, than an

hundred-thousand cost the French king. Our single troopers have near two shillings and six-pence a day, and the French have hardly five-pence; our foot-soldiers have eight-pence, or, at least, six-pence in the field, and the French have only six farthings and the ammunition-bread.

Here I could very well put an end to this discourse, but that I think myself obliged to remove one objection more, which, I know, some people will be apt to make against me, *viz.* That if the French pay yearly but ten millions, and England five, we lie under harder circumstances, than they do; since France is twice as big as England, at least.

This, I confess, seems, at first, to be a very specious and considerable objection; but, in answering of it, I would desire my reader to make, with me, these following remarks. First; It is a truth beyond contradiction, That the taxes in England (how heavy soever they seem to be) are but for one year; and these, too, laid on as by our own consent: but those in France have been made perpetual, by the grand imposer on his subjects' estates and liberties, for above these twenty years. This is a very notable difference. Secondly; It must be observed, that all taxes in France, except the *taille*, are let to farm; whereby it is manifest, that they must produce more, than what the king receives. For, as a farm, in any country, must not only produce enough to make the farmer able to pay his landlord his rent, but also to repay his expences, and to maintain himself and his family: even just so it is, in relation to the taxes that are laid on the French, but with a far more comfortable difference to the farmers of the French king's revenues, I mean, to those who have the least finger in them; for they, in a short time, become so vastly rich, that the greatest lords in France (as the marshal de Lorges, and several others,) have thought themselves happy in marrying their daughters.

These farmers advance money to the king, and then they repay themselves out of the people's pockets; and God knoweth with what vexations and tyrannical oppressions, for they are empowered to do whatever they please. Those, who have computed, as near as possibly they could, how many men are employed in the levying the king's revenues, do assure us, that they are above eighty thousand, who are kept at the people's charges; the keeping of whom is dearer by far, than the barely maintaining of an hundred-thousand soldiers: but a man must have seen this, to believe it.

Now, whosoever will consider these things, will, no doubt, agree with me, that the French nation groans under a very slavish and worse than Egyptian bondage; and that they pay a great deal more, than what appears in the books of the royal treasury. I was, one day, discoursing in France upon this point with a very learned man, and one that very well understood this business; and he told me, that, upon a very modest computation, he had found, that the kingdom of France paid yearly above two-hundred-thousand millions, upon account of the king's taxes; that is, above fifteen millions, three-hundred eighty-four thousand, six-hundred-fifteen pounds, seven shillings, and six-pence sterling. Though I will not absolutely rely on my friend's account; yet this small treatise, I hope, will be enough to convince any unprejudiced person, that it is not altogether improbable.

I will only now desire my readers to peruse this little book with care, and then to consider how much they are obliged to those, who are indefatigable in their labour and industry to bring this nation under the dreadful tyranny of France.

A Catalogue of Books, of the newest Fashion; to be sold by Auction, at the Whigs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the Jackanapes, in Prating-Alley, near the Deanery of St. Paul's.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

1. **ECCEBOLIUS ANGLICUS**: The Oxford Turn-coat; or the Duty of conforming to all Times and Circumstances of prevailing Wickedness of the contrary; by Hum—y Ho—y, an humble assserter of that doctrine; dedicated to his master, St. —.

2. *Mercurius Deformatus*: Or the Picture of Mercury, with a Calf's Head on, and no Brains in it; by that contemptible witling, the Weekly Observer: Dedicated to the learned and worthy Dr. Welwood.

3. *Lues Germanica*: The Dutch-Pox in Folio. A modern Treatise; holding forth a surer way of clapping our consciences, than a land fire-ship can our cod-pieces.

4. *Si fortuna velit fies, de —* &c. Gravel-lane To-day, D—n of P—l's To-morrow, and Gravel-lane again, as moody Fortune or Spouse pleases: by smock-pecked Sh—k.

5. *Quos Jupiter vult perdere*, &c. England first made a Bethlem, by Priests of Latitude, and then an Aceldama, by the Dutch Pilgrims in Soho: published as a specimen of the blessings we may rationally expect from a general comprehension of all religions, as well as of a general naturalization of all nations.

6. *Non magna loquimur, sed —* &c. By the pious author, and religious practiser, of the Letter to the dying Lord Russ—l; addressed chiefly to his arch-brother and *quondam* pupil Dr. Sh—, as an antidote against shame and remorse; with a use of instruction, that those things, you cannot get fairly rid of by argument or banter, you must learn solidly to out-face.

7. *Clodius accusat mæchos*: Or three Discourses against Tom Fir—n, and a fourth, against Hell-Torments: the first tract extorted from the author, by the importunate clamours of those who hate hereticks in masquerade, (as the author himself tells you,) lest you should think he drew his pen in the defence of Christianity voluntarily; the second published as a brief summary of his creed, by way of communicatory letter. Dedicated to his sub-intruders.

8. *Heu! quantum nobis profuit*, &c. A Treatise shewing that Hypocrisy's the best Religion, by him that gain'd six-thousand Pounds, *per annum*, by it: these three last, by the same hand.

9. *Dux fœmina facti*: Conquest the best Title to Body and Conscience; by Dr. Sh—k's Wife; dedicated to her humble servant her Husband: wherein these two points are proved at large. First, That no man is a good husband, who will not sacrifice his conscience, to the importunity of a wife: and secondly, That the Doctor was visibly under her power; and, therefore, he was forced to submit, and might do so according to his hypothesis of force, which dissolves all obligation; especially since the female usurpation had been for a long time, and thoroughly settled.

10. *Dum vitium fugiunt stulti*, &c. An infallible Cure for the Cramp in the Great-toe, by cutting both Legs off; the Operation performed by the Associated Conventioners of Eighty-eight, and approved by some of the Task-masters of last Sessions: together with Apologies for the same, by those two foxes, John—n and Bar—t, each of which, though their heads stand different ways, has the fire-brand of rebellion in his tail.

11. *Parturiunt montes, nascetur*, &c. An exact List of all the Countries, Cities, Towns, Fortresses, Castles, laden Vessels, Cannon, Baggage, &c. taken from the French,

since the commencement of the last War; by Johannes Pudendus, a speaker of shorthand. Dedicated to the invisible, invulnerable, and thrice-puissant Protector, of these three once-flourishing kingdoms.

12. *Manus manum fricat*: Or, a King-maker deserves to be a Wages-taker; by a Club of those confiding Kn—s that sold their Country last Session: dedicated to their Paymaster; wherein they gratefully own they have taken his money, but withal tell him they have not been behind-hand, but, for every hundred pounds they have received from him, they have given him ten-thousand.

13. *E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*: Clearly demonstrating, that you will sooner make a sweet Punch-bowl of a wooden Close-stool, than an orthodox Bishop of an old stinking Fanatick: humbly offered to the crack-brained frantick Window-breaker of Cripplegate, a lively and living testimony of the truth of that treatise.

14. *Semper idem*: Or, a Covenanter in 47, an Engager in 52, a Negative and &c. Oathman in 57, a Surplice-renouncer in 61, a Conformist and Covenant-renouncer in 64, a Rebel in 88, a scandalous Intruder in 90, and a Judas always; by R——d K——r, and several others. Dedicated to undipt John, and are to be sold at the Windmill in Turncoat-Alley; where are alcorans or bibles, common-prayers or mass-books, Geneva clokes or gowns, and cassocks, mitres or turbans of all sorts and sizes, for the use of the persevering confessors aforesaid.

15. *Quæ genus & flexum variant*, &c. Or, a Prophecy of the six grand Intruders: proving them to be heteroclites and heterodox, from the rudiments of grammar and Christianity.

16. *Nos patriæ fines*, &c. Room for Sooterkins, or the neighbourly Kindness of a general Naturalization; shewing, that since foreigners have naturalized and adopted all our Money, it is but reasonable that we should adopt and naturalize some of their Men: because we have nothing left now to oblige them with, but our *terra firma*; and since it is not possible to transport our mountains to them, we should bring them to our mountains.

17. *Græculus esuriens*, &c. A Catalogue of Refugees turned Witches, in hopes of the honours and revenues of English Bishopricks: by Gil—t Bu—t, founder of that order. Dedicated to monsieur Alix, already a treasurer of one cathedral, and a forward putter for the government of another.

18. *Exorcista*: Or, England dispossessed of a Low-country Devil, by the High-Dutch Conjuror of the Savoy.

19. *Ecclesia liberata*. The Established Church preserved, by damning her Doctrines to steal her Pelf; by brother I——n of the Char—r-house: presented for a New-year's-gift to sister Sym—n: wherein is learnedly proved, that Passive Obedience, without a parsonage and prebendary, and *pater-nosters* without pence, are unedifying tenets; and that no church is worth the saving, that will not allow tent and eggs to one's breakfast.

20. *Proximus sum egomet mihi*: Near is my King, but nearer is my Skin. By that renowned Vindicator of the Church, the Martyr Dr. Pel—g. Dedicated to M. G. Ludlow, as a thankful return to his last obliging letter on that subject: containing the reasons of Jeshurun's kicking, and the Doctor's deserting. Printed for Aminadab Rebellis, and are to be sold at the sign of the Jack-Pudding, in Taylor's Court, near West——r.

21. *Asperius nihil est humili*, &c. A new-invented Mathematical Instrument, by the help of which one may discover, that the higher a jackanapes climbs, the more he shews his a—. Published for a warning to Dr. Birch's fathers that never were sons, that they may take effectual care to double-line their breeches; because there is an old saying, 'that fools will be peeping.'

22. *Octavus Sapientum*: Or, Bog-witticisms improved, for the Diversion of both Sexes: being some small gleanings from the plentiful stock of the Worshipful Sir Sal—l Lov—l R—r L——.

23. *Asinus ad Lyram*: An Argument in Law, proving, That Killing of Horses is

downright Murder: published as a caution to prevent the effusion of Christian blood. By the same ingenious author.

24. *In dubiis tutior pars*: Or, the broad Way to save a Man's Bacon, and damn his Soul.

25. *Junius Brutus Redivivus*. The Loyal Converter of the 30th of January, into a Day of Preparation for the Sacrament; to be received only by such, who make it the first article of their religion, That the murdering, or driving away lawful Kings, is not only lawful, but saint-like; performed on the last anniversary. By W—ms of the Poultry.

26. *Filius ante diem*: A Vindication of Disobedience and Parricide; proving that children owe no duty to parents, unless so long as they did not understand it; but when they come to years of discretion, they may and ought to maintain their liberty of disobedience, even to the destruction of their parents, if they but suspect that they will labour to prevent such undutifulness. Dedicated to a very dutiful Lady, at the great House near Ch—ng-Cross; by the Plier at St. Andrew's, Holborn.

27. *Semel insanivimus omnes*: Or, a Treatise shewing, that he is no good philosopher, that has not committed one folly: but, at the same time, shewing, that he is an ass and a knave, that pursues it, when he sees the cheat. Published by a Club of relenting Abdicators; and by them, dedicated to the several counties, cities, towns corporate, and boroughs they represent.

28. *Unguentum Ophthalmicum*: Sovereign Eye-bright, to remove the Mists from the People's Eyes, that they may see their Condition, and reward their Riders. Addressed to the unfeigned lovers of England, of what condition or persuasion soever.

29. *Nolumus hunc regnare*. An Epitome of all the learned Reasons given by our Intruders, and present Riders, against Returning to our Senses, and Restoring the King; with an Appendix of Fear of Punishment and Disgrace. Dedicated to half a dozen of henpecked London Divines.

30. *Nunquam sera est ad bonos, &c.* Or, the Resurrection of Allegiance and Discipline, from the Grave of Rebellion and Schism; by the oppressed and abused Sons of the old true Church of England. Published to the confusion of those Sons of Latitude and Belial, that make Heaven pimp to their interest.

31. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*: Or, a Dissertation of the no-Power of a no-Parliament, making a no-King, that will always be doing us no Good, by leaving us no Parliaments without perjury and pensioners, no Church without knaves and intruders, no Trade without hazard and losses, no Credit at home or abroad, no Honour nor Conscience, no Blood in our veins, nor Money in our pockets, none but Holland frogs and caterpillars in the nation, and nothing but Repentance at the last.

Cases of Conscience, and Queries.

1. **W**HETHER a Pensioner be not ten times worse than a Lapland wizard; since the latter only sells his own soul to the devil, but the pensioner sells other men's souls, bodies, and all?

2. Whether a Coachman may not drive post to the d—l, by profaning the Lord's-day, notwithstanding the licence of the House?

3. Whether the remaining four of the unrepealed Commandments, ought not to be cashiered next session?

4. Whether the Members were asleep in St. Margaret's, or St. Stephen's; when they voted Dr. Birch a Saint in one place, and a Malignant in the other?

5. Whether the Fifth Commandment be part of the Coronation-oath; since our governors observe it so strictly?
 6. Whether Protestant Tyranny be not better than Popish Tyranny, by six millions, *per annum*?
 7. Whether Popish Knives and Gridirons have done us half so much mischief, as Dutch Declarations and English pensioners?
 8. Whether it is not a Cordial to an Englishman's stomach, to hear a nasty Dutchman swear, that they have given us a King to wipe their Stadtholder's backside?
 9. Whether it is better to have some Religion, all Peace, and moderate Taxes; or no Peace, no Religion, and all Taxes?
 10. Whether, when the roguish engraver fixed old Noll's head on W——m's shoulders, the figure were not all of a piece?
 11. Whether six-hundred-thousand Pounds were not too small a Gratuity to our dear saviours, the Dutch? And whether we had not better openly give them all, than let them take it underhand, and laugh at us into the bargain?
 12. Whether our Governors do not act wisely, in sacrificing our Seamen, and starving their Wives; since they design shortly we shall have no Ships?
 13. Whether it was not a true Blunder, in him who took the Pope's Picture for that of K. W. since he interpreted the two Keys to be those of our Coffers and Consciences?
 14. Whether Julian, or Sherlock, deserve the Whetstone; since Julian has been always true to a false Principle, and Sherlock a Traitor, and false to a true one?
 15. Whether S—— be not the most excuseable Instrument in our present Slavery, since treason and rebellion, in him, are original sin?
 16. Whether Cumb——d and Ten——n ever confuted ten Hobbists by their bawling and printing? And whether they have not made ten-thousand by their practice?
 17. Whether Julian, the House, or the Hangman, have made the best second treble to Gilbert's Pastoral?
 18. Whether Father Sim——n has been rebaptized, since he publicly renounced Christianity in Peter——gh cathedral?
 19. Whether the Scotch Conferences, and the Friendly Debate, are not damnably ashamed of their rascally authors?
 20. Whether the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' or the 'Parable of the Pilgrim,' had the better Tinker to their author; since they both set up for a pair of Church-menders?
 21. Whether Richard of Kidderminster had not much more Episcopacy and Uniformity in him, than our St. Richard Kidder?
 22. Whether the Latin reason of *Auri sacra fames*, or the English of the 'Grey Mare is the better Horse,' did operate most in making Sherlock a changeling?
 23. Whether Bedlam ever produced any thing half so lewd and frantick, as Cresner's lampoons upon the Apocalypse?
 24. Whether the old Welch Seer may not, with the help of a small Looking-glass, see an old crazy-crowned Infidel; since he pawned his Creed in 88, that Lewis the Grand and Old Nick should be chamber-fellows in the other world, before the end of 92?
 25. Whether J. C. or J. Y. have not all the reason imaginable to admit Ranters, Sweet-singers, Muggletonians, Jews, Turks, and Infidels to be Church-members; since their own hearts tell them, they are as good Christians as themselves?
 26. Whether, in the next Edition of his Shame, the renowned Author of the 'Contempt of the Clergy' ought not to add one other lamentable reason, besides those of Ignorance and Poverty, viz. Time-serving; together with his own phiz in the frontispiece?
 27. Whether Dame Britannia was not less culpable, in being forced to endure a thirteen-years rape from Oliver and the Rump; than by living a five-years adulteress now by consent?
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A short Account of the Siege of Bantam : and its Surrender to the Rebels ; who were assisted by the Dutch, and their Fleet, in the East-Indies. In a Letter from an English Factor to a Merchant of London.

London, printed for John Smith, 1683.

[Folio ; containing two pages.]

SIR;

GREAT was our expectation, upon the success of our late ambassador Kaia Nebbe's negotiation into England, of settling a commerce with that kingdom ; which, as it is of all nations in most esteem with, so is it most earnestly desired by the Bantamites, who have a natural kindness for the English in these parts.

Whilst we were big with these joys, a sudden and unexpected storm happened, which blasted all our hopes in an instant ; and unmercifully exposed us, not only to the fury of a domestic enemy, but the spoil and rapine of a foreign foe.

Sir, it would be but a needless trouble to tell you the true correspondence, and real friendship, that has been preserved between the English and the Bantamites : these allowing them a factory, and a place of residence for their consult, within the walls of the town of Bantam, which is the capital city of Java ; whereas all other foreigners, as the Bengallians, Cusarats, Malayans, Abyssins, Chinese, Portuguese, and Hollanders, are placed without the town : nay the very Indians themselves, who come from the borders of the country, have their places allotted them without the city, where they have their markets for their particular commodities ; the grand Bazar, or exchange, being in the east part of the town, wholly employed in the English factory, and for stowing up the commodities they trade in.

Since the last massacre of the Dutch in this nation, they have not dealt so freely amongst us, but keep within their own plantation at Batavia, which is some twelve leagues from Bantam.

The Portuguese, that deal at Bantam, live out of town in the same quarter with the Chinese. They drive here a great trade in pepper, nutmegs, cloves, mace, sandal-wood, cubebs, long-pepper, and other commodities that are sent them from Malacca ; for the greater part of them are factors, and commissioners of the governor of Malacca, and the archbishop of Goa.

The English, besides their liberty of residing within the town of Bantam, have free access through the whole country of Java Major, which is a vast and spacious isle ; for from east to west, it stretches one-hundred-and-fifty leagues, or of miles, four-hundred-and-fifty, and from north to south, ninety leagues, which is two-hundred-and-seventy miles, English.

The Dutch joined with the rebels, in this unnatural incursion, to invade our city with the more ease ; we being so unprovided of ammunition, and all other conveniencies to make any considerable resistance ; in which they had found much more difficulty, and it is probable, we might have held out as yet, had we received that recruit of arms and ammunition, as was every day expected by the ambassador from England, who is not yet come.

And this, sir, leads me to the tragical part of my letter, which must needs create pity in you, when you consider what consternation this sudden change hath left us in, not

able to call our lives or fortunes our own; nor can we yet tell, whether we are freemen, or slaves.

During the absence of our ambassador in England, a match was proposed by the king of Bantam, between his eldest son, Zerombia Zebbe, and the daughter of the king of Mitram.

This was a match well proposed, and had been fortunate for the English, had it taken its wished success; the king of Mitram being, as it were, emperor of Java Major.

The young prince, going upon this expedition, fell in love, by the way, with the king of Tuban's daughter; which, next to Bantam, is the chiefest town in Java.

The prince having forgot all other obligations, it was not long before the marriage was unhappily solemnized; though it was much inferior to what had been formerly proposed: the king of Tuban's territories being but small, and he himself a tributary to the king of Bantam. Besides, the king of Tuban having four wives, six sons, and two daughters, besides natural children, and concubines innumerable; the princess, which was the former match proposed, being sole heiress to the emperor.

This so incensed the king of Bantam, that he excludes his son out of the kingdom; making his younger son, by a second wife, his heir.

The prince, no less incensed, on the other hand, marched with a small army of the Tubanites towards Batavia, desiring aid of the Dutch; who were forward enough to assist him, as well for the grudge, that continued between them and the Bantamites, as to enlarge their dominions, upon any opportunity that presents.

There being a Dutch fleet at Batavia, they took shipping, and lay before Bantam on the twenty-third of November, playing with their great cannon upon the town; during which time, the king made several proffers of accommodation, but nothing would be accepted.

At last, all our ammunition being spent, and our walls battered down, on the second of December they entered the town, seizing upon the Bazar, and all places of factory and store, killing and plundering all before them.

The king, with the chief officers of the city, keeps his army in the field; where, by daily recruits which flock to him from all parts, he hopes yet, in some time, to recover his former losses.

The Hollanders have possessed themselves of the port, and the rebels of the city. We are every day threatened to be turned out, and a Dutch factory and consul established in our place. All the hopes we have, are of the return of the ambassador, and the success of the king's army; of which we hope to give you a better account by the next.

The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner¹, made by the most vertuous and right gracious Ladie, Queene Catherine²; bewailing the Ignorance of hir blind Life, led in Superstition: verie profitable to the Amendement of our Lives.

[Quarto; containing forty-seven pages.]

William Cicill³ having taken much Profit, by the Reading of this Treatise following, wisheth unto everie Christian, by the Reading thereof, like Profit, with Increase from God.

MOST gentle and Christian reader; if matters should be rather confirmed by their reporters, than the reports warranted by the matters, I might justlie bewaile our time, wherein evill deeds be well worded, and good deeds evill cleaped. But sincere truth is, that things be not good for their praises, but be praised for their goodnesse. I doo not moove thee to like this Christian treatise, bicause I have mind to praise it; but I exhort thee to mind it, and for the goodnesse, thou shalt allow it, for whose liking I labour not to obtaine; onelie, mooved by mine example, their judgement I regard, chieflie confirmed by the matter. Truelie, our time is so disposed to grant good names, to evill fruits, and excellent termes to meane works; that neither can good deeds enioie their due names, being defrauded by the evill; neither excellent works can possesse their woorthie termes, being forestalled by the meane: insomuch, that men seeke, rather, how much they can, than how much they ought to saie; inclining more to their pleasure, than to their judg-

¹ [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 140.]

² [Queen Catharine Parr, the sensible and learned author of these contrite meditations, was the eldest daughter of sir Thomas Parr, of Kendall. She was first married to John Nevil, lord Latymer; after whose death, she so powerfully attracted the affections of king Henry, that he raised her to the throne. Being piously disposed from her infancy, she always took a peculiar pleasure in reading the Sacred Writings; but the religious duties she so carefully practised in her youth, were according to the Roman-catholic faith; the rites and ceremonies of which she zealously observed. Upon the dawning of the Reformation, being convinced of her error, she became no less zealous as a promoter of the Lutheran doctrine; yet with such prudence and circumspection as her perilous situation required. Nevertheless, we are told that she was in great danger of falling a sacrifice to the Popish faction, the chief of whom was bishop Gardiner. The circumstances of his artful conspiracy are generally known; and what her apprehensions must have been on this occasion, may be easily imagined. Ballard remarks, that the dreadful alarm seems to have awakened all the divine faculties of her soul, and to have put her upon employing her thoughts in pious meditation and prayer, and upon making due preparation for eternity. She was convinced, that the principles of the religion in which she had been brought up, were not founded on Holy Writ; yet she would not trust wholly to her own reason in an affair of such importance, for she kept several eminent divines constantly with her, to solve her doubts, and instruct her, in quality of chaplains. With these she had frequent conferences in private concerning the Reformation, and the abuses crept into the church: but particularly, in Lent, she had a sermon preached in her chamber, at which the ladies of her privy-chamber, and others, were present. She was likewise very assiduous in studying books of divinity, and especially the Scriptures. Being thus qualified, she began to commit some of her own thoughts to writing. Her first composition seems to have been 'THE LAMENTATION OF A SINNER;' in which she meditates with contrition on the years she had passed in popery, in fasts and pilgrimages. This being found among her papers, after her death, by secretary Cecil, was published with a preface, written by himself. The present edition of this very rare tract was unknown to Ames or Herbert. Though without date, it appears, by the orthography, to be subsequent to those of 1548 and 1563, which professed to be 'set fourth and put in print at the instaunt desire of the right gracious lady Katherin duches of Suffolke, and the earnest request of the right honourable lord William Parre, marquis of Northampton.' Part of this work, and of queen Katherine's 'Prayers, or Meditations,' has been transferred into Bentley's 'Seconde Lampe of Virginitie.']

³ [Afterwards the great lord Burleigh.]

ment, and to shew themselves rather eloquent, than the matter good: so that neither the goodnesse of the cause can moove them to saie more, neither the evilnesse lesse. For, if the excellencie of this Christian contemplation, either for the goodnesse herein to marvell appearing; either for the profit, hereupon, to the reader ensuing; should be, with due commendation, followed: I, of necessitie, should either travell, to find out new words, the old being anticipated by evill matters; or wish, that the common speech of praising were spared, untill convenient matters were found to spend it: such is the plentie of praising, and scarseness of deserving.

Wherefore, lacking the maner in words, and not the matter, in deed of high commendation, I am compelled to keepe in my judgement with silence; trusting whom my report could not have mooved to like this present treatise, the worthinesse of the matter shall compell to give it honour.

Anie earthlie man would soon be stirred, to see some misterie of magike, or practise of alchumie, or, perchance, some enchantment of elements; but thou, which art christened, hast here a wonderfull mysterie of the mercie of God, a heavenlie practise of regeneration, a spiritual enchantment of the grace of God. If joie and triumph be shewed, when a king's child is born into the world; what joie is sufficient, when God's child is regenerated from heaven? The one is flesh, which is borne of flesh; the other is spirit, which is borne of Spirit: the one, also, shall wither like the grasse of the earth, in short time; the other shall live in heaven, beyond all time. If the finding of one lost sheepe be more joifull, than the having of ninetie-and-nine; what joie is it, to consider the returne of a straie child of Almighty God, whose returne teacheth the ninetie-and-nine to come to their fold? Even such cause of joie is this, that the angels, in heaven, take comfort herein. Be thou, therefore, joifull, when a noble child is newlie born; shew thy selfe glad, when the lost sheepe hath wonne the whole flocke; be thou not sad, where angells rejoyse.

Here maist thou see one, if the kind may moove thee, a woman; if degree may provoke thee, a woman of high estate; by birth made noble, by marriage most noble, by wisdom godlie, by a mightie king, an excellent queene; by a famous Henrie, a renowned Catherine, a wife to him that was a king to realmes; refusing the world, wherein she was lost, to obtaine heaven, wherein she may be saved; abhorring sinne, which made hir bound to receive grace, whereby she may be free; despising flesh, the cause of corruption, to put on the Spirit, the cause of sanctification; forsaking ignorance, wherein she was blind, to come to knowledge, whereby she may see; remooving superstition, wherewith she was smothered, to imbrace true religion, wherewith she may revive.

The fruit of this treatise, good reader, is thine amendment: this onlie had, the writer is satisfied. This good ladie thought no shame to detest hir sinne, to obtaine remission; no vilenes, to become nothing, to be a member of Him, which is all things in all; no follie to forget the wisdom of the world, to learne the simplicitie of the Gospell at the last; no displeasantesse, to submit hir selfe to the schoole of the Cross, the learning of the Crucifix, the booke of our Redemption, the verie absolute librarie of God's Mercie and Wisdom. This waie, thought she, hir honour increased, and hir state pirmanent; to make hir earthlie honour heavenlie, and neglect the transitorie for the everlasting.

Of this I would have thee warned, that the profit may ensue. These great mysteries and graces be not well perceived, except they be surelie studied; neither be they perfectlie studied, except they be diligentlie practised; neither profitablie practised, without amendment. See and learne, hereby, what she hath doone; then maist thou practise, and amend that thou canst do: so shalt thou practise with ease, having a guide; and amend with profit, having a zeale. It is easier to see these, than to learne: begin at the easiest, to come to the harder; see thou hir confession, that thou maiest learne hir repentance; practise hir perseverance, that thou maiest have like amendment; despise thy selfe, in eschewing vice, that thou maiest please God, in asking grace; let not shame hinder the confession, which hindered not the offense. Be thou sure, if we 'knowledge our sins, ' God is faithfull to forgive us, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousnes.' Obeie the prophets saieng: ' Declare thy waies to the Lord.'

Thus far thou maist learne to knowe thy selfe: next this, be thou as diligent to releve thy selfe in God's mercie, as thou hast beene to reveale thy selfe in thine owne repentance. For God hath 'concluded all thinges under sinne,' bicause he would have mercie upon all; Who hath also 'borne our sinnes in his bodie upon the tree,' that we should be delivered from sinne, and should live unto righteousnes; 'by whose stripes we be 'healed.' Here is our Anchor; here is our Shepheard; here we be made whole; here is our Life, our Redemption, our Salvation, and our Blisse: let us, therefore, now feed, by this gracious Queene's example; and be not ashamed to become in confession Publicanes, since this noble ladie will be no Pharisie.

And to all ladies of estate, I wish as earnest mind to followe our Queene in vertue, as in honour; that they might once appeare to prefer God before the world, and be honourable in religion, which now be honourable in vanities: so shall they (as in some vertuous ladies, of right high estate, it is, with great comfort seen,) taste of this freedome of remission of the everlasting blisse, which exceedeth all thoughts and understandings, and is prepared for the holie in spirit. For the which, let us, with our intercession in holines and pures of life, offer our selves, to the heavenlie Father, an undefiled host: to whom be eternall praise and glorie, throughout the earth, without end. Amen.

The First Chapter.

Of an humble Confession of Sinnes, to the Glorie of God.

WHEN I consider, in the bethinking of mine evil and wretched former life, mine obstinate, stonie, and untractable heart, to have so much exceeded in evilnesse, that it hath not onelie neglected, yea contemned, and despised God's holie precepts and commandements; but also imbraced, received, and esteemed, vaine, foolish, and feined trifles; I am partlie, by the hate I owe to sinne, who hath reigned in me, and partlie, by the love I owe to all Christians, whom I am content to edifie; even, with the example of mine owne shame, forced, and constrained, with my hart and words, to confesse and declare to the world, how ingrate, negligent, unkind, and stubborne, I have been to God my Creator; and how beneficiall, mercifull, and gentle, he hath been alwaies to me his creature, being such a miserable and wretched sinner.

Trulie, I have taken no little small thing upon me. First, To set foorth my whole stubbornesse, and contempt in words; the which is incomprehensible in thought, as it is in the twelfth Psalm, 'Who understandeth his faults?' Next this, To declare the excellent beneficence, mercie, and goodnesse of God; which is infinite, and unmeasurable. Neither can all the words of angels and men make relation thereof, as apperteineth to his most high goodnesse. Who is he, that is not forced to confesse the same, if he consider what he hath received of God, and doth dailie receive? Yea, if men would not acknowledge and confesse the same, the stones would crie it out. Trulie, I am constrained and forced to speake, and write thereof, to mine owne confusion and shame; but to the glory and praise of God. For he, as a loving Father, of most abundant and high goodnesse, hath heaped upon me innumerable benefits; and I, contrarie, have heaped manifold sinnes; despising that which was good, holie, pleasant, and acceptable in his sight; and choosing that which was delicious, pleasant, and acceptable, in my sight.

And no marvell it was, that I so did; for I would not learne to knowe the Lord, and his waies, but loved darknesse better than light; yea darknesse seemed to me light. I embraced ignorance, as perfect knowledge, and knowledge seemed to me superfluous and vaine. I regarded little God's word, but gave my selfe to vanities, and shadowes of the world. I forsooke Him, in whom is all truth; and followed the vaine, foolish imaginations of my hart. I would have covered my sinnes with the pretence of holinesse; I called superstition godlie meaning, and true holinesse errour. The Lord did speake

manie pleasant and sweet words unto me, and I would not heare : he called me diverslie, but, through frowardnesse, I would not answere.

Mine evils and miseries be so manie, and so great, that they can accuse me even to my face. Oh, how miserable and wretchedlie am I confounded, when, for the multitude and greatnesse of my sinnes, I am compelled to accuse my selfe! Was it not a marvellous unkindnesse, when God did speake to me, and also call to me, that I would not answere him? What man, so called, would not have heard? Or what man, hearing, would not have answered? If an earthlie prince had spoken, either called; I suppose there be none, but would willinglie have done both. Now, therefore, what a wretch and caitife am I, that when the PRINCE of Princes, the KING of Kings, did speake manie pleasant and gentle words unto me, and also called me so manie and sundrie times, that they can not be numbred; and yet, notwithstanding these great signes and tokens of love, I would not come unto him, but hid my selfe out of his sight, seeking manie crooked and biwaies, wherein I walked so long, that I had clean lost his sight. And no marvell, or wonder, for I had a blind guide, called Ignorance, who dimmed so mine eies, that I could never perfectlie get anie sight of the faire, goodlie, streight, and right waies of his doctrine; but continuallie travelled, uncomfortablie, in foule, wicked, crooked, and perverse waies: yea, and bicause they were so much haunted of manie, I could not thinke, but that I walked in the perfect and right waie, having more regard to the number of the walkers, than to the order of the walking; beleeving also, most assuredly, with companie, to have walked to Heaven, whereas, I am most sure, they would have brought me down to Hell.

I forsooke the spirituall honouring of the true Living God, and worshipped visible idols, and images made of men's hands, beleeving, by them, to have gotten heaven; yea, to saie the truth, I made a great idole of my selfe, for I loved my selfe better than God. And, certainlie, looke how manie things are loved, or preferred, in our harts, before God; so manie are taken and esteemed for idols, and false gods. Alas! How have I violated this holie, pure, and most high precept and commandment, of the love of God! Which precept bindeth me to love him with my whole hart, mind, force, strength, and understanding: and I, like unto an evill, wicked, and disobedient child, have given my will, power, and senses, to the contrarie; making, almost, of everie earthlie and carnall thing, a god.

Furthermore, the blood of Christ was not reputed, by me, sufficient for to wash me from the filth of my sinnes; neither such waies, as he had appointed by his word: but I sought for such rifferaffe, as the bishop of Rome hath planted, in his tyrannie and kingdom; trusting, with great confidence, by the vertue and holinesse of them, to receive full remission of my sinnes. And so I did, as much as was in me, obfuscate and darken the great benefit of Christes passion; than the which, no thought can conceive anie thing of more value. There can not be done so great an injurie and displeasure to Almighty God, our Father, as to tread under foot Christ, his onlie begotten and welbeloved Sonne. All other sinnes in the world, gathered together in one, be not so heinous, and detestable, in the sight of God. And no wonder; for, in Christ crucified, Goth doth shewe himselfe most noble and glorious, even an Almighty God, and most loving Father, in his onlie deare and chosen Blessed Sonne.

And, therefore, I count my selfe one of the most wicked and miserable sinners in the world, bicause I have beene so much contrarie to Christ my Saviour. Saint Paule desired to knowe nothing, but Christ crucified; after he had beene rapt into the third heaven, where he heard such secrets, as were not convenient and meete to utter to men; but counted all his works and doings as nothing, to win Christ. And I, most presumptuously thinking nothing of Christ crucified, went about to set foorth mine owne righteousnesse, saieg, with the proud Pharisie: ' Good Lord, I thanke thee, I am not like other men; I ' am none adulterer, nor fornicator, and so forth;' with such like words of vaine-glorie, extolling my selfe, and despising others; working as an hired servant for wages, or else for reward, and not, as a loving child, onlie for verie love, without respect of wages or reward, as I ought to have done. Neither did I consider, how beneficiall a Father I had,

who did shew me his charitie and mercie of his owne meere grace and goodnesse; that when I was most hisemie, he sent his onlie begotten and welbeloved Sonne, into this world of wretchednesse and miserie, to suffer most cruell and sharpe death for my redemption. But my hart was so stonie and hard, that this great benefit was never trulie and livelie printed in my hart, although, with my words, it was oft rehearsed; thinking my selfe to be sufficientlie instructed in the same, and being, in deede, in blinde ignorance; and yet I stode so well in mine owne judgement and opinion, that I thought it vaine to seeke the increase of my knowledge therein.

Paule calleth Christ 'the Wisdome of God;' and, even the same Christ, was, to me, 'foolishnesse.' My pride and blindnesse deceived me, and the hardnesse of my hart withstode the groning of truth within it. Such were the fruits of my carnall and humane reasons, to have rotten ignorance in price for ripe and seasonable knowledge; such, also, is the malice and wickednesse that posseseth the harts of men; such is the wisdome and pleasing of the flesh. I professed Christ in my baptisme, when I began to live; but I swarved from him after baptisme, in continuance of my living, even as the heathen, which never had begun.

Christ was innocent, and void of all sinne; and I wallowed in filthie sinne, and was free from no sinne. Christ was obedient unto his Father, even to the death of the crosse; and I disobedient, and most stubborn, even to the confusion of truth. Christ was meeke and humble in hart; and I most proud and vaine-glorious. Christ despised the world, with all the vanities thereof; and I make it my god, because of the vanities. Christ came to serve his brethren; and I coveted to rule over them. Christ despised worldlie honour; and I much delighted to attaine the same. Christ loved the base and simple things of the world; and I esteemed the most faire and pleasant things. Christ loved poverty; and I wealth. Christ was gentle and mercifull to the poore; and I hard-harted and ungentle. Christ praied for his enemies; and I hated mine. Christ rejoiced in the conversion of sinners; and I was not grieved to see their reversion to sinne. By this declaration, all creatures may perceive, how far I was from Christ, and without Christ; yea, how contrarie to Christ, although I bare the name of a Christian: insomuch that, if anie man had said, I had beene without Christ, I would have stiffelie denied, and withstode the same; and yet, in deede, I neither knew Christ, nor wherefore he came.

As concerning the effect and purpose of his coming, I had a certaine, vaine, and blind knowledge, both cold and dead, which may be had with all sinne; as doth plainlie appeare by this my confession and open declaration.

The Second Chapter.

A Lamentation of a Sinner, with hartie Repentance in Faith, to obtaine Absolution and Remission, through the Merits of Christ.

WHAT cause now have I to lament, sigh, and weepe, for my life and time so evill spent? With how much humilitie, and lowlinesse, ought I to come, and 'knowledge my sinnes to God; giving him thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his abundant goodnesse, to give me time of repentance. For I knowe my sinnes, in the consideration of them, to be so greivous; and, in the number, soexceeding; that I have deserved, verie often, eternall damnation. And for the deferring of God's wrath, so manifoldlie due, I must uncessantlie give thanks to the mercie of God; beseeching also, that the same delaie of punishment cause not his plague to be the sorer, since mine owne conscience condemneth my former doings. But his mercie exceedeth all iniquitie. And if I should not thus hope, alas! what should I seeke for refuge and comfort? No mortall man is of power to help me; and, for the multitude of my sinnes, I dare not lift up mine eies to heaven, where the seate of judgement is, I have so much offended my God. What, shall I fall in desperation? Naie, I will call upon Christ, the Light of the world, the Fountaine of life, the Reliefe of all

carefull consciences, the Peacemaker betweene God and man, and the onlie health and comfort of all true repentant sinners.

He can, by his allmightie power, save me, and deliver me out of this miserable state; and hath will, by his mercie, to save even the whole sin of the world. I have no hope nor confidence in anie creature, neither in heaven nor earth, but in Christ; my whole and onlie Saviour. He came into the world to save sinners, and to heale them that are sicke; for he said, 'The whole have no neede of the physician.' Behold, Lord, how I come to thee, a sinner sicke, and grievously wounded; I aske not bread, but the crums that fall from the children's table. Cast me not out of thy sight; although I have deserved to be cast into Hell-fire.

If I should looke upon my sinne, and not upon thy mercie, I should despaire: for, in my selfe, I find nothing to save me; but a dunghill of wickednesse to condemne me. If I should hope, by mine owne strength and power, to come out of this maze of iniquitie and wickednesse, wherein I have walked so long; I should be deceived. For I am so ignorant, blind, weake, and feeble, that I can not bring my selfe out of this intangled and wayward maze; but the more I seeke means, and waies, to winde my selfe out, the more I am wrapped and tangled therein.

So that I perceive my striving therein to be hinderance; my travell, to be labour spent, in going backe. It is the hand of the Lord that can, and will, bring me out of the endlesse maze of death. For, without I be prevented, by the grace of the Lord, I can not aske forgiveness, nor be repentant, or sorie for them. There is no man can avow, that Christ is the onlie Saviour of the world, but by the Holie Ghost; yea, as St. Paule saith, 'no man can saie, The Lord Jesus, but by the Holie Ghost.' The Spirit helpeth our infirmitie, and maketh continuall intercession for us, with such sorrowfull gronings, as can not be expressed.

Therefore, I will first require, and praie the Lord, to give me his Holie Spirit, to teach me to avow, that Christ is the Saviour of the world, and to utter these words, 'The Lord Jesus:' and, finallie, to helpe mine infirmities, and to intercede, or intreate for me. For I am most certaine and sure, that no creature, in heaven nor earth, is of power, or can, by anie meane, helpe me, but God; who is omnipotent, allmightie, beneficiall, and mercifull, welwilling, and loving, to all those that call, and put their whole confidence and trust in him. And, therefore, I will seeke none other meanes, nor advocate, but Christes Holie Spirit; who is, onlie, the Advocate, and Mediatour, betweene God and man, to helpe and releve mee.

The Third Chapter.

What true Faith worketh in the Soule of a Sinner.

BUT now, What maketh me so bold and hardie, to presume to come to the Lord with such audacitie and boldnesse, being so great a sinner? Trulie nothing, but his owne word. For he saith, 'Come to me, all ye that labour, and are burdened; and I shall refresh you.' What gentle, mercifull, and comfortable words are these, to all sinners! Were he not a frantike, madde, beastlie, and foolish man, that would runne for aide, helpe, or refuge, to anie other creature? What a most gracious, comfortable, and gentle saieing was this, with such pleasant and sweete words, to allure his verie enemies to come unto him! Is there anie worldlie prince, or magistrate, that would shew such clemencie, and mercie, to their disobedient and rebellious subjects, having offended them? I suppose they would not, with such words, allure them; except it were to call them, whom they cannot take, and punish them, being taken. But even, as Christ is Prince of princes, and Lord of lords, so his charitie and mercie exceedeth, and surmounteth all others. Christ saith, 'If carnall fathers do give good gifts to their children, when they

‘ aske them ; how much more shall your Heavenlie Father, being, in substance, all holie, and most highlie good, give good gifts, to all them that aske him ?’

It is no small nor little gift that I now require, neither thinke I my selfe worthie to receive such a noble gift, being so ingrate, unkind, and wicked a child. But when I behold the benignitie, liberalitie, mercie, and goodnesse of the Lord ; I am encouraged, boldened, and stirred, to aske such a noble gift. The Lord is so bountifull and liberall, that he will not have us satisfied and contented with one gift, neither to aske simple and small gifts ; and, therefore, he promiseth and bindeth himselfe, by his Word, to give good and beneficiall gifts, to all them that aske him with true faith ; without which, nothing can be done acceptable, or pleasing, to God : for faith is the foundation and ground of all other gifts, vertues, and graces ; and, therefore, I will praie and saie, ‘ Lord, increase my faith !’

For this is the life everlasting, Lord, that I must beleieve Thee to be the true God, and whom that thou didst send, Jesus Christ. By this faith I am assured ; and, by this assurance, I feele the remission of my sins. This is it that maketh me bold ; this is it that comforteth me ; this is it that quencheth all despaire.

I knowe, O my Lord, thine eies looke upon my faith. St. Paule saith, ‘ We be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the deeds of the Lawe ; for, if righteousness come by the Lawe, then Christ died in vaine.’ St. Paule meaneth not here, a dead, humane, and historicall faith, gotten by humane industrie ; but a supernaturall and livelie faith, which ‘ worketh by charitie,’ as he himselfe plainlie expresseth. This dignitie of faith is no derogation to good works ; for, out of this faith, spring all good works : yet we may not impute, to the worthinesse of faith or works, our justification before God, but ascribe, and give the worthinesse of it wholie to the merits of Christ’s passion, and refer and attribute the knowledge and perceiving thereof onlie to faith ; whose verie, true, and onlie propertie it is, to take, apprehend, and hold fast the promises of God’s mercie, the which maketh us righteous ; and to cause me continuallie to hope for the same mercie, and, in love, to work all maner of waies, allowed in the Scripture ; that I may be thankful for the same.

Thus I feele my selfe to come, as it were, in a new garment before God ; and now, by his mercie, to be taken just and righteous, which, of late, without his mercie, was sinfull and wicked ; and, by faith, to obtaine his mercie, the which the unfaithfull can not enjoie. And although St. John extolleth charitie, in his epistle, saieng, ‘ That God is Charitie ; and he that dwelleth in charitie, dwelleth in God.’ Truelie, charitie maketh men live like angels, and of the most furious, unbrideled, and carnall men, maketh meeke lambes.

Yea, with how fervent a spirit ought I to call, crie, and praie to the Lord, to make his great charitie to burne and flame my hart, being stonie, and evill affected ; that it never would conceive, nor regard, the great inestimable charitie and love of God, in sending his onlie begotten, and deere beloved Sonne, into this vale of miserie, to suffer the most cruell and sharpe death of the cross, for my redemption. Yea, I never had this unspeakeable and most high charitie, and abundant love of God, printed, and fixed in my hart duellie ; till it pleased God, of his meere grace, mercie, and pittie, to open mine eies ; making me to see, and behold, with the eie of livelie faith, Christ crucified, to be mine onlie Saviour and Redeemer. For then I began (and not before) to perceive, and see mine owne ignorance and blindness : the cause thereof was, that I would not learne to knowe Christ my Saviour and Redeemer.

But when God, of his meere goodnesse, had thus opened mine eies, and made me see and behold Christ, the Wisedome of God, the Light of the world, with a supernaturall sight of faith ; all pleasures, vanities, honor, riches, wealth, and aids of the world, began to waxe bitter unto me. Then I knew, it was no illusion of the divell ; nor false, ne humane doctrine I had received. When such successe came thereof, that I had in detestation and horreur that, which I erst so much loved and esteemed ; being, of God, forbidden, that we should love the world, or the vaine pleasures and shadowes in the same :

then began I to perceive, that Christ was my onlie Saviour and Redeemer; and the same doctrine to be all divine, holie, heavenlie, and infused, by grace, into the harts of the faithfull, which never can be attained by humane doctrine, wit, nor reason, although they should travell and labour for the same, to the end of the world. Then began I to dwell in God by charitie; knowing, by the loving charitie of God, in the remission of my sinnes, that 'God is Charitie,' as St. John saith. So that of my faith (whereby I came to knowe God, and, whereby, it pleased God, even bicause I trusted in him, to justifie me) sprang this excellent charitie in my hart.

I thinke no lesse, but manie will wonder, and marvell at this my saieng, that I never knewe Christ for my Saviour and Redeemer, untill this time: for many have this opinion, saieng; 'Who knoweth not there is a Christ? Who, being a Christian, doth not confesse 'Him his Saviour?' And thus, beleeveng their dead, humane, historicall faith and knowledge (which they have learned in their scholasticall bookes) to be the true infused faith and knowledge of Christ, which may be had, as I said before, with all sinne: they use to saie, by their owne experience of themselves, that their faith doth not justifie them. And, true it is, except they have this faith, the which I have declared here before, they shall never be justified.

And yet it is not false, that by faith onlie, I am sure to be justified. Even this is the cause, that so manie impugne this office and dutie of true faith, bicause so manie lacke the true faith. And, even as the faithfull are forced to allow this true faith, so the unfaithfull can, in no wise probablie, intreate thereof: the one feeling in himselfe that he saith, the other having not in him for to saie.

I have, certeinlie, no curious learning, to defend this matter withall, but a simple zeale, and earnest love, to the truth inspired of God; who promiseth, to powre his Spirit upon all flesh; which I have, by the grace of God (whom I most humbly honour), felt in my selfe to be true.

The Fourth Chapter.

Of the great Love of God towards Mankind, and of the inward Beholding of Christ crucified.

LET us, therefore, now, I praie you, by faith, behold and consider the great charitie and goodnesse of God, in sending his Sonne, to suffer death for our redemption, when we were his mortall enemies; and, after what sort and maner he sent him.

First, It is to be considered, (yea to be undoubtedlie, and, with a perfect faith, beleeveng,) that God sent him to us freele; for he did give him, and sold him not: a more noble and rich gift he could not have given. He sent not a servant, or a friend, but his onlie Sonne, so deerelie beloved; not in delights, riches, and honours, but in crosses, poverties, and slanders; not as a lord, but as a servant; yea, and in most vile and painefull passions, to wash us; not with water, but with his owne pretious blood; not from mire, but from the puddle and filth of our iniquities. He hath given him, not to make us poore, but to enrich us with his Divine vertues, merits, and graces; yea, and in him, he hath given us all good things, and, finallie, Himselfe; and with such great charitie, as can not be expressed.

Was it not a most high and abundant charitie of God, to send Christ to shed his blood, to loose honour, life, and all, for his enemies? Even, in the time, when we had done him most injurie, he first shewed his charitie to us, with such flames of love, that greater could not be shewed. God, in Christ, hath opened unto us (although we be weake and blind of our selves), that we may behold, in this miserable estate, the great Wisedome, Goodnesse, and Truth, with all the other godlie perfections, which be in Christ. Therefore, inwardlie to behold Christ crucified upon the crosse, is the best and goodliest meditation that can be.

We may see also, in Christ crucified, the beautie of the soule, better than in all the bookes of the world. For who, that with a livelie faith, seeth and feeleth, in spirit, that Christ, the Sonne of God, is dead, for the satisfieng and purifieng of the soule, shall see, that his soule is appointed for the verie tabernacle and mansion of the inestimable and incomprehensible Majestie and Honour of God. We see also, in Christ crucified, how vaine and foolish the world is; and how that Christ, being most wise, despised the same. We see, also, how blind it is; because the same knoweth not Christ, but persecuteth him. We see, also, how unkind the world is; by the killing of Christ, in the time he did shew it most favour. How hard and obstinate was it, that would not be mollified with so manie tears, such sweate, and so much bloudshead of the Sonne of God, suffering with so great and high charitie?

Therefore, he is now verie blind, that seeth not how vaine, foolish, false, ingrate, cruell, hard, wicked, and evill the world is. We may also, in Christ crucified, weigh our sinnes, as in a divine ballance, how greivous, and how weightie they be, seeing they have crucified Christ; for they would never have beene counterpoised, but with the great and pretious weight of the bloud of the Sonne of God. And, therefore, God, of his high goodnesse, determined; that his blessed Sonne should rather suffer bloudshead, than our sinnes should have condemned us. We shall never knowe our owne miserie and wretchednesse, but with the light of Christ crucified: then we shall see our owne crueltie, when we feele his Mercie; our owne unrighteousnesse and iniquitie, when we see his Righteousnesse and Holinesse. Therefore, to learne to knowe trulie our owne sinnes is to studie in the booke of the Crucifixe, by continuall conversation in faith; and to have perfect and plentifull charitie is to learne, first by faith, the charitie that is in God towards us.

We may see also, in Christ upon the crosse, how great the paines of Hell, and how blessed the joies of Heaven be; and what a sharpe and painefull thing it shall be to them, that of that sweet, happie, and glorious joie, Christ, shall be deprived. Then this Crucifixe is the booke, wherein God hath included all things; and hath most compendiously written, therein, all truth, profitable and necessarie for our salvation. Therefore, let us endeavour, our selves, to studie this booke; that we, being lightened with the Spirit of God, may give him thanks for so great a benefit.

The Fift Chapter.

Of the glorious Victories of Christ over all Enemies.

IF we looke further in this booke, we shall see Christ's great victorie upon the crosse, which was so noble and mightie, that there never was, neither shall be such. If the victorie and glorie of worldlie princes were great, because they did overcome great hostes of men; how much was Christes greater, which vanquished, not onelie the prince of this world, but all the enemies of God; triumphing over persecution, injuries, villanies, slanders, yea death, the world, sinne, and the divell, and brought to confusion all carnall prudence?

The princes of the world never did fight, without the strength of the world: Christ contrarilie went to warre, even against all the strength of the world. He fought (as David did with Golias) unarmed of all humane wisdom and policie, and without all worldlie power and strength. Neverthelesse, he was fully replenished, and armed with the whole armour of the Spirit; and, in this one battell, he overcame, for ever, all his enemies. There was never so glorious a spoile, neither a more rich and noble, than Christ was upon the crosse; which delivered all his Elect from such a sharpe and miserable captivitie. He had, in his battell, manie stripes, yea, and lost his life; but his victorie was so much the greater. Therefore; when I looke upon the Sonne of God, with a supernaturall faith and light, so unarmed, naked, given up, and alone; with humilitie, patience, liberalitie, modestie, gentlenesse, and with all other his Divine vertues; beating downe to the ground all God's enemies, and making the soule of man so faire and beautifull: I am forced to

saie, that his victorie and triumph was marvellous; and, therefore, Christ well deserved to have this noble title, 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jewes.'

But, if we will particularlie unfold and see his great victories, let us first behold, how he overcame sinne with his innocencie, and confounded pride with his humilitie; quenched all worldlie love with his charitie, appeased the wrath of his Father with his meekenesse, and turned hatred into love, with his so manie benefits and godlie zeale.

Christ hath not onlie overcome sinne, but rather, he hath killed the same; in asmuch as he hath satisfied for it himselfe, with the most holie sacrifice and oblation of his pretious bodie, in suffering most bitter and cruell death. Also, after another sort, that is, he giveth all those that love him, so much spirit, grace, vertue, and strength, that they may resist, impugne, and overcome sinne; and not consent, neither suffer it to reigne in them. He hath also vanquished sinne, because he hath taken awaie the force of the same; that is, he hath cancelled the Lawe, which was, in evill men, the occasion of sinne. Therefore, sinne hath no power against them, that are, with the Holie Ghost, united to Christ; in them there is nothing worthie of damnation. And although the dregs of Adam do remaine, that is, our concupiscences, which, in deede, be sinnes; neverthelesse, they be not imputed for sinnes, if we be trulie planted in Christ. It is true, that Christ might have taken awaie all our immoderate affections; but he hath left them for the great glorie of his Father, and for his owne greater triumph. As for example: When a prince fighteth with his enemies (which, sometime, had the sovereigntie over his people), and, subduing them, may kill them if he will, yet he preserveth and saveth them; and, whereas they were lords over his people, he maketh them after to serve, whome they before had ruled. Now, in such a case, the prince doth shewe himselfe a greater conquerour, in that he hath made them, which were rulers, to obeie; and the subjects to be lords over them, to whome they served; than if he had utterlie destroied them upon the conquest. For now, he leaveth continuall victorie to them whome he redeemed; whereas, otherwise, the occasion of victorie was taken awaie, where none were left to be the subjects. Even so, in like case, Christ hath left in us these concupiscences; to the intent they should serve us, to the exercise of our vertues, where first they did reigne over us, to the exercise of our sinne. And it may be plainlie seene, that whereas, first, they were such impediments to us, that we could not moove our selves towards God; now, by Christ, we have so much strength, that notwithstanding the force of them, we may assuredlie walke to heaven. And although the children of God, sometime, do fall, by frailtie, into some sinne; yet, that falling maketh them to humble themselves, and to reknowlege the goodnesse of God, and to come to him for refuge and helpe.

Likewise Christ, by his death, hath overcome the prince of divells, with all his hoast, and hath destroied them all. For, as Paule saith, it is verified, that 'Christ should breake the Serpent's head,' prophesied by God. And although the divell tempt us; yet if, by faith, we be planted in Christ, we shall not-perish; but rather, by his temptation, take great force and might. So it is evident, that the triumph, victorie, and glorie of Christ is the greater, having, in such sort, subdued the divell; that whereas he was prince and lord of the world, holding all creatures in captivitie; now Christ useth him as an instrument to punish the wicked, and to exercise and make strong the Elect of God in Christian warfare.

Christ, likewise, hath overcome death in a more glorious manner, if it be possible; because he hath not taken it awaie, but leaving universallie all subject to the same. He hath given so much vertue and spirit, that whereas afore we passed thereto with great feare; now we be bold through the Spirit, for the sure hope of the Resurrection, that we receive it with joie. It is now no more bitter, but sweete; no more feared, but desired; it is no death, but life.

And, also, it hath pleased God, that the infirmities and adversities do remain to the sight of the world; but the children of God are, by Christ, made so strong, righteous, whole, and sound, that the troubles of the world be comforts of the spirit; the passions of the flesh are medicines of the soul; for all maner of things worke to their commoditie and

profite: for they, in spirit, feele, that God, their Father, doth governe them, and disposeth all things for their benefit; therefore they feele themselves sure. In persecution, they are quiet and peacefull; in trouble, they are without weerinesse, feares, anxieties, suspicions, miseries; and finallie, all the good and evill of the world worketh to their commoditie.

Moreover, they see that the triumph of Christ hath beene so great, that not onelie he hath subdued and vanquished all our enemies, and the power of them; but he hath overthrowne and vanquished them, after such a sort, that all things serve to our helth. He might and could have taken them all awaie; but where then should have beene our victorie, palme, and crowne? For we dailie have fights in the flesh; and, by the succour of Grace, have continuall victories over sinne: whereby we have cause to glorifie God, that, by his Sonne, hath weakened our enemy, the divell; and, by his Spirit, giveth us strength to vanquish his offspring.

So doo we 'knowledge, dailie, the great triumph of our Saviour, and rejoyce in our own fights; the which we can no wise impute to anie wisdom of this world, seeing sinne to increase by it; and where worldlie wisdom most governeth, there most sinne ruleth: for as the world is enemy to God, so also the wisdom thereof is adverse to God; and, therefore, Christ hath declared, and discovered the same for foolishness. And although he could have taken awaie all worldlie wisdom, yet he hath left it for his greater glorie, and triumph of his chosen vessels. For before, whereas it was our ruler against God; now, by Christ, we are served of it for God, as of a slave in worldlie things; albeit, in supernaturall things, the same is not to be understood. And further, if at anie time, men would impugne, and gainsaie us, with the wisdom of the world; yet we have, by Christ, so much supernaturall light of the Truth, that we make a mocke of all those that repugne the Truth.

Christ also, upon the crosse, hath triumphed over the world. First, because he hath discovered the same to be naught: that whereas it was covered with the vail of hypocrisie, and the vesture of morall vertues; Christ hath shewed, that, in God's sight, the righteousness of the world is wickednesse, and he hath yeelded witnes, that the works of men, not regenerated by him in faith, are evill; and so Christ hath judged and condemned the world for naught. Furthermore, he hath given to all his so much light and spirit, that they knowe it, and dispraise the same; yea, and tread it under their feet, with all vaine honours, dignities, and pleasures; not taking the faire promises, neither the offers which it doth present; naie, they rather make a scorne of them. And, as for the threatnings and force of the world, they nothing feare.

Now, therefore, we may see how great the victorie and triumph of Christ is, who hath delivered all those, the Father gave him, from the power of the divell; 'cancelling, upon the crosse, the writing of our debts.' For he hath delivered us from the condemnation of sinne, from the bondage of the Lawe, from the feare of death, from the danger of the world, and from all evils in this life, and in the other to come. And he hath enriched us, made us noble, and most highlie happie, after such a glorious and triumphant waie, as can not with tongue be expressed; and, therefore, we are forced to saie, His triumph is marvellous.

It is also seene and knowne, that Christ is the true Messias, for he hath delivered man from all evils; and, by him, man hath all goodnesse; so that he is the true Messias. Therefore, all other helpers be but vaine, and counterfeited saviours; seeing that, by this, our Messias, Christ, wholie and onlie we be delivered from all evils; and, by him, we have all goodnesse. And that this is true, it is evident and cleare, because the verie true Christian is a Christian by Christ. And the true Christian feeleth inwardlie, by Christ, so much goodnesse of God; that even troublous life and death be sweet unto him, and miseries happie. The true Christian, by Christ, is disburdened from the servitude of the Lawe, (having the lawe of Grace, graven by the Spirit, inhabiting his hart,) and from sinne that reigned in him, from the power of the infernall spirits, from damnation, and from everie evill; and is made a sonne of God, a brother of Christ, heire of heaven, and lord of the world: so that, in Christ and by Christ, he possesseth all good things.

But let us knowe, that Christ yet fighteth in spirit, in his elect vessels, and shall fight even to the Daie of Judgment; at which daie shall that great enemy, Death, be wholly destroyed, and shall be no more. Then shall the children of God rejoice on him, saying, 'O Death, where is thy victory and sting?' There shall be then no more trouble nor sinne; naie, rather, none evil; but Heaven for the good, and Hell for the wicked. Then shall, wholly, be discovered, the victory and triumph of Christ; who (after Paule) shall present unto his Father the kingdom, together with his Chosen saved by him.

It was no little favour towards his children, that Christ was chosen of God to save us, his elect, so highly, by the waie of the Crosse. Paule calleth it a grace, and a most singular grace. We may well thinke, that he, having beene, to the world, so valiant a captain of God, was full of light, grace, vertue, and spirit; therefore, he might justly saie, '*Consummatum est.*' Wee seeing then, that the triumph and victory of our Captaine, Christ, is so marvellous, glorious, and noble, to the which war we be appointed; let us force our selves to folowe him, with bearing our crosse, that we may have fellowship with him in his kingdom.

The Sixt Chapter.

That we ought to submit our selves to the Schoole of the Crosse, and still looke and learne in the Booke of the Crucifix.

TRULIE, it may be most justly verified, that to behold Christ crucified, in spirit, is the best meditation that can be. I certeinly never knew mine owne miseries, and wretchednes, so well by booke, admonition, or learning, as I have done, by looking into the spirituall booke of the Crucifix. I lament much, I have passed so manie yeeres, not regarding that divine booke; but I judged, and thought my selfe to be well instructed in the same: whereas now I am of this opinion, that if God would suffer me to live here a thousand yeeres, and I should studie continuallie in the same divine booke, I should not be filled with the contemplation thereof. Neither hold I my selfe contented; but alwaies have a great desire, to learne and studie more therein. I never knewe mine owne wickednes, neither lamented for my sinnes trulie, untill the time God inspired me with his grace, that I looked in this booke: then I began to see perfectlie, that mine owne power and strength could not help me; and that I was in the Lord's hand, even as the claye is in the potter's hand; then I began to crie, and saie:

'Alas! Lord, that ever I have so wickedly offended Thee; being to me, from the beginning, so gracious, and so good a Father; and, most specially, now hast declared and shewed thy goodnesse unto me, when, in the time, I have done Thee most injurie, to call me, and also to make me knowe, and take Thee for my Savior and Redeemer.'

Such be the wonderfull works of God, to call sinners to repentance; and to make them to take Christ, his welbeloved Sonne, for their Saviour: this is the gift of God, and of all Christians to be required and desired. For, except this great benefit of Christ crucified be felt and fixed surely in man's hart, there can be no good worke done, acceptable before God; for, in Christ, is all fulnesse of the Godhead, and, in him, are hid all the treasures of Wisdome and Knowledge. Even he is 'the Water of Life, whereof whosoever shall drinke, he shall never more thirst, but it shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life.' St. Paule saith, 'There is no damnation to them that are in Christ, which walke not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' Moreover he saith, 'If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son; much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preserved by his death.' It is no little or small benefit we have received by Christ, if we consider what he hath done for us; as I have perfectlie declared heretofore. Wherefore, I praie the Lord, that this great benefit of Christ crucified may be stedfastly fixed and printed in all Christians' harts; that they may be true lovers of God, and worke as children for love, and not as servants, compelled with threatenings, or provoked with hire.

The sincere and pure lovers of God doo embrace Christ, with such fervencie of spirit, that they 'rejoice in hope, be bold in danger, suffer in adversitie, continue in praier, 'blesse their persecutors.' Further, they be not wise in their owne opinion, neither high-minded in their prosperitie, neither abashed in their adversitie, but humble and gentle alwaies to all men: for they knowe, by their faith, they are members all of one bodie, and that they have possessed all one GOD, one Faith, one Baptisme, one Joie, and one Salvation. If these pure and sincere lovers of God were thicke sowne, there should not be so much contention and strife growing on the fields of our Religion, as there is. Well; I shall praie to the Lord, to take all contention and strife awaie, and that the sowers of sedition may have mind to cease their labour, or to sowe it among the stones, and to have grace to sowe gracious vertues, where they may both take roote, and bring forth fruit; with sending also a godlie unitie and concord amongst all Christians, that we may serve the Lord in true holinesse of life.

The Sevent Chapter.

A Christian bewailing of the miserable Ignorance and Blindnesse of Men.

THE example of good living is required of all Christians, but speciallie in the ecclesiasticall pastors and shepherds. For they be called, in Scripture, 'Workmen with GOD; 'Disbursers of GOD'S Secrets; The Light of the World; The Salt of the Earth;' at whose hands all other should take comfort in working, knowledge of God's will, and sight to become children of light, and taste of seasonable wisdom. They have, or should have, the Holie Spirit; abundantlie to pronounce and set forth the word of God, in veritie and truth. If ignorance and blindnesse reigne amongst us, they should, with the truth of God's word, instruct and set us in the Truth, and direct us in the waie of the Lord.

But thanks be given unto the Lord, that hath now sent us such a godlie and learned king, in these latter daies, to reigne over us; that, with the vertue and force of God's word, hath taken awaie the vailes and mists of errorrs, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth, by the light of God's word; which was so long hid, and kept under, that the people were nigh famished, and hungred for lacke of spirituall food. Such was the charitie of the spirituall curats and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godlie wise governour and king, hath delivered us out of the captivitie and bondage of Pharao. I meane by this Moses, king Henrie the Eight, my most sovereigne favourable lord and husband; one (if Moses had figured anie more than Christ) through the excellent grace of God, meete to be an other expressed veritie of Moses conquest over Pharao. And I meane by this Pharao, the bishop of Rome; who hath beene, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians, than ever was Pharao of the children of Israel: for he is a persecutor of the Gospell and Grace, a setter forth of all superstition and counterfeit holinesse, bringing manie soules to Hell with his alchimie and counterfeit monie, deceiving the poore soules, under the pretence of holinesse; but so much the greater shall be his damnation, bicause he deceiveth and robbeth under Christ's mantell. The Lord keepe and defend all men from his juglings and sleits; but speciallie the poore, simple, and unlearned soules. And this lesson I would all men had of him; that when they begin to mislike his dooing, then onlie begin they to like God, and certeinlie not before.

As for the spirituall pastors and shepherds, I thinke they will cleave and sticke to the word of God, even to the death; to vanquish all God's enemies, if neede shall require; all respects of honour, dignitie, riches, welth, and their private commodities, laid apart; following also the examples of Christ, and his chosen Apostles, in preaching and teaching sincere and wholesome doctrine, and such things as make for peace, with godly lessons, wherewith they may edifie others; that everie man may walke after his vocation, in holinesse of life, in unite and concord; which unitie is to be desired of all true Christians.

It is much to be lamented, the schismes, varieties, contentions, and disputations, that have beene and are in the world, about Christian religion; and no agreement nor concord of the same among the learned men. Truelie, the divell hath beene the sower of the seede of sedition, and shall be the maintainer of it, even till God's will be fulfilled. There is no war so cruell and evill as this; for the war, with sword, killeth but the bodies, and this slaieth manie soules; for the poore unlearned persons remaine confused, and almost everie one beleeveth and worketh after his owne waie: and yet there is but one truth of God's word, by the which we shall be saved. Happie be they that receive it, and most unhappie are they which neglect and persecute the same: for it shall be more easie for Sodom and Gomor, at the Daie of Judgement, than for them. And not without just cause; if we consider the benevolence, goodnesse, and mercie of God, who hath declared his charitie towards us, greater, and more inestimable, than ever he did to the Hebrues. For they lived under shadowes and figures, and were bound to the Lawe. And Christ, (we being his greatest enemies,) hath delivered us from the bondage of the Lawe, and hath fulfilled all that was figured in their Lawe, and also in their Prophetes; sheading his owne pretious bloud, to make us the children of his Father, and his brethren, and hath made us free, setting us in a godlie libertie. I meane not licence to sinne, as manie be glad to interpret the same, when as Christian libertie is godlie intreated of.

Truelie, it is no good spirit that moveth men to find fault at everie thing, and when things may be well taken, to pervert them into an evill sense and meaning. There be, in the world, manie speakers of holines and good works, but verie rare and seldome is declared, which be the good and holie works. The works of the Spirit be never almost spoken of; and, therefore, verie few knowe what they be. I am able to justifie the ignorance of the people to be great, not in this matter alone, but in manie other, the which were most necessarie for Christians to knowe. Because I have had just prooffe of the same, it maketh me thus much to saie; with no little sorowe and greefe in my hart, for such a miserable ignorance and blindnesse amongst the people.

I doubt not, but we can saie all, 'Lord, Lord;' but I feare, God may saie unto us, 'This people honoureth me with their lips, but their harts be far from me.' God desireth nothing but the hart, and saith, 'He will be worshipped in spirit and truth.' Christ condemned all hypocrisie and feigned holines, and taught sincere, pure, and true godlinesse; but we, worse than frantike or blinde, will not followe Christ's doctrine, but trust to men's doctrines, judgements, and saiengs, which dimmeth our eies; and so 'the blind leadeth the blind, and both fall into the ditch.' Trulie, in my simple and unlearned judgement, no man's doctrine is to be esteemed, or preferred, like unto Christ's and the Apostles; nor to be taught, as a perfect and true doctrine, but even as it doth accord and agree with the doctrine of the Gospell.

But yet, those that be called spirituall pastours, (although they be most carnall, as it doth verie evidentlie and plainelie appeare by their fruites,) are so blinded with the love of themselves, and the world; that they extoll men's inventions and doctrines, before the doctrine of the Gospell. And when they be not able to mainteine their own inventions and doctrines, with anie jot of the Scripture; then they most cruellie persecute them that be contrarie to the same. Be such the lovers of Christ? Naie, naie; they be the lovers of the wicked mammon, neither regarding God, nor his honour. For filthie lucre hath made them almost mad, but frantike they be doubtlesse. Is not this miserable state of spirituall men in the world much to be lamented of all good Christians? But yet I cannot allowe, neither praise all kind of lamentation, but such as may stand with Christian charitie.

The Eight Chapter.

Of the Fruites and Rules of true Christianitie for Men to followe.

‘CHARITIE suffereth long, and is gentle; envieth not; upbraideth no man; casteth, ‘frowardlie, no faults in men’s teeth, but referreth all things to God;’ being angrie without sinne, reforming others without slanders, carrieng ever a store-house of mild words to pearce the stonie-hearted men. I would all Christians, that like as they have professed Christ, would so endeavour themselves to folowe him in godlie living. For we have not put on Christ, to live anie more to our selves, in the vanities, delightes, and pleasures of the world, and the flesh; suffering the concupiscence and carnalitie of the flesh to have his full swinge; for we must walke after the spirit, and not after the flesh: for the spirit is spirituall, and coveteth spirituall things; and the flesh carnall, and desireth carnall things. The men, regenerate by Christ, despise the world, and all the vanities and pleasures thereof; they be no lovers of themselves, for they feele how evill and infirme they be; not being able to do anie good thing, without the helpe of God, from whome they ‘knowledge all goodnesse to proceede.

They flatter not themselves, with thinking everie thing, which shineth to the world, to be good and holie; for they knowe, all externe and outward works, be they never so glorious and faire to the world, may be done of the evill, as well as of the good. And, therefore, they have in verie little estimation the outward shew of holinesse, because they be all spirituall, casting up their eies upon heavenlie things; neither looking, nor regarding the earthlie things, for they be to them vile and abject. They have also the simplicitie of the dove, and the policie of the serpent; for, by simplicitie, they have a desire to do good to all men, and to hurt no man; no, though they have occasion given: and, by policie, they give not, nor minister anie just cause to anie man, whereby their doctrine might be reprovèd. They be not, also, as ‘a reede shaken with everie winde;’ but, when they be blasted with the tempests and stormes of the world, then remaine they most firme, stable, and quiet; feeling in spirit, that God, as their best Father, doth send, and suffer all things for their benefit and commoditie. Christ is to them a rule, a line, an example of Christian life; they be never offended at anie thing, although occasion be ministred unto them. For, like as Christ, (when Peter would have withdrawne him from death,) answered, and said, “Go backe from me, Sathan, for thou offendest me:” that is; As much as lieth in thee, thou givest me occasion, with thy words, to make me withdrawe my selfe from death, although I yeilded not thereto; for this, thy procurement, can not extinguish the burning desire I have, to shed my blood for my Chosen. Even so the perfect men are never offended at anie thing; for, although the world were full of sinne, they would not withdrawe themselves from doing of good, nor waxe cold in the love of the Lord: and much lesse they would be moved to do evill, yea rather, they be so much the more moved to do good.

The regenerated, by Christ, are never offended at the works of God, because they knowe, by faith, that God doth all things well; and that he can not erre, neither for want of power, nor by ignorance, nor malice: for they knowe him to be Almighty, and that he seeth all things, and is most abundantlie good. They see, and feele in spirit, that of that Will most highlie perfect, can not but proceede most perfecte works. Likewise, they be not offended at the works of men: for, if they be good, they are moved, by them, to take occasion to folowe them, and to reknowledge the goodnes of God, with giving of thanks, and praising his Name dailie the more; but if they be indifferent, and such as may be done with good and evill intents, they judge the best part, thinking they may be done to a good purpose, and so they be edified. But, if they be so evill, that they can not be taken in good part, by anie meanes, yet they be not offended, although occasion be given: naie, rather, they be edified; in asmuch as they take occasion to be better, though the contrarie be ministred to them.

Then begin they to thinke, and saie thus: ‘If God had not preserved me with his

' grace, I should have committed this sinne, and worsse. O how much am I bound to confesse and 'knowledge the goodnesse of God!' They go also thinking and saing further: ' He, that hath sinned, may be one of God's elect: peradventure the Lord hath suffered him to fall, to the intent he may the better knowe himselfe. I knowe he is one of them, that Christ hath shed his bloud for, and one of my Christian brethren; trulie, I will admonish and rebuke him, and in case I find him desperate, I will comfort him, and shewe him the great goodnesse and mercie of God in Christ; and with godlie consolations, I will see if I can lift him up.' And thus ye may see, how the men, regenerated by Christ, of everie thing win and receive fruit.

The Nint Chapter.

Of the Fruits of Infidelitie, and Offence of Weakelings.

AND, contrariwise, the yonglings, and, unperfect, are offended at small trifles, taking everie thing in evill part, grudging and murmuring against their neighbour; and so much the more, as they shew themselves fervent in their so doing, they are judged, of the blind world, and of themselves, great zeale-bearers to God. If this were the greatest evill of these yonglings, it were not the most evill; but I feare they be so blind and ignorant, that they are offended, also, at good things, and judge nothing good, but such as they embrace and esteeme to be good, with murmuring against all such, as folowe not their waies. If there be anie of this sort, the Lord give them the light of his Truth, that they may increase and growe in godlie strength. I suppose, if such yonglings and unperfect had seen Christ, and his Disciples, eate meate with unwashen hands, or not to have fasted with the Pharisies, they would have beene offended; seeing him a breaker of men's traditions. Their affections dispose their eies to see through other men, and they see nothing in themselves; where charitie, although it be most ful of eies, to see the faults of others, whome it coveteth to amend, thinketh none evill; but discreetlie, and rightlie, interpreteth all things, by the which, more justlie and trulie everi thing is taken.

Now, these superstitious weaklings, if they had been conversant with Christ, and seene him leade his life sometime with women, sometime with Samaritans, with publicanes, sinners, and with the Pharisies, they would have murmured at him. Also, if they had seene Marie powre upon Christ the pretious ointment, they would have said, with Judas, ' This ointment might have beene sold, and given to the poore.' If they also had seene Christ, with whips, drive out of the Temple those that bought and sold; they would, forthwith, have judged Christ to have beene troubled and moved with anger, and not by zeale of charitie. How would they have beene offended, if they had seene him go to the Jewes feast, heale a sické man upon the Sabbath-daie, practise with the woman of Samaria; yea, and shew unto hir of his most divine doctrine and lif? They would have taken occasion to have hated and persecuted him, as the Scribes and Pharisies did; and even so should Christ, the Saviour of the world, have beene to them an offence and ruine.

There be an other kind of little ones unperfecte, which are offended after this sort and maner. As when they see one, that is reputed and esteemed holie, to commit sinne, forthwith they learne to do that, and woorse, and waxe cold in dooing of good, and confirme themselves in evill; and then they excuse their wicked life, publishing the same with the slander of their neighbour. If anie man reprove them, they saie: " Such a man did this, and woorse." So it is evident, that such persons would denie Christ, if they sawe other men doo the same. If they went to Rome, and sawe the enormities of the prelates, which is said to reigne there amongst them, I doubt not, if they sawe one of them sinne, which were reputed and taken for holie, their faith should be lost; but not the faith of Christ, which they never possessed; but they should loose that humane opinion, which they had of the goodnesse of the prelates. For, if they had the faith of

Christ, the Holie Ghost should be a witnes unto them; the which should be mightie in them, that in case all the world would denie Christ, yet they would remaine firme and stable in the true faith.

The Pharisies also tooke occasion of the evill of others, to waxe hautie and proud, taking themselves to be men of greater perfection than anie other, bicause of their vertue; even as the Pharisee did, when he sawe the Publican's submission. And so they be offended with everie little thing, judging evill, murmuring against their neighbour; and, for the same, they are of manie reputed and taken for the more holie and good; whereas, in deed, they be the more wicked. The most wicked persons are offended, even at themselves: for, at their little stabilitie in goodnesse, and of their delectable and evill life, they take occasion to despaire, where they ought the more to commit themselves to God, asking mercie for their offences; and, forthwith, to give thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his goodnesse, to suffer them so long a time.

But what needeth it anie more to saie, The evill men are offended, even at the works of God? They see God suffer sinners; therefore, thinke they, sinne displeaseth him not. And, bicause they see not the good rewarded with riches; oftentimes they imagine, that God loveth them not. It seemeth to them God is parciall, bicause he hath elected some, and some reprovved: and, therefore, they saie, "That the Elected be sure of salvation;" taking, by that, occasion to doo evill inough, saieng, "Whatsoever God hath determined, shall be performed." If also they see the good men oppressed, and the evill men exalted, they judge God unjust; taking occasion to live eville, saieng, "Inasmuch as God favoureth the naughtie men, let us doo evill inough, to the intent he doo us good." If then the wicked be offended, even at God, it is no woonder if they be offended at those that followe and walke in his paths and waies.

The Tenth Chapter.

Of carnall Gospellers, by whose evill Living God's Truth is shamefullie slandered.

I WILL now speake with great dolor and heavinesse in my hart, of a sort of people which be in the world, that be called professors of the Gospell; and, by their words, doo declare and shew, they be much affected to the same: but, I am afraid, some of them doo build upon the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weake foundation. I meane, they make not Christ their chiefest foundation; professing his doctrine, of a sincere, pure, and zealous mind: but either, for bicause they would be called Gospellers, to procure some credit and good opinion of the true and verie favourers of Christ's doctrine; either to find out some carnall libertie, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or rebukers of other men's faults; or else, finallie, to please and flatter the world. Such Gospellers are an offence, and a slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to rejoyce and laugh at them, saieng, "Behold, I praie you, their faire fruits." What charitie, what discretion, what godlinesse, holinesse, or puritie of life, is among them? Be not they great avengers, foule gluttons, slanderers, backbiters, adulterers, fornicators, swearers, and blasphemers; yea, and wallowe and tumble in all sinnes? These be the fruits of their doctrine.

And thus it may be seene, how the word of God is evill spoken of, through licentious and evill living: and yet the word of God is all holie, pure, sincere, and godlie, being the doctrine and occasion of all holie and pure living. It is the wicked that pervert all good things into evill, 'for an evill tree can not bring forth good fruit;' and, when good seede is sowne in a barren and evill ground, it yeeldeth no good corne; and so it fareth by the word of God. For when it is heard, and knowne of wicked men, it bringeth no good fruit; but when it is sowne in good ground (I meane the harts of good people), it bringeth forth good fruit abundantlie; so that the want and fault is in men, and not in the word of God. I praie God, all men and women may have grace to become meete

tillage for the fruits of the Gospell, and to leave onlie the jangling of it. For onlie speaking of the Gospell, maketh not men good Christians, but good talkers, except their facts and works agree with the same; so then their speech is good, bicause their harts be good. And even as much talke of the word of God, without practising the same in our living, is evill and detestable in the sight of God; so it is a lamentable thing to heare, how there be manie, in the world, that do not well digest the reading of Scripture, and do commend and praise ignorance, and saie, "That much knowledge of God's word is the originall of all dissention, scismes, and contention; and maketh men hautie, proud, and presumptuous, by reading of the same."

This maner of saieng is no lesse than a plaine blasphemie against the Holie Ghost; for the Spirit of God is the author of His word, and so the Holie Ghost is made the author of evill, which is a most great blasphemie; and (as the Scripture saith) a sinne that 'shall not be forgiven in this world, neither in the other to come.' It were all our parts and duties, to procure and seeke all the waies and meanes possible, to have more knowledge of God's word set foorth abroad in the world, and not allow ignorance, and discommend knowledge of God's word; stopping the mouthes of the unlearned, with subtile and craftie persuasions of philosophie and sophistrie, whereof commeth no fruite, but a great perturbation of the mind, to the simple and ignorant; not knowing which waie to turn them. For how; is it not extreame wickednesse, to charge the holie sanctified word of God with the offences of man? To alledge the Scriptures to be perillous learning; because certaine readers thereof fall into heresies?

These men might be inforced, by this kind of argument; to forsake the use of fire, bicause fire burneth their neighbour's house; or to absteyne from meate and drinke, bicause they see manie surfet. O blind hate! they slander God for man's offence, and excuse the man whome they see offend; and blame the Scripture, which they can not improve: yea, I have heard of some, that have verie well understood the Latin tongue, that when they have heard learned men persuade to the credite and beleefe of certaine unwritten verities, as they call them; which be not in Scripture expressed, and yet taught as doctrine apostolike, and necessarie to be beleaved; they have beene of this opinion, that the learned men have mo epistles written by the Apostles of Christ than we have abroad, in the Canon of the Old and New Testament; or knowne of anie, but onlie to them of the clergie. Which beleefe I did not a little lament in my hart to heare, that anie creature should have such a blind ignorant opinion.

Some kind of simplicitie is to be praised; but this simplicitie, without the veritie, I can neither praise nor allow. And thus it may be seene, how we, that be unlettered, remaine confused, without God, of his grace, lighten our harts and minds with a heavenlie light and knowledge of his will; for we be given, of our selves, to beleieve men better than God. I praie God, send all learned men the Spirit of God abundantlie; that their doctrine may bring forth the fruits thereof. I suppose there was never more neede of good doctrine to be set foorth in the world, than now in this age; for the carnall children of Adam be so wise in their generation, that (if it were possible) they would deceive the children of light. The world loveth his owne; and, therefore, their facts and doings be highlie esteemed of the world: but the children of God are hated, bicause they be not of the world; for their habitation is in heaven, and they do despise the world as a most vile slave.

The fleshlie children of Adam be so politike, subtile, craftie, and wise in their kind, that the Elect should be illuded, if it were possible: for they are cloathed with Christ's garment, in utter appearance, with a faire shewe of all godlines and holines in their words; but they have so shorne, nopped, and turned Christ's garment, and have so disguised themselves, that the children of light, beholding them with a spirituall eie, do accompt and take them for men which have sold their Maister's garment, and have stolne a peece of everie man's garment: yet, by their subtile art, and craftie wits, they have so set those patches and peeces together, that they do make the blind world and carnall men to beleieve, it is Christ's verie mantell.

The Eleventh Chapter.

Of the vertuous Properties of God's Children, of whome everie one attendeth his Vocation.

BUT the children of light knowe the contrarie: for they are led, by the Spirit of God, to the knowledge of the truth; and, therefore, they discern and judge all things right, and knowe from whence they come; even from the bishop of Rome, and his members, the headspring of all pride, vaine glorie, ambition, hypocrisie, and feigned holines.

The children of God be not abashed, although the world hate them; they beleeve they are in the grace and favour of God, and that he, as a best Father, doth governe them in all things, putting awaie from them all vaine confidence and trust in their owne doings; for they knowe they can do nothing but sin of themselves. They be not so foolish and childish, not to give God thanks for their election, which was before the beginning of the world; for they beleeve most surelie, they be of the Chosen: for the Holie Ghost doth witnes to their spirit, that they be the children of God, and, therefore, they beleeve God better than man. They saie, with St. Paule, 'Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, anguish, persecution, hunger, nakednesse, perill, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all daie long, and are accounted as sheepe appointed to be slaine: neverthesse, in all these things we overcome, through Him that loveth us. For I am sure, that neither death, nor life, neither angels, nor rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither quantitie or qualitie, neither anie creature, shall be able to depart us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesu our Lord.'

They are not, by this godlie faith, presumptuously inflamed; nor, by the same, become they loose, idle, or slowe in dooing of godlie works, as carnall men dreme of them; so much the more fervent they be in dooing most holie and pure works, which God hath commanded them to walke in. They wander not in men's traditions and inventions, leaving the most holie and pure precepts of God undone, which they knowe they be bound to observe and keepe. Also, they worke not like hirelings, for neede, wages, or reward; but, as loving children, without respect of lucre, gaine, or hire; they be in such libertie of spirit, and joie so much in God, that their inward consolation can not be expressed with tongue. All feare of damnation is gone from them, for they have put their whole hope of salvation in His hands, which will and can performe it; neither have they anie post or piller to leane to, but God, and his smooth unwrinkled church; for he is to them 'all in all' things, and to him they leane, as a most sure square piller, in prosperitie and adversitie; nothing doubting of his promises and covenants, for they beleeve most surelie they shall be fulfilled.

Also, the children of God be not curious in searching the high mysteries of God, which be not meet for them to knowe; neither do go about, with humane and carnall reasons, to interpret Scripture; perswading men, by their subtile wits, and carnall doctrine, that much knowledge of Scripture maketh men heretikes, without they temper it with humane doctrine, sophistrie, philosophie, and logicke, wherewith to be seduced, according to the traditions of men, after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ. St. Paule doth most diligentlie admonish us, which arts are not convenient, and meet, to be made checkmate with Scripture; for the Scriptures be so pure and holie, that no perfection can be added unto them: for, even as fine gold doth excell all other mettals, so doth the word of God all men's doctrines. I beseech the Lord to send the learned and unlearned such abundance of his Holie Spirit, that they may obeie and observe the most sincere and holie word of God, and shew the fruits thereof, which consisteth, chieflie, in charitie and godlie unitie; that as we have professed 'one God, one Faith, and one Baptisme,' so we may be all of one mind, and one accord, putting awaie all biting and gnawing: for in backbiting, slandering, and mis-reporting our Christian brethren, we shew not our

selves the disciples of Christ, whom we professe. In him was most high charitie, humilitie, and patience; suffering, most patientlie, all ignomine, rebukes, and slanders; praieng to his eternall Father for his enemies with most perfect charitie; and, in all things, did remit his will to his Father's; as the Scripture doth wnesse, when he praid in the Mount. A godlie example and lesson for us to followe at all times and seasons, as well in prosperitie, as in adversitie; to have no will but God's will; committing, and leaving to him, all our cares and greefes, and to abandon all our policies and inventions: for they be most vaine and foolish, and, indeed, verie shadowes and dreames.

But we be yet so carnall and fleshlie, that we run headlong, like unbrideled colts without snaffle or bridle. If we had the love of God printed in our harts, it would keepe us backe from running astraie: and untill such time as it please God to send us this bit to hold us in, we shall never run the right waie, although we speake and talke never so much of God and his word. The true followers of Christ's doctrine have alwaies a respect and an eie to their vocation. If they be called to the ministerie of God's word, they preach and teach it sincerelie, to the edifieng of others; and shew themselves, in their living, followers of the same. If they be married men, having children and familie, they nourish and bring them up, without all bitterness and fiercenesse, in the doctrine of the Lord, in all godlinesse and vertue; committing the instruction of others, which apperteine not to their charge, to the reformation of God, and his ministers; which chieflie be kings and princes, bearing the sword even for that purpose, to punish evill dooers. If they be children, they honour their father and mother, knowing it to be God's commandment; and that he hath, thereto, annexed a promise of long life. If they be servants, they obeie and serve their maisters with all feare and reverence, even for the Lord's sake; neither with murmuring nor grudging, but with a free hart and mind. If they be husbands, they love their wives as their owne bodies, after the example as Christ loved the congregation, and gave himselfe for it, to make it to him a spouse 'without spot or wrinkle.' If they be women married, they learne of St. Paule to be obedient to their husbands, and to keepe silence in the congregation, and to learne of their husbands at home: also, they weare such apparell, as becommeth holinesse, and comlie usage, with sobernesse; not being accusers, or detractors; not given to much eating of delicate meats, and drinking of wine; but they teach honest things, to make the yong women sober-minded, to love their husbands, to love their children; to be discreet, chaste, housewifelie, good, and obedient unto their husbands; that the word of God be not evill spoken of.

Verelie, if all sorts of people would looke to their owne vocation, and ordeine the same, according to Christ's doctrine, we should not have so manie eies and eares to other men's faults, as we have: for we be so busie and glad, to find and espie out other men's dooings, that we forget, and can have no time, to weigh and ponder our owne; which, after the word of God, we ought first to reforme, and then we shall the better helpe an other with the straw out of his eies.

But, alas! we be so much given to love and to flatter our selves, and so blinded with carnall affections, that we can see and perceive no fault in ourselves; and, therefore, it is a thing verie requisite and necessarie for us, to praie all with one hart and mind to God, to give us an heavenlie light and knowledge of our owne miseries and calamities; that we may see them, and acknowledge them trulie before him.

The Twelke Chapter.

The Conclusion; with a Christian Exhortation to the Amendement of Life.

IF anie man shall be offended at this my lamenting the faults of men, which be in the world, fantaseng with themselves, that I do it either of hatred or of malice to anie sort or kind of people; verilie, in so dooing, they shall do me great wrong: for, I thanke God, by his grace, I hate no creature. Yea, I would saie more, to give wnesse of my con-

science; that neither life, honour, riches, neither whatsoever I possesse here, (which appertaineth to mine owne private commoditie, be it never so deerlie beloved of me,) but most willinglie, and gladlie, I would leave it, to win anie man to Christ, of what degree or sort soever he were. And yet is this nothing, in comparison to the charitie that God hath shewed me, in sending Christ to die for me. No; if I had all the charitie of angels, and apostles, it should be but like a sparke of fire, compared to a greate heape of burning coales.

God knoweth, of what intent and mind I have lamented mine owne sinnes and faults to the world. I trust, no bodie will judge, that I have done it for praise or thanke of anie creature; since, rather, I might be ashamed, than rejoyce in rehearsall thereof. For, if they knewe how little I esteeme and weigh the praise of the world, that opinion were soone remooved and taken awaie: for, I thanke God, by his grace, I knowe the world to be a blind judge, and the praises thereof vaine, and of little moment; and, therefore, I seeke not the praises of the same, neither to satisfie it, none otherwise than I am taught by Christ to do, according to Christian charitie. I would to God we would all, when occasion doth serve, confesse our faults to the world; all respects of our owne commoditie laid apart. But, alas! selfe-love doth so much reigne among us, that (as I have said before) we can not espie our owne faults. And although, sometime, we find our owne guilt, either we be favourable to interpret it no sin, or else we be ashamed to confesse ourselves thereof: yea, and we be sore offended, and greeved, to heare our faults charitablie and godlie told us of other; putting no difference betweene charitable warning, and malicious accusing.

Trulie, if we sought God's glorie, as we should do in all things; we should not be ashamed to confesse our selves to digresse from God's precepts and ordinances, when it is manifest we have done, and dailie do. I praie God, our owne faults and deeds condemne us not at the last daie, when everie man shall be rewarded according to his dooings. Trulie, if we do not redresse and amend our living, according to the doctrine of the Gospell; we shall receive a terrible sentence of Christ the Sonne of God, when he shall come to judge and comdemne all transgressours, and breakers of his precepts and commandements, and to reward all his obedient and loving children. We shall have no man of lawe to make our plea for us; neither can we have the daie deferred; neither will the Judge be corrupted with affection, bribes, or reward; neither will he heare anie excuse or delaie; neither shall this saint, or that martyr, helpe us, be they never so holie; neither shall our ignorance save us from damnation: but yet wilfull blindness and obstinate ignorance shall receive greater punishment, and not without just cause. Then shall it be knowne who hath walked in the darke; for all things shall appeere manifest before Him: no man's deed shall be hidden; no, neither words nor thoughts. The poore and simple observers of God's commandements shall be rewarded with everlasting life, as obedient children to the Heavenlie Father; and the transgressors, adders, and diminishers of the Lawe of God, shall receive eternall damnation, for their just reward. I beseech God we may escape this fearefull sentence, and be found such faithfull servants, and loving children, that we may heare the happie, comfortable, and most joifull sentence, ordeined for the children of God, which is: 'Come hither, ye blessed of my Father, and receive the kingdome of heaven, prepared for you before the beginning of the world.'

Unto the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, be all honour and glorie, world without end! *Amen.*

Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at Picquet: Being acted from the Year 1653, to 1658, by O. P. and others, with great Applause.

Tempora mutantur, et nos —

Printed in the Year 1659.

[Quarto ; containing ten pages.]

Oliver. I AM like to have a good beginning of it: I have thrown out all my best cards, and got none but a company of wretched ones; so I may very well be capotted.

Lambert. Now you have a good pack, my lord, I am content to play; but you knew every card of the old ones, and could make your game as you listed.

Lawrence. I took a few, yet they make me a good game; for I left all the little ones behind me.

Fleetwood. If your Highness had those my lord Lawrence left, you would have a better game, than you have: I could wish you would look upon them; but yet, I know, you can hardly tell what to play well. I am for the little ones, if there be enough of them; for two Quint Minors will win the game, before you come to reckon you are fourteen by Knaves.

Fiennes. It is fit you should play at some common game, where all the small cards are in, and where the Ace goeth but for one. I was too long at the sport, and left it because I could make nothing of it; but, here, whosoever gets one card is like to make a good hand. I have got a good Tearse already.

Musgrave. I was somewhat scrupulous, whether play was lawful, or not; and so sat out the last game, which had like to have undone me. For the future, I shall play what game soever your Highness pleaseth; especially now I see you play so well, when you lose.

Lisle. If I go into France, I must practise another game: but, do what I can, I shall be over-reached by *hoc* Mazarine.

Desborough. I am nothing but a ruff, yet I shall do well: I have got a card of a right suit, and should hope to have a better game, if the cards were in any other hands, than your lordship's.

Skippon. I sit here, and hold the cards, but know no more how to play, than a post.

Rouse. I am more diligent at this game, than ever I was at any; but I got more the last game, when I played Cent; for I had a hundred, and all made. All, that I desire, is to save myself, and help my kindred to something, by betting on my side, while my luck lasts.

Jones. I must needs lose; for I have thrown out the card that made me a good game.

Ouseley. A pox on it, I left Piccadilly and the Three Kings, to play here; and I shall get nothing all the days of my life.

Ashley-Cooper. I was Picquet at Whitehall, and thought to save myself amongst the Cavalier-posts; but, I doubt I shall be deceived.

Pickering. I had rather play at another game, where more may play; but, I thank the Lord, I can frame myself to any sport, so my lord P. be one at it.

Strickland. You play not here, as they do in Holland, where I learned this game; for you make lifting here, and there they deal by turns.

Major. All that I am, I had in my rise: I was the pitifullest game in the world before.

Sydenham. I am pretty well, though I changed my suit; I went in all one, and had another as good in the stock.

Montague. You make me play at a game, I never knew in my life before: I must needs lose.

Blake. I shall be a kind of a stander-by this time, and so shall have time enough to teach you the game against the next, when you may play by yourself.

Thurloe. My lord, it will not be so well for me to play; I will stand behind your chair, and make and shuffle with what you are to play the next game.

St. John. My lord, I shall not play neither; but I will go your halves, so you keep my counsel.

Pierpoint. You play so rashly, I will not bet a farthing on your head.

Salloway. I am but a stander-by; yet I observe, the small cards, that are left and not played with, are all very clean; but the rest of the pack are filthy foul already.

Bradshaw. I dispatched out one King, and went for another, but have missed him; yet he hath not a card of his suit with him: so I shall snap him, when he comes into my hands.

Haslerig. May we not play Levet-coil? I have not patience to stay till another match be made; and I had as lieve be hanged, as sit out.

Nevil. I will not play for a farthing: besides, that I love not the game. I am so dunned with the spleen, I should think on something else all the while I were a-playing, and take in all the small cards; for I am all day dreaming of another game.

Waller. My lord, you have hanged my King, and I have no other way, than to play into your hands.

Whitlocke. I shall be content to play at any game, but shall be unwilling to play for a dead horse; yet I care not if I keep stakes.

Knightly. My lord, give me leave to speak against your game, that so I may be thought not to bet; and then I shall be able to give such advice, as I may help you to play.

Roberts. I have the luck of it; I win as well at this game, as at the last, when I played at Loadam: I had all the small cards then, and now I have all the great ones.

Gerrard. I do not like the game so well, as to leave the match I have made for myself; yet I do not care, if I venture a little on your hand, and try if I can get a stock to set up my youngest son for a gamester.

Bernard. May I not talk as much as I will in your play, so long as I am resolved never to bet or play with you at this game, for a groat?

Vane. One had better, sometimes, play with a good gamester than a bungler; for one knows not where to have him. If Cromwell had discarded, as he ought to have done, I had won my stake at it; as it is, I shall save myself; which, I fear, he will hardly do: though he mingles the cards well, when he deals himself; and hath excellent luck in cutting, when another deals.

Rich. I play a thousand times better, now I have a bad game, than when I had a good one.

Harrison. I played the fool, and went in for a fifth King, when there were but four in the stock.

Lawson. My lord, the game was not dealt you, you took it: I throw up my cards.

Streater. My lord, if you would curse and swear soundly, the game would become you, better than it doth, in regard you pretend so much to religion: I shall disturb you in the game, if I stand by; I see you play in the dark, therefore I must take my leave of your lordship, and bid you good-night.

Noell. I make my fortune by lending the gamesters money.

Young Trevor. Shall not I play? My lord Protector has given me a stock, and I will pack the cards with all the Cavalier-gamesters in the town.

Sir John Trevor. Well said, Jack: thou art none of my son, if thou beest not in all games, and canst carry a Trump in thy pocket.

Harvey. They caught me playing false, and would let me play no longer, though I was on my lord Protector's side.

Tichborne. I had reason to desire to play at Council-Picquet, since I am like to lose so much by another man's ill play.

Newdigate. I have lost by play, but I got by leaving off.

Chute. There is such cheating, that I will play no longer.

Purefoy. I will play at small game, rather than sit out; for I was never set at work.

Pride. Baxter and I are at the old foolish Christmas-game, with honours.

Monk. My lord, when you came to play, your stock was none of the greatest; but, since I see your good fortune, I am resolved still to play, as you do; especially since you have made me master of one of your great play-houses: but, above all things, if you can keep the bone in your hand, the dogs will follow you; if you can keep the treasure, the gamesters all croud to you.

Dissenting Army-members. My lord, when you began the game, you promised us fair play above-board; but since we see you begin to juggle, we will play no longer.

Exchequer. I must win at last, yet at present I have ill luck; for I have three Knaves, and had cast out the fourth.

Upper Bench. Sure you are no better than a cheat; for I threw out one of them, and you have taken him up into your hands.

Common-Pleas. You served me the very same trick the last Term, and took in one of them whom I discarded; but ye had best leave your cheating and wrangling, all of you, lest ye be found what ye are, and be forbid to keep a Christmas here any more; and then we be forced to set up a misrule in the country, where there are but small games, and the box will be poorly paid.

Chancery and Duchy. I am blank: if it had not been for the Queen, I had cast out a Knave, which now proves the best of my game.

Trustees. I have taken more than I should; I must reckon nothing.

Commissioners for Excise and Customs. Gentlemen, pay the box.

Presbyterian. I lost the last game for want of a King, and now have got one that doth me no good in the world. I had a good hand, but I played the fool, and threw him out; so that all my help depends on one card.

Independent. I have none but small cards, and they of several suits; so that I shall make little of it this bout.

National Minister. I went in for those cards, the bishops and deans parted with the last game; but, though I missed them, yet if my tenths be good, I shall make shift till another dealing.

Divine. I was Picquet the last, but am now Re-picquet.

Papist. If you all complain, I hope I shall win at last.

EPILOGUE.

IT is to be noted, that the gentlemen, that have been eminent in this last dealing of the cards, played very fair in the former game here described, with a

PLAUDITE.

— *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

Cases of Treason. Written by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight;
His Majesty's Sollicitor-General.

Printed at London, by the Assigns of John More, and are sold by Matthew Walbanck, and William Coke, *Anno* 1641.

[Quarto; containing thirty-eight pages.]

CHAPTER I.

WHERE a man doth compass or imagine the death of the king, the king's wife, the king's eldest son, and heir-apparent, if it appear by any overt-act; it is Treason.

Where a man doth violate the king's wife, the king's eldest daughter, unmarried, the wife of the king's eldest son, and heir-apparent; it is Treason.

Where a man doth levy war against the king in the realm; it is Treason.

Where a man is adherent to the king's enemies, giving them aid and comfort; it is Treason.

Where a man counterfeiteth the king's great-seal, privy-signet, sign-manual; it is Treason; likewise, his money.

Where a man bringeth into this realm false money, counterfeited to the likeness of English, with intent to merchandize or make payment thereof, and knowing it to be false money; it is Treason.

Where a man counterfeiteth any coin current in payment within this realm; it is Treason.

Where a man doth bring in any money, being current within the realm, the same being false and counterfeit, with intent to utter it, and knowing the same to be false; it is Treason.

Where a man doth clip, waste, round, or file any of the king's money, or any foreign coin, current by proclamation, for gain's sake; it is Treason.

Where a man doth any way impair, diminish, falsify, scale, or lighten money current by proclamation; it is Treason.

Where a man killeth the chancellor, the treasurer, the king's justices in Eyre, the king's justices of assizes, the justices of Oyer and Terminer, being in their several places, and doing their offices; it is Treason.

Where a man procureth or consenteth to treason; it is Treason.

Where a man doth persuade or withdraw any of the king's subjects from his obedience, or from the religion by his Majesty established, with intent to withdraw any from the king's obedience; it is Treason.

Where a man is absolved, reconciled, or withdrawn from his obedience to the king, or promiseth obedience to any foreign power; it is Treason.

Where any Jesuit, or any other priest ordained since the first year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, shall come into or remain in any part of this realm; it is Treason.

Where any person, being brought up in a college of Jesuits, or Seminaries, shall not return within six months after proclamation made, and within two days after his return, submit himself to take the oath of Supremacy, if otherwise he do return, and not within six months after proclamation made; it is Treason.

Where a man, committed for treason, doth voluntarily break prison; it is Treason.

Where a jailer doth voluntarily permit a man committed for treason to escape; it is Treason.

Where a man relieveth or comforteth a traitor, and knoweth of the offence; it is Treason.

Where a man doth affirm or maintain any authority of jurisdiction spiritual, or doth put in ure or execute any thing for the advancement or setting forth thereof, the third time; it is Treason.

Where a man refuseth to take the oath of Supremacy, being tendered by the bishop of the diocese, if he be any ecclesiastical person; or by commission out of the chancery, if he be a temporal person; such offence the second time is Treason.

CHAP. II.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings, in Cases of Treason.

IN Treason, the corporal punishment is by drawing on a hurdle from the place of the prison to the place of execution, by hanging and being cut down alive, bowelling and quartering; and in women, burning.

In Treason, there ensueth a corruption of blood in the line, ascending and descending.

In Treason, lands and goods are forfeited, and inheritances, as well intailed as fee-simple, and the profits of estates for life.

In Treason, the escheats go to the king, and not to the lord of the fee.

In Treason, the land forfeited shall be in the king's actual possession, without office.

In Treason, there be no accessaries, but all are principals.

In Treason, no sanctuary, nor benefit of clergy, or peremptory challenge, is allowed.

In Treason, if the party stand mute, yet nevertheless judgment and attainder shall proceed all one as upon verdict.

In Treason, no council is to be allowed, nor bail permitted to the party.

In Treason, no witnesses shall be received upon oath for the party's justification.

In Treason, if the fact be committed beyond the seas, yet it may be tried in any county where the king will award his commission.

In Treason, if the party be *non sanæ memoriæ*; yet if he had formerly confessed it before the king's council, and that it be certified that he was of good memory at the time of his examination and confession, the court may proceed to judgment, without calling or arraigning the party.

In Treason, the death of the party before conviction dischargeth all proceedings and forfeitures.

In Treason, if the party be once acquitted, he should not be brought in question again for the same fact.

In Treason, no new case not expressed in the statute of 25 Edw. III. or made treason by any special statute since, ought to be judged treason, without consulting with the parliament.

In Treason, there can be no prosecution but at the king's suit, and the king's pardon dischargeth.

In Treason, the king cannot grant over to any subject power and authority to pardon it.

In Treason, a trial of a peer of the kingdom is to be by special commission, before the lord-high-steward, and those that pass upon him to be none but peers. The proceeding is with great solemnity, the lord-steward sitting under a cloth of state, with a white rod of justice in his hand, and the peers may confer together, but are not any ways shut up; and are demanded, by the lord-steward, their voices one by one, and the plurality of voices carries it.

In Treason, it hath been an ancient use and favour, from the kings of this realm, to pardon the execution of hanging, drawing, and quartering; and to make warrant for their beheading.

The proceeding, in case of Treason, with a common subject, is in the King's-Bench, or by commission of Oyer and Terminer.

CHAP. III.

Cases of Misprision of Treason.

WHERE a man concealeth high-treason only, without any consorting or abetting; it is Misprision of Treason.

Where a man counterfeiteth any foreign coin of gold or silver, not current in the realm; it is Misprision of Treason.

Where a man fixes an old seal to a new patent; it is Misprision of Treason.

CHAP. IV.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings, in Cases of Misprision of Treason.

THE Punishment of Misprision of Treason is by perpetual imprisonment, loss of the issues and profits of their lands during life, and loss of goods and chattels.

The Proceeding and Trial is, as in cases of high-treason.

In Misprision of High-treason, bail is not admitted.

CHAP. V.

Cases of Petty Treason.

WHERE a servant killeth his master; the wife the husband; the spiritual man his prelate, to whom he is subordinate, and oweth faith and obedience; it is Petty Treason.

Where a son killeth the father or mother, it hath been questioned, Whether it be Petty Treason? And the late experience and opinion seemeth to sway to the contrary; though against law and reason, in my judgment.

Where a servant killeth his, or her master or mistress, after they are out of service; it is Petty Treason.

CHAP. VI.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings, in Cases of Petty Treason.

IN Petty Treason, the corporal punishment is by drawing on an hurdle, and hanging; and in a woman, burning.

In Petty Treason, the forfeiture is the same with the case of felony.

In Petty Treason, all accessaries are but in the case of felony.

CHAP. VII.

Cases of Felony.

WHERE a man committeth murder, or homicide of malice prepensed; it is Felony.

Where a man committeth murder, that is breaking of an house, with an intent to commit felony; it is Felony.

Where a man committeth man-slaughter, that is homicide of sudden heat, and not of malice prepensed; it is Felony.

Where a man rideth armed with a felonious intent; it is Felony.

Where a man doth maliciously and feloniously burn any man's house; it is Felony.

Where a man doth maliciously, &c. burn corn upon the ground, or in stack; it is Felony.

Where a man doth maliciously cut out another man's tongue, or put out his eyes; it is Felony.

Where a man robbeth or stealeth, *viz.* taketh away another man's goods, above the value of twelve-pence, out of his possession, with intent to conceal it; it is Felony.

Where a man embezzleth and withdraweth any of the king's records at Westminster, whereby a judgment is reversed; it is Felony.

Where a man, having the custody of the king's armour, ammunition, or other habiliments for war, doth maliciously convey away the same, it is Felony; if it be to the value of twenty shillings.

Where a servant hath goods of his master's, delivered unto him, and goeth away with them; it is Felony.

Where a man conjures, or invokes wicked spirits; it is Felony.

Where a man doth use or practise witchcraft, whereby any person shall be killed, wasted, or lamed; it is Felony.

Where a man practiseth any witchcraft, to discover treasure hid, or to discover stolen goods, or to provoke unlawful love, or to impair or hurt any man's cattle or goods the second time, having been once before convicted of like offence; it is Felony.

Where a man useth the craft of multiplication of gold or silver; it is Felony.

Where a man receiveth a Seminary-priest, knowing him to be such a priest; it is Felony.

Where a man taketh away a woman against her will, not claiming her as his ward or bond-woman; it is Felony.

Where a man or woman marrieth again, his or her former husband or wife being alive; it is Felony.

Where a man committeth buggery, with man or beast; it is Felony.

Where any persons, above the number of twelve, shall assemble themselves with intent to put down inclosures, or bring down prices of victuals, &c. and do not depart after proclamation; it is Felony.

Where a man shall use any words to encourage or draw any people together, *ut supra*, and they do assemble accordingly, and do not depart after proclamation; it is Felony.

Where a man being the king's sworn servant conspireth to murder any lord of the realm, or any privy-counsellor; it is Felony.

Where a soldier hath taken any parcel of the king's wages, and departeth without licence; it is Felony.

Where a Recusant, which is a seducer, and persuader, and inciter of the king's subjects against the king's authority in ecclesiastical causes, or a persuader of conventicles, or shall refuse to abjure the realm; it is Felony.

Where vagabonds be found in the realm, calling themselves Egyptians; it is Felony.

Where a purveyor doth take without warrant, or otherwise doth offend against certain special laws; it is Felony.

Where a man hunts in any forest, park, or warren, by night or by day, with vizard, or other disguisements, and is examined thereof, and concealeth his fact; it is Felony.

Where one stealeth certain kind of hawks; it is Felony.

Where a man committeth forgery the second time, having been once before convicted; it is Felony.

Where a man transporteth rams, or other sheep, out of the king's dominions the second time; it is Felony.

Where a man, being imprisoned for felony, breaks prison; it is Felony.

Where a man procureth, or consenteth to felony to be done, it is Felony; as to make him accessory before the fact.

Where a man receiveth or relieveth a felon, it is Felony; as to make him accessory after the fact.

Where a woman, by the constraint of her husband, in his presence, joineth with him in committing of felony, it is not Felony in her; neither as principal, nor as accessory.

Homicide, or the killing of a man, is to be considered in four kinds; Chance-medley, *Se defendendo*, Man-slaughter, and wilful Murder.

C H A P. VIII.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings in Cases of Felony.

IN Felony, the corporal punishment is hanging; and it is doubtful, whether the king may turn it into beheading in the case of a peer, or other person of dignity; because, in treason, the striking off the head is part of the judgment, and so the king pardoneth the rest; but in Felony, it is no part of the judgment, and the king cannot alter the execution of law; yet precedents have been both ways: if it be upon indictment, the king may, but upon an appeal he cannot.

In Felony there followeth corruption of blood, except it be in cases made felony by special statutes, with a proviso, that there shall be no corruption of blood.

In Felony, lands in fee-simple, and goods and chattels are forfeited, and the profits of estates for life are likewise forfeited, but not lands intailed: and by some customs, lands in fee-simple are not so forfeited:

‘ The father to the bough,
‘ The son to the plough.’

as in Gavelkind, in Kent, and other places.

In Felony, the escheats go to the lord of the fee, and not to the king, except he be lord: but profits for the estates for lives, or in tail, during the life of tenant in tail, go to the king; and the king hath likewise *annum, et diem, et vastum*.

In Felony, lands are not in the king, before office, nor in the lord before entry or recovery, in a writ of escheat, or death of the party attainted.

In Felony, there can be no proceeding with the accessory, before there be a proceeding with the principal. If he die, or plead his pardon, or have his clergy, before attainder, the accessory can never be dealt with.

In Felony, if the party stand mute, and will not put himself upon trial, or challenge peremptorily, above that the law allows, he shall have judgment, not of hanging, but of penance of pressing to death; but there he saves his lands, and forfeits only his goods.

In Felony, at the common-law, the benefit of clergy, or sanctuary, was allowed; but now by statute, it is taken away in most cases.

In Felony, bail may be admitted where the fact is not notorious, and the person not of ill name.

In Felony, no council is to be allowed to the party, no more than in treason.

In Felony, if the fact be committed beyond the seas, or upon the seas, *super altum mare*, there is no trial at all in one case, nor by course or jury in the other, but by the jurisdiction of the admiralty.

In Felony, no witness shall be received upon oath for the party's justification, no more than in treason.

In Felony, if the party be *non sanæ memoriæ*, although it be after the fact, he cannot be tried nor adjudged, except it be in course of outlawry, and that is also erroneous.

In Felony, the death of the party, before conviction, dischargeth all proceedings and forfeitures.

In Felony, if the party be once acquitted, or in peril of judgment of life lawfully, he shall never be brought in question again, for the same fact.

In Felony, the prosecution may be either at the king's suit, or by way of appeal; the defendant shall have his course, and produce witnesses upon oath, as in civil causes.

In Felony, the king may grant hault justice to a subject, with the regality of power to pardon it.

In Felony, the trial of peers is all one as in case of treason.

In Felony, the proceedings are in the King's-Bench, or before commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, or of jail-delivery, and in some cases before justices of the peace.

CHAP. IX.

Cases of Felony *de se*, with the Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings.

IN the civil law, and other laws, they make a difference of cases of Felony *de se* : for where a man is called in question upon any capital crime, and killeth himself to prevent the law, there they give the judgment in all points of forfeiture, as if they had been attainted in their life-time : and, on the other side, where a man killeth himself upon impatience of sickness or the like, they do not punish it at all ; but the law of England taketh it all in one degree, and punisheth only with loss of goods, to be forfeited to the king, who generally grants them to his almoner, where they be not formerly granted unto special liberties.

CHAP. X.

Cases of *Præmunire*.

WHERE a man purchaseth or accepteth any provision, that is, collation of any spiritual benefice or living, from the see of Rome ; it is *Præmunire*.

Where a man shall purchase any process to draw any people off the king's allegiance out of the realm, in plea whereof the cognisance pertains to the king's court, and cometh not in person to answer his contempt in that behalf before the king and his council, or in his chancery ; it is *Præmunire*.

Where a man doth purchase or pursue in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any process, sentence of excommunication, bull, or instrument, or other thing which toucheth the king in his regality, or his realm in prejudice ; it is *Præmunire*.

Where a man doth affirm or maintain any foreign kind of jurisdiction spiritual, or doth put in ure or execution any thing for the advancement or setting forth thereof ; such offence, the second time committed, is *Præmunire*.

Where a man refuseth to take the oath of Supremacy, being tendered by the bishop of the diocese, if he be an ecclesiastical person ; or by a commission out of the chancery, if he be a temporal person ; it is *Præmunire*.

Where a dean and chapter of any church, upon the *congé d'élire* of an archbishop or bishop, doth refuse to elect any such archbishop or bishop, as is nominated unto them in the king's letters-missive ; it is *Præmunire*.

Where a man doth contribute or give relief to any Jesuit or Seminary-priest, or to any person brought up therein, and called home, and not returning ; it is case of *Præmunire*.

Where a man is a broker of an usurious contract above ten in the hundred ; it is *Præmunire*.

CHAP. XI.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings, in Cases of *Præmunire*.

THE punishment is by imprisonment during life, forfeiture of goods, forfeiture of lands in fee-simple, and forfeiture of the profits of lands intailed, or for life.

The trial and proceeding is as in cases of Misprision of Treason, and the trial is by peers, where a peer of the realm is the offender.

Striking any man, in the face of the king's courts, is forfeiture of lands, perpetual imprisonment, and loss of that hand.

CHAP. XII.

Cases of Abjuration and Exile, and the Proceedings therein.

WHERE a man committeth any felony, for the which at this day he may have privilege of sanctuary, and confesseth the felony before the coroner, he shall abjure the liberty of the realm, and choose his sanctuary; and if he commit any new offence, or leave his sanctuary, he shall lose the privilege thereof, and suffer as if he had not taken sanctuary.

Where a man, not coming to the church, and being a popish recusant, doth persuade any the king's subjects to impugn his Majesty's authority in causes ecclesiastical; or shall persuade any subject to come to any unlawful conventicles; and shall not after conform himself within a time, and make his submission; he shall abjure the realm, and forfeit his goods and lands during life; and if he depart not within the time prefixed, or return, he shall be in the degree of a felon.

Where a man, being a popish recusant, and not having lands to the value of twenty marks *per annum*, nor goods to the value of forty pounds, shall not repair to his dwelling or place where he was born, and there confine himself within the compass of five miles, he shall abjure the realm; and if he return, he shall be in the case of a felon.

Where a man kills the king's deer in chaces or forests, and can find no sureties after a year's imprisonment, he shall abjure the realm.

Where a man is a trespasser in parks, or in ponds of fish, and after three years imprisonment cannot find sureties, he shall abjure the realm.

Where a man is a ravisher of any child whose marriage belongs to any person, and marrieth the said child after years of consent, and is not able to satisfy for the marriage, he shall abjure the realm.

CHAP. XIII.

Cases of Heresy, and the Trial and Proceedings therein.

THE declaration of Heresy, and likewise the proceedings and judgment upon hereticks, is by the common laws of this realm referred to the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and the secular arm is reached to them by the common laws, and not by any statute for the execution of them by the king's writ *de Hæretico comburendo*.

CHAP. XIV.

The King's Prerogative, in Parliament.

THE King hath an absolute negative voice to all bills that pass the parliament, so as, without his royal assent, they have a mere nullity; and not so much as *authoritas præscripta*, or *senatusconsulta* had, notwithstanding the intercession of tribunes.

The King may summon parliaments, dissolve them, prorogue them, and adjourn them, at his pleasure.

The King may add voices in the parliament, at his pleasure; for he may give privilege to borough-towns as many as he will, and may likewise call and create barons, at his pleasure.

No man can sit in parliament, except he take the oath of allegiance.

CHAP. XV.

The King's Prerogative, in Matters of War or Peace.

THE King hath power to declare and proclaim war, and to make and conclude peace, and truce, at his pleasure.

The King hath power to make leagues and confederacies with foreign states, more strait and less strait; and to revoke and disannul them, at his pleasure.

The King hath power to command the bodies of his subjects for the service of his wars, and to muster, train, and levy men, and to transport them by sea or land, at his pleasure.

The King hath power, in time of war, to execute martial law, and to appoint all officers of war, at his pleasure.

The King hath power to grant his letters of mart and reprisal, for remedy to his subjects upon foreign wrongs, at his pleasure.

The King hath power to declare laws by his letters-patents, for the government of any place conquered by his arms, at his pleasure.

The King may give knighthood, and thereby enable any subject to perform knight's service, at his pleasure.

CHAP. XVI.

The King's Prerogative, in Matters of Money.

THE King may alter his standard, in baseness or fineness of his coin, at his pleasure.

The King may alter his stamp in form, at his pleasure.

The King may alter the valuations of his coin, and raise and fall moneys, at his pleasure.

The King, by his proclamation, may make moneys of his own current, or not current, at his pleasure.

The King may take or refuse the subjects' bullion and coin, more or less money.

The King, by his proclamation, may make foreign money current, or not current.

CHAP. XVII.

The King's Prerogative, in Matters of Trade and Traffick.

THE King may constrain the person of any of his subjects, not to go out of the realm at all.

The King may restrain any of his subjects to go out of the realm, into any special part foreign.

The King may forbid the exportation of any commodities, out of the realm.

The King may forbid the importation of any commodities, into the realm.

The King may set a reasonable impost upon any foreign wares, that come into the realm; and so of native wares, that go out of the realm.

CHAP. XVIII.

The King's Prerogative, in the Persons of his Subjects.

THE King may create any corporation or body-politick, and enable them to purchase, and grant, and to sue, and be sued, and that with such restrictions and modifications as he pleases.

The King may denizen and enable any foreigner, for him and his descendants, after the charter; though he cannot naturalize nor enable him to make pedigree from ancestors paramount.

The King may enable any attainted person, by his charter of pardhn, to purchase, and to purge his blood for the time to come, though he cannot restore his blood for the time past.

The King may enable any dead person in law, as men professed, to take and purchase to the king's benefit.

CHAP. XIX.

An Answer to the Question proposed by Sir Alexander Hay, Knight; touching the Office of Constables.

1. **T**O the first, Of the original of the authority of Constables, it may be said, *Caput inter nubila condit*; for the authority was granted upon the ancient laws and customs of this kingdom, practised long before the Conquest, and intended and instituted for the conservation of the peace, and repressing of all manner of disturbance, and hurt of the people, and that as well by way of prevention as punishment; but yet so, as they have no judicial power, to hear and determine any cause, but only a ministerial power, as in the answer of the seventh article more at large is set down.

As for the office of the High-constable, the original of that is yet more obscure: for though the High-constable's authority hath the more ample circuit; he being over the hundred, and the Petty-constable over the village; yet, I do not find, that the Petty-constable is subordinate to the High-constable, or to be ordered or commanded by him; and therefore, I doubt, the High-constable was not *ab origine*; but that when the business of the country increased, the authority of the justices of peace was enlarged by divers statutes; then, for conveniency-sake, the office of High-constables grew in use for the receiving of the commands and precepts from the justices of peace, and distributing them to the Petty-constables: and, in token of this, the election of High-constable, in most parts of the kingdom, is by the appointment of the justices of peace; whereas, the election of the Petty-constable is by the people.

But there be two things unto which the office of Constable hath special reference, and which, of necessity, or, at least, a kind of congruity, must precede the jurisdiction of that office, either the things themselves, or somewhat that hath a similitude or analogy towards them.

1. The one is the division of the territory, or gross of the shires, into hundreds, villages, and towns; for the High-constable is officer over the hundred, and the Petty-constable is over the town or village.

2. The other is the Court-leet, unto which the Constable is a proper attendant and minister: for there the Constables are chosen by the jury, there they are sworn, and there that part of their office, which concerneth information, is principally to be performed; for the jury is to present offences, and the offenders are chiefly to take light from the Constables, of all matters of disturbance and nuisance of the people, which they, in respect of their office, are presumed to have best and most particular knowledge of.

CHAP. XX.

Three Ends of the Institution of the Court-leet.

1. **T**HE first end of the institution of the Court-leet is, To take the oath of allegiance of all males above the age of twelve years.

2. The second, To enquire of all offences against the peace; and for those that are against the crown and peace both, to enquire of only, and certify to the justices of gaol-delivery; but those, that are against the peace simply, they are to enquire and punish.

3. The third is, To enquire of, punish, and remove, all public nuisances, and grievances, concerning infection of air, corruption of victuals, ease of chaffer, and contract of all other things, that may hurt or grieve the people in general, in their health, quiet, and welfare.

And to these three ends, as matters of policy subordinate, the Court-leet hath power to call upon the pledges that are to be taken for the good behaviour of the residents, that are not tenants; and to enquire of all defaults of officers, as constables, ale-tasters, &c. and for choice of constables, as aforesaid.

The jurisdiction of these Leets is ever remaining in the king, and, in that case, exercised by the sheriff in his turn, which is the grand Leet, granted over to subjects; but, yet, it is still the king's court.

2. To the second, as was said, The election of the petty-constable is at the Court-leet by the inquest that makes the presentments; the election of the head-constables is by the justices of the peace at their quarter-sessions.

3. To the third, The office is annual, except they be removed.

4. To the fourth, They be men, as it is now used, of inferior, yea, of base condition, which is a mere abuse, or degenerating, from the first institution: for the petty-constables in towns ought to be of the better sort of residents in the said town; save, that they ought not to be aged, or sickly, but men of able bodies, in respect of the keeping watch, and toil of their place, neither ought they to be in any man's livery: and the high-constables ought to be of the ablest sort of freeholders, and of the substantiallest sort of yeomen, next to the degree of gentlemen; but they ought to be such as are not incumbered with any other office, as mayor, under-sheriff, bailiff, &c.

5. To the fifth, They have no allowance, but are bound by duty to perform their offices, *gratis*; which may the rather be endured, because it is but annual: and they are not tied to keep or maintain any servants or under-ministers, for that every one of the king's people are bound to assist them.

6. To the sixth, Upon complaint made of his refusal, to any one justice of peace, the said justice shall bind him over to the sessions; where, if he cannot excuse himself by some just allegation, he may be fined and imprisoned for his contempt.

7. To the seventh, The authority of constables, as it is substantive and of itself, or substituted, and astricted to the warrants and commands of the justices of peace; so again it is original, or additional: for, either it was given them by the common-law, or else annexed by divers statutes. And as for subordinate power, wherein the constable is only to execute the commandments of the justices of peace, and likewise the additional power which is given by divers statutes, it is hard to comprehend them in any brevity; for that they do correspond to the office and authority of the justices of peace, which is very large, and are created by the branches of several statutes, which are things of divers and dispersed natures. But, for the original and substantive power of a Constable, it may be reduced to three heads:

1. For matter of peace only.
2. For matter of peace, and the crown.
3. For matter of nuisance, disturbance, and disorder; although they be not accompanied with violence and breach of peace.

For pacifying of quarrels begun, the constables may, upon hot words given, or likelihood of breach of peace to ensue, command them, in the king's name, to keep the peace, and depart, and forbear. And so he may, where an assault is made, part the same, and keep the parties asunder; and arrest and commit the breakers of the peace, if they will not obey; and call power to assist him, for the same purpose.

For punishment of breach of peace past, the law is very sparing in giving any authority to constables, because he hath no power judicial, and the use of his office is rather for preventing, or staying of mischief, than for punishing of offences; for, in that part, he is rather to execute the warrants of the justices, or, when sudden matter ariseth upon his view, or notorious circumstances, to apprehend offenders, and carry them before the justice of peace; and generally to imprison, in like cases of necessity, where the case will not endure the present carrying before the justices. And thus much for the matters of peace.

For matters of the crown, the office of the Constable consisteth chiefly in four parts:

1. The first is arrest.
2. The second is search.
3. The third is hue and cry.
4. And the fourth is seizure of goods.

All which the constable may perform of his own authority, without any warrant from a justice of peace.

1. For first, If any man will lay murder or felony to another's charge, or do suspect him of murder or felony, he may declare it to the constable; and the constable ought, upon such delaration or complaint, carry him before a justice; and if, by common voice or fame, any man be suspected, the constable of duty ought to arrest him, and bring him before a justice, though there be no other accusation.

2. If any house be suspected for the receiving or harbouring of any felon; the constable, upon complaint, or common fame, may search.

3. If any fly upon the felony, the constable ought to raise hue and cry, and search his goods, and keep them safe without impairing, and to inventory them in the presence of honest neighbours.

4. For matters of common nuisance and grievance, they are of a very variable nature, according to the several comforts which man's life and society require, and the contraries which infest the same.

In all which, be it matter of corrupting air, water, or victuals; or stopping, straitening, or endangering passage; or general deceits in weights, measures, sizes, or counterfeiting wares, and things vendible; the office of the constable is, to give, as much as in him lies, information of them, and of the offenders in Leets, that they may be presented. But, because Leets are kept but twice in the year, and many of these things require present or speedy remedy; the constable, in things of a notorious and vulgar nature, ought to forbid and repress them in the mean time.

8. To the eighth, They are, for their contempt, to be fined and imprisoned by the justices in their sessions.

9. To the ninth: The oath they take is in this manner:—‘ You shall swear, that you shall well and truly serve the king, and the lord of this law-day; and you shall cause the peace of our lord, the king, to be well and duly kept, to your power: And you shall arrest all those that you see committing riots, debates, and affrays in breach of peace: And you shall well and duly endeavour yourself to your best knowledge, that the statutes of Winchester for watch, hue and cry, and the statutes made for the punishment of sturdy beggars, vagabonds, rogues, and other idle persons, coming within your office, be truly executed, and the offenders punished: And you shall endeavour, upon complaint made, to apprehend barreters and riotous persons, making frays; and likewise to apprehend felons; and if any of them make resistance with force and multitude of misdoers, you shall make outcry, and pursue them, till they be taken; and shall look unto such persons as use unlawful games: And you shall have regard unto the maintenance of artillery: And you shall well and duly execute all process and precepts sent unto you from the justices of peace of the county: And you shall make good and faithful presentments of all bloodsheds, outcries, affrays, and rescues, made within your office: And you shall well and duly, according to your power and knowledge, do that which belongeth to your office of constable to do, for this year to come.’ So help, &c.

10. To the tenth; The authority is the same in substance, differing only in extent; the petty-constable serving only for one town, parish, or borough; the head-constable serving for the whole hundred: neither is the petty-constable subordinate to the head-constable, for any commandment that proceeds from his own authority; but it is used, that the precepts of the justices be delivered unto the high-constables, who being few in number, may better attend the justices; and then the head-constables, by virtue thereof, make their precepts over to the petty-constables.

11. To the eleventh; In case of necessity he may appoint a deputy, or in default thereof, the steward of the Court-leet may; which deputy ought to be sworn.

Now to conclude: the office of Constables consists wholly in these three things, *viz.*

Their office concerning, 1. The conservation of the peace.

2. The serving the precepts and warrants of the justices.

3. Their attendance for the execution of statutes.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Jurisdiction of Justices *itinerantes*, in the Principality of Wales.

THESE Justices have power to hear and determine all criminal causes, which are called in the laws of England, 'The Pleas of the Crown;' and herein they have the same jurisdiction, that the justices have in his Majesty's bench, commonly called 'the King's Bench.'

They have jurisdiction to hear and determine all civil causes, which are called, in the laws of England, 'Common-Pleas;' and do take knowledge of all fines, levied of lands or hereditaments, without suing out any *dedimus potestatem*; and herein they have the same jurisdiction that the justices of the Common-pleas do execute at Westminster.

Also they may hear and determine all assizes, upon disseisins of lands or hereditaments; wherein they equal the jurisdiction of the justices of assize.

Justices of Oyer and Terminer may hear and determine all notable violences and outrages perpetrated or done, within their several precincts of the principality of Wales.

The Prothonotary's office is to draw all pleadings, and to enter and ingross all records and judgments, in civil causes.

¹ The Clerk of the Crown's office is to ingross all proceedings, arraignments, and judgments, in criminal causes.

¹ The Marshal, whose office is to attend the persons of the Judges at their coming, sitting, and going, from the sessions or court.

² The Crier, he is *tanquam publicus præco*, to call forth such persons, whose appearances are necessary, and to impose silence to the people.

² There is a commission under the great-seal of England, to certain gentlemen, giving them power to preserve the peace, and to resist and punish all turbulent persons, whose misdemeanours may tend to the disquiet of the people; and these be called, 'The Justices of Peace,' and every of them may well and truly be called and termed *eirenarcha*.

The chief of them is called *Custos Rotulorum*, in whose custody all the records of their proceedings are resident.

Others there are of that number, called 'Justices of Peace and Quorum;' because in their commission, they have power to sit and determine causes, concerning breach of peace, and misbehaviour; the words of their commission are conceived thus; *Quorum* (such and such) *unum vel duos, &c. esse volumus*; and without some one, or more, of them of the quorum, no sessions can be holden. And for the avoiding of a superfluous number of such justices, (for through the ambition of many, it is counted a credit to be burthened with that authority,) the statute of 38 Hen. VIII. hath expressly prohibited that there shall be but eight justices of peace ³ in every county. These justices do hold their sessions quarterly.

In every shire, where the commission of the peace is established, there is a clerk of the peace, for the entering and ingrossing of all proceedings before the said justices: and this officer is appointed by the *custos rotulorum*.

Every shire hath its Sheriff: which word, being of the Saxon-English, is as much as to say, *Shire-Reeve*, or minister of the county. His function or office is two-fold:

1. Ministerial.

2. Judicial.

As touching his ministerial office, he is the minister and executioner of all the process and precepts of the courts of law, and thereof ought to make return and certificate.

As touching his judicial office, he hath authority to hold two several courts of distinct natures: the one called the *Tourne*, because he keepeth his turn and circuit about the shire, and holdeth the same court in several places, wherein he doth enquire of all offences perpetrated against the common-law, and not forbidden by any statute or act of parlia-

¹ In the king's gift.

² In the disposing of the judge.

³ These justices are appointed by the lord-keeper.

ment; and the jurisdiction of this court is derived from justice distributive, and is for criminal offences, and is held twice every year: The other is called the County-court, wherein he doth determine all petty and small causes civil, under forty shillings, arising within the said county; and therefore it is called the County-court.

The jurisdiction of this court is derived from justice commutative, and is held every month. The office of the Sheriff is annual, and in the king's gift, whereof he is to have a patent.

Every shire hath an officer, called an *Escheator*, which is an office to attend the king's revenue, and to seize into his Majesty's hands all lands, either escheated goods, or lands forfeited, and therefore is called *Escheator*; and he is to inquire by good inquest of the death of the king's tenants, and to whom their lands are descended, and to seize their bodies and lands for ward, if they be within age, and is accountable for the same; and this officer is named by the lord-treasurer of England.

There are in every shire two other officers, called *Crownors* or *Coroners*; they are to inquire by inquest, in what manner, and by whom, every person dieth of a violent death, and to enter the same of record; which is a matter criminal, and a plea of the crown, and therefore they are called *Coroners*, or *Crownors*, (as one hath written,) because their inquiry ought to be public in *coronâ populi*.

These officers are chosen by the freeholders of the shire, by virtue of a writ out of the Chancery, *de coronatore eligendo*; and of them I need not to speak more, because these officers are in use elsewhere.

Forasmuch as every shire is divided into hundreds, it is also by the said statute of 34 Hen. VIII. cap. 26. ordered, that two sufficient gentlemen, or yeomen, shall be appointed constables of every hundred.

Also there is, in every shire, one jail or prison, appointed for the restraint of liberty of such persons as for their offences are thereunto committed, until they shall be delivered by course of law.

In every hundred of every shire, the sheriff thereof shall nominate sufficient persons to be bailiffs of that hundred, and under-ministers of the sheriff; and they are to attend upon the justices in every of their courts and sessions.

The Last Will and Testament of Father Peters¹: As it was found quilted into my Lord-Chancellor's Cap; with a Letter directed to his Lordship, &c. and his Prayer to the Blessed Virgin of Loretto.

[Quarto; containing four pages.]

Meritorious Sir;
UNDERSTANDING that you were to be my successor in these houses of clay, I thought it would not be amiss to leave you my executor, who, next my reverence, have done the king the best service in the nation, and consequently must be no stranger nor enemy to Father Peters. I have now laid aside the sword of the Spirit, and betaken

¹ [Hugh Peters, who was the son of a merchant at Foy in Cornwall, was some time a member of Jesus College, Cambridge; whence he is said to have been expelled for irregular behaviour. He afterwards betook himself to

myself to an arm of flesh ; and having converted my apostolical robe into the Whore of Babylon's dye, am resolved to visit father La Chaise, and send over the king of France with thirty-thousand men. I need not put you in mind of the 'terrible blow that shall come,' and 'none see who hurts them²,' nor any other private juggle; for, having made room for your admittance to his Majesty's ear, there is nothing can fall betwixt the cup and the lip. It would be superfluous to tell you, that innumerable prayers and indulgences for you, and your posterity after you, are, together with this my sanctuary, conferred upon you; I wish England do not grow too hot for you in a little time. However, 'I go to prepare a place for you.' Be not troubled; your merits and my beads will never let you lie long in purgatory, should all hopes fail, and therefore be secure of a future happiness: be of good courage, and your faith will save you. This I am sure of, and all the world knows it, that you have made to yourself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, so that you are like to feed well as long as you live in this world: and, as for the other, let not one melancholy thought make you soak your guts one bowl the less; for I will warrant you, my works of supererogation helping out your defects, I shall have nothing too much, nor you too little, to bribe admittance into paradise. St. Peter and I were old cronies; and as long as I have but an evidence of his own hand-writing to produce, he cannot for shame, but out of good manners, let me and my friend in. However, go on bravely, thou son of perdition, and fill up the measure of thy iniquity, till thou grow ripe for translation, and the Roman calendar. Divine bard, and reverend impostor, into thy hands alone I commit my English spirit, and my last will and testament, to be disposed of according to my appointment; together with an inventory of what goods I have left in those lodgings for your use; and a private prayer, to be said over seventeen times a day; and the blessed Virgin hear thee in the day when thou callest upon her, and make the works of thy hand prosperous, and thy counsels like Haman's, or good Achithophel's.

Thine eternally,
PETERS.

The last Will and Testament of Father Peters.

I GIVE my soul into the hands of the blessed Gabriel, to be translated into purgatory; and there, after two turns of the spit, and one winding up of the jack, which is enough for the purification of any jesuit; and from thence, to carry it to the lap of his mistress, the blessed Virgin of Loretto, whom I serve, and whose I am.

Let my heart be dried, and beaten to powder, and so divided into several drams, to be drunk by all the new converts in England, in a glass of a heretick's warm blood.

Let the king, queen, and prince of Wales, take a morning's-draught of my spleen, prepared after the same manner, as my heart by his Holiness.

the stage, where he acquired that gesticulation and buffoonery which he practised in the pulpit. Being admitted into holy orders, he was for a considerable time lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London; but being prosecuted for *crim. con.* he fled to Rotterdam, where he was pastor of the English church, together with the learned Dr. W. Ames. He afterwards exercised his ministry in New England, where he continued about seven years. He was a great pretender to the saintly character, a vehement declaimer against Charles I, and one of the foremost to encourage and justify the rebellion. When the king was brought to London, Hugh Peters, as sir W. Warwick says, 'was truly and really his gaoler.' Dr. White Kennet informs us, that he bore a colonel's commission in the civil war; that he was vehement for the death of the king; and that it was strongly suspected he was one of his masked executioners. Register, &c. p. 277, 284.; and Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii.

Hugh Peters (says an anonymous author) was used by Oliver as a fit instrument in the pulpit to encourage rebels in their evil ways; had a great hand in spilling the royal-blood; was no better a friend to the Hierarchy than other sectaries are; was hanged, drawn and quartered, at Charing-Cross, Oct. 16, 1660. '*Semper idem, &c.*' He went to his execution with an air of triumph, rejoicing that he was to suffer in *so good a cause.*

It may be proper to inform the reader, that this mock testament was intended to convey a burlesque satire upon the infamous testator, and other well-known personages of that time.]

² [Alluding to the well-known letter to lord Monteagle from one of the conspirators in the Gunpowder-plot. See Harl. Misc. III. 124, and IV. 254.]

My gall should be at the French king's³ service, but they have more need of it in England; therefore, let that fall to Sunderland's share.

My brains have overgrown me this last three or four years, and therefore shall be divided amongst pluralities; Peterborough, Huntington, bishop Chester, Smith, and Chapman.

Chester, not content with my brains, snaps at my kidneys: by St. Francis! he is the likeliest man to make good use of them; let him take them.

Let my skull be carried to St. Omers, and, tipped with silver, to be drunk in upon the solemn day that is consecrated to my name; and being filled with blood, upon the admission of every novice, to be turned off by all the brotherhood, at the time of the administration of the holy sacrament.

My wanton eyes I bequeath to the nuns at St. Bridget's, and to those objects of charity, that the king's alms were bestowed upon.

My tongue to the earl of Winchelsea, because he has so little.

My ears to Penn, Ferguson, and the rest of that tribe; or Titus Oates, that courageous gnaw-post.

My nose, to the P. O. who has scratched his out of Scipio's grave.

My teeth to Harry Hills, for beads; or, to polish the rosary; or, instead of it, Aretine, Tully and Octavia, Rochester, School of Venus, &c.

My throat, to the earl of Essex, to be shaved.

My breasts, to the queen; who lost her own with longing for a box of the ear of the princess, and sausages made of hereticks' dripping.

My issues, to queen-dowager, who, they say, has twenty; ten to my knowledge.

My instrument of propagation, otherwise called the Carnalidge, part to my lady Spencer, or Stonehorse Spencer.

My prolific-juice, to the queen, and my blessing; together with all the hairs of my —— to make a peruke for my son ——.

The strength of my back to the king, together with all my merits. Some one will be apt to say, "Your merit? (quoth he;) That is a halter." Good Mr. king, if you will put up the affront, I will; or else, my intent being well directed, I am clear.

My a—, to the great button-maker of England.

My deputy-hair, and my alderman's-hat, to Alsop, and the rest of the gang.

My razor let Jefferies shave himself with, and cut his throat when he has done. My breeches I recommend to the queen's use, to get her with child without the help of a man; and the smell of my stockings to make her fair. 'How beautiful upon the mountains,' &c. Let my corpse be buried in the room where sir Edmundsbury Godfrey⁴ was murdered, to fright his bodily appearance, and, I will, to the devil to choak his ghost. Twenty-thousand pounds for swords, knives, powder, fireballs, &c. Ten-thousand pounds for him that stabs the prince of Orange. Two-thousand for the French dragoons; to be paid by father La Chaise, for their good service. One-hundred for him that kills an heretick. One-thousand for the colonel of St. Ignatio; to invent and provide all manner of tortures. Two-thousand to the chapel of the blessed Virgin of Loretto, to be converted into a golden chamber-pot. All this last to be paid by the king, as soon as I have sent him money from France.

³ [Lewis XIV.]

⁴ [This gentleman was an active justice of the peace, and had been knighted by Charles II. on account of his exertions during the fire of London. In other respects, he was low-spirited, and rather a timorous man, and in the exercise of his office favourable to the Catholics. Titus Oates, finding the information he had lodged with the ministers concerning the pretended Popish plot rather less ardently listened to than he expected, chose to utter before this magistrate a full declaration of the subject upon oath. His intention was probably to make the matter as public as possible. Godfrey expressed much unwillingness to have any thing to do with the matter at all; and, when he had heard the story out, expressed to his friends his fear that he should have no thanks for his pains, but would probably be the first martyr. This strange, and one would think absurd, boding, proved true; this unfortunate man was found lying in a ditch, near Primrose-hill. There were marks of strangling round his neck; and although his own sword was thrust through his body, yet it turned out to have been done after death. His money and rings were safe; robbery was therefore out of the question. This murder ever will remain among the riddles of history. See Scott's Dryden, ix. 286.]

An Inventory of the Goods that I left in my Lodgings, to the Lord-Chancellor, with their Value set upon them.

1. **A** PIECE of Adam's fig-leaf-apron, together with an apple of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Three-hundred thirty-thousand pounds.
2. A frog, a louse, and a locust, that was upon Pharaoh's land; with Joseph's coat, Samson's jaw-bone, and half Gideon's fleece. Fifty-thousand pounds.
3. The hoof of Balaam's ass, the dart that killed Absalom, together with the stone that slew Goliath, and a piece of Bathsheba's smock; prized at one-thousand pounds.
4. Three chairs that Solomon sat in at study, together with his black fur-cap; and a table that St. Paul made use of, when he wrote his epistle to the Hebrews. Two-thousand pounds.
5. The parchments, that the same Apostle sent for, by Timothy, with the cloke; St. Agnes's candlestick, and St. Winifred's ink-horn. Three-thousand pounds.
6. St. Francis's clock; St. Dennis's fire-shovel and tongs; a broken chamber-pot of the blessed Virgin of Loretto; and a little sauce-pan for the prince of Wales, that Zacharias bought for his son John. Thirty-thousand pounds.
7. St. Ignatius's warming-pan, the nail of Loyola's little toe, pope Joan's placket, and Bellarmine's close-stool. Ten-thousand pounds.
8. A surreverence of St. Clemens in a silver box; St. Ambrose's clyster-pipe; St. Austin's almanack. Valued at one-thousand pounds.
9. St. Cyprian's bason; Cicely's looking-glass, and marmalade-pot; Coleman's halter; St. Catharine's tower and curling-pin, with her wash to beautify the face; which I have used this many years, and it wastes no more than the widow's cruise, which I also have. Twenty-thousand pounds.
10. Some of Paul's fasting-spittle in a bottle, sealed with his coat of arms; good for sore eyes, and to restore even the blind: a nail of Timothy's shoe, queen Mary's ruff, and St. Margaret's scissars. Three-thousand pounds.
11. A board of the Ark; a feather of Noah's dove; a grain of Lot's wife, took from the pillar of salt; and the paper that saluted Lyass B——. Seven-thousand pounds.
12. The dirt-pies that the Virgin Mary made when she was a child; some of the dung that fell into Tobit's eyes; the horns of Nebuchadnezzar, when he was turned into a cow; St. Bridget's thimble, and case of needles. Two-thousand pounds.
13. The nails that held our Saviour to the cross; the spear that pierced his side; some of the water and blood that came out; the inscription that was set over his head, in Pilate's own hand-writing. Six-thousand pounds.
14. Judas's bag full of bread and cheese; the piece of money that was taken out of the fish's mouth for tribute; some of the water that was made wine. Seven-thousand pounds.
15. A piece of our Blessed Saviour's cradle; the manger; the key of St. Peter's back-door into heaven; his slippers; the bill, spurs, and comb of the cock, that crowed when he denied his Master. Four-thousand pounds.
16. A part of the nipple of St. Agatha; St. Margaret's p—s-burnt garter; the table-cloth, napkins, and knives, that were used in the institution of the Lord's-supper; the bed that pope Joan pigged in; pope Boniface's codpiss-buttons; and our Lord's-Prayer, in our Saviour's own hand-writing. Nine-thousand pounds.
17. A drop of the blessed Virgin's milk, which she gave to St. Biasio, when he thirsted in the wilderness.

A Form of private Prayer used by Father Peters.

O BLESSED MARY, mother of God, queen of heaven, saviour of the world, giver of salvation, the almighty lady, author of our redemption; I beseech thee to hear me! Bow the heavens, and come down from that thy throne, to hear the petition of thy humble sup-

pliant. By our Saviour's birth and baptism, by the manger in which he was laid, by the gifts the Wisemen brought, by the star that appeared in the East, by the swaddling-clothes he wore, by the milk he suckled, by the tears he shed in his agony, by the kiss given him by Judas, by the halter with which Judas hanged himself, and the bag that he had to bear; by the lance that pierced our Saviour's side, by the water and blood that came out, by the tomb in which he was laid, by the spices with which he was embalmed, by the ointment with which he was anointed unto his burial, by the cross on which he suffered, by the two thieves that together died with him, by the choir of angels at his birth, and the choir of angels that were his attendants at his resurrection; by the superscription of Pilate, by the high priest's ear that was cut off; by the name of Woman, with which Christ pleased to signify thy pre-eminence over all women; &c.: I beseech thee to hear me. Let not the sceptre depart from Amalek, nor a law-giver from the Jebusites; nor a cardinal from England, nor a Peters from the court, so long as the sun and moon endure. Pray for us, O blessed Virgin, that all our designs and contrivances may have good success; and command thy Son to be so careful of the good of his society, that it may be implanted in all the nations of the world; and particularly in this wherein we live. Let the king hearken to me, the charmer, who charms wisely; nor be as a deaf adder, that will not hear; nor stiff-necked as his people, that will not obey. Make him resolute in his religion, and true to the cause which he has promised to maintain; and let the abundance of his merits wash away the many religious vows and oaths, which he has made and broke, for the honour of the Roman church. We are thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture; if thou hadst not been for us, we had been 'swallowed up quick' in this heretical, damnable, prejudiced kingdom, when they were 'so wrathfully displeased at us:' but thou hast fought for us, and defended us. O, go on to perfect this work of thine, which thou hast, in some measure, begun; and make us all one sheepfold, under one shepherdess, the blessed Mary. Make Peter open to all, that will open the door of their hearts to thee; and damn all those eternally that shall presume to refuse it, for thy name's sake, and mine, the lord-chancellor's, Salisbury's, Chester's, Peterborough's merit, &c. Amen.

An Expedient for the Preventing any Difference between his Highness¹ and the Parliament. About the Recognition, the Negative Voice, and the Militia. By a Lover of his Country, that desires, at this Time, to be nameless.

London, Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-spread-Eagle, at the West-end of St. Paul's, 1659.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

THOUGH I look not upon the present dispute about the Negative Voice, and the command of the Militia, as like to give us much trouble, (for usurpations and tyrannies, once

¹ [Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest son, who was by him, before his death, declared his successor; and by order of the privy-council, proclaimed Lord-Protector. He received the compliments of congratulation from the lord-mayor and court of alderman; and addresses were presented to him from all parts of the nation, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. Richard, after having called a parliament after the antient form,

judged by God, never recover to rise again in the same form;) yet, to satisfy the doubts and fears of those honest souls, who see not what strength they have on their side, I shall desire them to be assured, that there is reason and equity sufficient to stop the mouth of such a claim, by any single person in this nation: and, therefore, we shall need no other compromise of this difference, but to reflect upon the rise and occasion of this government; from whence the nature and power of it will best appear.

THE present form of government, then, as it varies from a republick, was begotten by necessity. For the nation having traversed all the ways of a parliament and council of state, and seen all they could afford; and, at length, finding through long continuance, as standing waters, they did corrupt, discontent gathered and fermented, and sought where it might most advantageously discover itself; and so fell in with the power of the Army; and the person of the then General², whom they had found so stout and faithful, and withal successful; and was willing to throw themselves and their cause into his arms and protection, consenting that he should use any means (yea, though he were most arbitrary therein) to ease them of their old masters, whom they could bear no longer. So that, as I said, it was pure necessity and strait, that cast us here, and not any affection to monarchic government. The clear intent and expectation of the honest people, that were accessory to the devolving the power here, being; That that person should, in the name and power of God, (or of his own truth and righteousness, which was supposed to be in him,) administer the power of these nations, to settle us in freedom and peace upon all accounts, both civil and spiritual; and they never dreamed of a monarch or a family-interest, nor did they imagine any need of cautioning it here. Though others, wiser heads (such, who perhaps, by the opportunity of their high places, had approached nearer this temptation in their own hearts) did foresee, and were aware, what might be the consequence and product of this over-hasty credulity and trust; as afterwards indeed it came to pass.

The Protector did clearly run biass to the honest intentions of those, that wished him the administration of the power, when he made himself a civil ruler. But changes in states and governments being brought with such pangs and throes, as are very uneasy and dangerous; they are not every day's work. It was in vain to retract or withdraw the trust committed to the General, though many disliked the way he went; nor could men believe, that the late passages and transactions could ever grow into such oblivion, as that he, or any man, should think that this nation should be willing to match the militia and

soon conceived a design of making himself master of the deliberations of his council, and of reducing the army to receive his orders; but the principal officers combining against him, persuaded him to call a number of them to London; who formed a Great Council, and petitioned the Protector, 'that the army might have power to choose their own general.' This demand he positively rejected. The Great Council, continuing their conferences and deliberations, at last presented a petition, desiring Fleetwood for their general; which he answered by a sharp reprimand, and an order for them to dissolve their council. Upon this, Desborough, with a strong retinue, demanded audience of the Protector, and required him in the name of the army to dissolve the parliament: which if not speedily done, they threatened to fire the house, and kill all that should resist.

Richard, having had notice beforehand of the intention of the army, had assembled his council and deliberated upon the means of preventing the attempt. 'Some (says Rapin) were of opinion, that he ought absolutely to refuse such a demand, and adhere to the parliament, as his only support. But he was not directed to the means to defend himself against the officers, who began to assemble in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, and would probably have been too strong for his guards. Others advised him to leave Whitehall, and suffer the officers to do as they pleased with the parliament, without any promise to dissolve it. But the officers foreseeing, he might take that course, had now seized all the avenues about Whitehall. In short, every man proposed expedients, to which others objected insuperable difficulties.' In this state of affairs, some staunch republican put forth these propositions; which, though they apparently have reason on their side, would have been far from satisfying the turbulent spirit then reigning in the army. In the end, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and with it Richard's power expired.]

² [Oliver Cromwell.]

the sceptre together in the government, but only in his person, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary person : they having fought against it in the person of the late king.

Hereditary succession in the government being so much disgusted by the honest patriots in the late parliament, the nomination of the immediate succession was indulged ; his late Highness, as an expedient to satisfy the then present, powerful strivings for hereditary succession, which was not neither yielded unto, but upon a very high confidence of the spirit and principles of his late Highness, to carry him above all private respects, in the execution of the trust of nomination.

His now Highness, being in possession of the government, takes therewith the power of the militia, which was invested in his father, and he conceives also the Negative Voice to descend upon him with the civil government. The question is, Whether in truth it do so, or no ? I conceive not : and first for the Militia, it is true, the supreme command of all the armies in the three nations was in his late Highness ; but not as he was Protector, but as General, which he was, before he was Protector. So that the Protector, or civil government, was annexed to the militia, not the militia to the civil government ; or rather the power of administering to a civil settlement was annexed to the person, not to the power or office of the General ; and that upon the reputation of his personal virtue : his military power and capacity serving only as a strength and security to him, in the due exercise of the power of civil administration intrusted. So that it was not Oliver Cromwell as Protector, or the supreme civil magistrate, that was made General ; nor Oliver Cromwell as General simply, that was made Protector ; but Oliver Cromwell, General of such a spirit, of such integrity and faithfulness, that the like qualified person was not to be found in the three nations, that was thought fit for all the power that could be cast upon him.

As for the Negative Voice, as it was never disputed with his late Highness, where it was suffered to sleep as in a safe hand, for his personal virtues ; so was it never, since it was taken away from, or rather with the king and kingly government, concredited, or be-trusted with any power or person. And, indeed, it is a thing altogether superfluous as well as dangerous : for take away from parliaments, (who, sure in this light, that is risen upon us, cannot be imagined, from their source and fountain, the generality and body of the nation, to bring with them that choice discerning, which is singular, to judge of spiritual things :) I say, take away from them the coercive power, in things spiritual, and purely of the mind, and admit them, as children of this world, to be so wise in their generation, as to be able to judge, what is good and behoofful for the nation, wherein their stakes and interests lie ; and what use will there be of a Negative Voice in a commonwealth as we are, or should be ; where no distinct personal or family-interest, is, or ought to be owned ; but what is one with the commonwealth, and in a subserviency there-unto ?

The Negative Voice, therefore, being out of doors with kingship, and we having no civil head now that is master of the commonwealth, but a servant to it ; that was set up for that end, though an honourable servant, and it is fit he should be so maintained : the resolution is easy.

Let his present Highness be acknowledged and confirmed as supreme magistrate in these three nations.

Let the officers of the army choose their general, and let him have his commission from the Protector and parliament.

Let his Highness, now being with the parliament, have the power of disposing and commanding these forces, and of making war and peace.

The light, in which these things do evidence and offer themselves to the judgment and consciences of men, is manifest :

For the first ; A single person cannot hurt us, if an unfit power be not concredited and be-trusted with him. When we engaged against a king, it was not against a single person simply ; but so stated and circumstanced, arbitrary, tyrannical, with a luxurious court, a

burthensome state, &c. For this is a principle we never intended, by that engagement, to engage against what might be useful to us, (no rational man would do so,) but what we found hurtful. Therefore the single person may stand.

2. When we admitted a single person, and abated so much of the circumstance, we gave not up the substance of our cause; therefore be not baffled in that. But if we give the single person a negative voice, and the dispose of the militia; we give up the very heart and substance of our cause. Therefore, part not with that.

Neither, indeed, can his Highness (who is but a single person) expect, whoever should invest him with the sole command of the militia, whilst the army and the officers thereof keep their integrity, that he can make any use thereof, but for public ends; and therefore it would be *onus, non honos*.

3. It is fit his Highness should have an honourable, though not the only interest, in the commanding the militia. Therefore, let him be always sought unto, to join with the parliament, in the dispose of the forces of the nation.

And as for those of the other House, let them pass (or so many of them as the parliament shall think fit) into the council of state; and if they have a concurrent vote with his Highness and the Commons, (yet no negative vote,) their usefulness may be chiefly in the vacancy of parliaments, not to be a balance upon the Commons; let their balance be that reason and righteousness that is amongst themselves, as to the things of this world, which is their proper sphere.

A Relation of the Execution of James Graham, late Marquis of Montross¹, at Edinburgh, on Tuesday the Twenty-first of May Instant. With his last Speech, Carriage, and most remarkable Passages upon the Scaffold. Also a Letter out of Ireland, more fully, concerning the Taking of Clonmell.

London, printed by E. Griffin, in the Old-Bailey. May twenty-eighth, 1650.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

SIR;
NOTWITHSTANDING the great hubbub this place is in, at the beheading of Montross, I shall give you a short account of affairs. On Saturday last, Montross came hither; he was received at the end of the town by the bailiffs, and set upon a high cart, and tied with a rope, his hat being before taken off by the hangman, and the hangman

¹ [The following brief account of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, was given in the late edition of Lord Orford's Noble Authors.—' He was the son of John, fourth earl of Montrose, born in 1612, and had an education suitable to his birth. He became distinguished for his accomplishments, and was possessed of many eminent qualities, with an uncommon military genius, which he bravely exerted in the service of his king and country. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he was at first engaged on the side of the Covenanters; but no sooner did he perceive their intentions, and the measures they were pursuing, than he renounced their party, went over to the king's service, was created marquis of Montrose in 1644, and continued unalterably in the interest of the royal family to the end of his life. The brilliant actions he performed, and the victories he obtained with a small army of well-disciplined troops, will scarcely be credited by those who read the narrative of Wishart, himself an eye-witness of the transactions he records. The marquis of Montrose, observes Granger, was comparable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. He undertook, against almost every obstacle that could terrify a less enterprising genius, to reduce the kingdom of Scotland to the obedience of the king; and his success was answerable to the greatness of his undertaking. By a thousand efforts of stratagem and

riding upon a filly-horse, with his bonnet on, and a staff in his hand, and thus he was brought up, through the town. Several persons have been with him, and upon discourse he told them, that for personal offences, he hath deserved all this, but justifies his cause. He caused a new suit to be made for himself, and came yesterday into the parliament-house, with a scarlet rocket, and a suit of pure cloth, all laid with rich lace, a beaver, and a rich hatband, and scarlet silk-stockings: the chancellor made a large speech to him, discovering how much formerly he was for the covenant, and how he hath since broke it. He desired to know, whether he might be free to answer? and being admitted; he told them his cause was good, and that he had not only a commission, but particular orders for what he had done, from his Majesty, which he was engaged to be a servant to, and they also had professed to comply with; and upon that account, however they dealt with him, yet he would own them to be a true parliament. And he further told them, that if they would take away his life, the world knew he regarded it not; it was a debt that must once be paid, and that he was willing, and did much rejoice, that he must go the same way his Majesty did; and it was the joy of his heart, not only to do but to suffer for him. His sentence was, ‘To be hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high, three hours, at Edinburgh-cross; to have his head struck off, and hanged upon Edinburgh Toll-booth, and his arms and legs to be hanged up in other public towns in the kingdom, as Glasgow, &c. and his body to be buried, at the common burying-place; in case his excommunication from the kirk were taken off; or else to be buried where those are buried that are hanged².’ All the time while sentence was giving, and also when he was executed, he seemed no way to be altered, or his spirit moved; but his speech was full of composure, and his carriage as sweet as ever I saw a man in all my days. When they bid him kneel, he told them he would; he was willing to observe any posture, that might manifest his obedience, especially to them who were so near in conjunction with his Majesty. It is absolutely believed, that he hath gained more by his death, than ever he did in his life. The Scots are listing forces here, and have named their officers; they intend to make up their army twenty-five-thousand; they are very much startled at the marching of the English army northwards. By the next you shall hear further from

Edinburgh, May 21,
1650.

Your servant,
H. P.

Further by another Express from Edinburgh of the same Date, thus:

YESTERDAY, after the sentence was pronounced against Montross, he said, “That though he was cried out against for a bloody man; yet he never committed any act of cruelty, nor took away any man’s life, but in an hostile way.”

‘valour, he in a few months effectuated his great design; but for want of supplies was forced to abandon his conquests. After the death of Charles the First, whose fate he bemoaned with bitter passion, his unsubdued spirit prompted him to risk another attempt, but he was defeated by superior force, after a rash resistance. Montrose fled from the field, and concealed himself in the grounds of Macleod of Assint, to whose fidelity he intrusted his life, and by whom he was delivered up to Lesley, his most inveterate enemy. He was tried for what was termed treason against the estates of the kingdom, and heard his terrific sentence with a countenance undismayed.

‘He suffered on the 21st of May 1650, with all the heroism of a political martyr. Lord Clarendon remarks that he was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.’

Royal and Noble Authors, vol. v. p. 93.]

² [The following have been transmitted as his thoughts put into verse, upon hearing what was his own sentence:

Let them bestow on every earth a limb,
And open all my veins, that I may swim
To Thee, my Saviour, in that crimson lake;
Then place my parboil’d head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, throw them in the air:—
Lord! since thou know’st where all these atoms are,
I’m hopeful, once thou’lt re-collect my dust,
And confident, thou’lt raise me with the just.]

After he came to the place of execution, (having been so used as before,) he spoke to this purpose, to one that was near him: "You see what compliments they put upon me; but I never took more delight in all my life, in riding in a coach, than I did in this manner of passage to this place."

His late declaration and the history of his transactions were tied at his back, when he was hanged; but he would have nothing to do with the ministers who stood at the end of the scaffold³.

The places, where Montross's quarters are to be set up, are Glasgow, Sterling, Perth aliàs St. Johnson, and Aberdeen.

A Letter out of Ireland, more fully, concerning the Taking of Clonmell.

SIR,

THIS day we entered Clonmell, which was quit by the enemy the last night, about nine of the clock, after a tedious storm, which continued four hours. Our men kept close to the breach, which they had entered, all the time; save only one accidental retreat in the storm. We lost in this service Col. Cullum, and some other officers, with divers private soldiers, and some others wounded. The enemy had made many great preparations within, by a traverse or cross-work, and so beat our men off, as they entered; but afterwards many of them stole out of the town, and left some few, with the inhabitants, to make conditions. In the morning, our forces pursued and killed all they could light upon. The town is a very strong place, and I hope the getting of this garrison will be of good use for the gaining of others, which depended upon this. The English under Ormond and Inchequeen are come in; and as many as desired had passes to go beyond seas, and the rest have leave to live quiet at home. I am

Clonmell, May 10,
1650.

Your affectionate friend,

W. A.

³ [According to Granger, there is a Dutch print of the Marquis of Montrose extant, with a view of his execution. Biog. Hist. iii. 26.]

The Travels of three English Gentlemen, in the Year 1734. (MS.)

[Continued from Vol. IV. p. 477.]

SECT. V.

A Journey from Vienna, in Austria; to Prague, the Capital of Bohemia.

HAVING got every thing in readiness for our departure from Vienna, and the postiglioni being arrived at our inn, we passed the Danube, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The first place we stopped at was called Enzersdorf, or Enzerstorf, near the point where a small rivulet empties itself into the Danube, not much above a German mile north of Vienna. Enzersdorf is a pretty large village on the northern bank of the Danube, opposite to Kalenberg. We could see here the mounts Kalenberg and Pisen-

berg, betwixt which, at almost an equal distance, Enzersdorf stands. The country betwixt this place and Vienna is a fine verdant plain. After gaining the northern bank of the Danube, we left a small village called Eipoltau, or Eypoltau, a little to the east; and instead of taking the route of Wolkersdorf, in the post-road to Olmutz, turned off to the left. Besides the mounts Kalenberg and Pisenberg, there are two small towns, or villages, in their neighbourhood, likewise so called.

From Enzersdorf we advanced to Stockerau, where, upon the approach of the evening, we took up our lodgings. Stockerau stands near three German miles almost north of Enzersdorf, and is a pretty considerable town. According to Eugippius, the antient Astura stood upon the spot at present possessed by Stockerau; and, according to the 'Notitia,' a tribune with his cohort was for some time posted here; which seems to run counter to what has been advanced by Dr. Brown. The words referred to in the 'Notitia' are these: '*Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Pannoniae, et Norici Ripensis, fuit tribunus cohortis Asturis.*' St. Severinus is said first to have stopped at Astura; and St. Colman, or Coloman, a native of Scotland, to have suffered martyrdom at Stockerau, in the year 1012, upon the ground where the monastery of the Minorites was afterwards built. This saint is believed by the Austrians to have wrought many miracles after his death. Astura was one of the most considerable cities of the Quadi. Between Enzersdorf and Stockerau, a traveller has a full view of both mount Kalenberg and mount Pisenberg, as he marches on the northern bank of the Danube. We were informed, that upon mount Kalenberg (a part of mount Cetius, and about two German miles almost north of Vienna) many petrified fish, some of which were of several unknown species, have been, and still are, found. These are not however discovered in such large quantities now as formerly. Our expences at Stockerau amounted to about eight florins. The people of the inn, where we lodged, stole from us one of the bottles of Tokay wine, given us by Mr. Robinson; which did not greatly surprize us. The dialect spoken at Stockerau differs very sensibly, as well as the pronunciation, from that used at Vienna.

The next place that supplied us with fresh horses the inhabitants called Mallebern. This village consists of about fifty or sixty houses, is two easy German miles from Stockerau, and has a pretty church. We did not stay above an hour at Mallebern, as finding nothing capable of exciting our curiosity, or detaining us longer there.

From Mallebern to Hollabrun, the next post-town, we found the road very good, and the miles short. This town, or village, is considerably larger than the former. The Golden-crown is the best public-house in it, and a tolerably good inn. Between Mallebern and Hollabrun we passed through two large villages, but the names of them we did not learn.

Naudorf, or Nodorf, was the next place that, for about an half an hour, we rested at. It seems to be about the same size as Hollabrun. Between Naudorf and Hollabrun we passed through a pretty considerable village; but the postiglioni could not be certain as to its name. The country we went through this post, appeared very agreeable and delightful.

Our postiglioni next conducted us to a fine village, called Pulckau, or Bulckha, two German miles from Naudorf. This post was good road throughout, and the whole tract covered with a beautiful verdure. The buildings in Pulckau are something elegant, and seem to resemble those of Vienna. There are two or three small places between Naudorf and Pulckau, but the names of them we were not told.

From Pulckau we went to Langau, or Langenau, the last town in Austria, and upon the borders of Moravia. This post is mountainous and bad, and consists at least of three German miles. Between Pulckau and Langau, we met with some woods of fir-trees, and now and then with an *ilex*, or scarlet-oak. The country we passed through this post, notwithstanding the road, was pleasant and agreeable enough.

Our next post was terminated by Frating, a town of Moravia, in the Circle of Znaim, at a small distance from the Taya, or Thaya, about two German miles from Langau. The people of the country call this town (which, as near as we could guess, consists of

about two-hundred houses) Wrateny. It has one or two pretty churches in it, and seems to be of Slavic extraction. The houses form one long street, and make a tolerably good appearance. We did not stay above an hour here.

The next place we stopped at (two good German miles north-west off Frating) was denominated Piesling, or Pistling. Pistling is likewise a small town, or village, of the marquisate of Moravia, upon the Taya, with a castle, at present in a ruinous condition, consisting, as we guessed, of about one-hundred and fifty houses. We were told that there were two churches here, as well as at Frating.

Pistling stands in the Circle of Znaim, which is a very pleasant and fertile tract. Between Piesling and Frating, we passed through a village called Rantzern, which had a tolerably good church. The road between Rantzern and Piesling is very mountainous.

After having staid about half, or three-quarters of an hour at Piesling, we continued our route to Zlabnitz, or as it is called by the Moravians, Slawonice.—Zlabnitz, or Slawonice, is a considerable town of the marquisate of Moravia, in the Circle of Iglaw, two German miles almost west of Piesling, and near the same distance, in an eastern direction, from the ridge of mountains separating Moravia from Bohemia. This town was built by the Slavi, as clearly appears from its name; and consequently may be looked upon as one of the most antient in Moravia. The country-people and some foreigners, call Zlabnitz, Zlabings; which is neither the Moravian nor German name. But this is not to be wondered at, since the language of this part of Moravia is a composition, made up of the High-Dutch and Moravian tongues. The Moravian, we were told, differs very considerably from the Bohemian, Polish, and Sclavonian dialects. Before we take our leave of Moravia, we shall beg leave to give our readers a short description of that province, such as we received, partly from persons of good authority here, and partly from a curious piece scarce to be met with in England.

The marquisate of Moravia received its name from the Mora, or Morava, a famous river running through it, called by Pliny and Tacitus the Marus. This river has its source in the northern angle of Moravia, upon the borders of Silesia; and, after having joined the Taya near Ravenspurgh, discharges itself into the Danube, upon the confines of Hungary, not far from Presberg. Moravia is bounded on the west by Bohemia; on the north by Silesia; on the east by Hungary; and on the south by Austria; or rather that part of it divided from Moravia by the Taya. The air here is soft and mild; the region well cultivated, and abounding with all the necessaries, as well as some of the elegancies, of life. It does not only produce great quantities of corn, but likewise of saffron; and wine also, though of a weaker kind, such as will not intoxicate those who drink copiously of it. It is also enriched with four different species of metals: gold, near Jamnitz, Römerstadt, Bergstadt, and in the lordships of Goldenstein and Lukow; silver, near Polnau, Piscopicz, Iglaw, Bergstadt, and Hagenstein; iron, in the lordships of Janovicz and Berstein, as also about Neustadt, Römerstadt, Kunststadt, Polnau, Jaspitz, Frana, Hochwald, and several other places; and lastly lead, in the mountainous tract called Rantzern, near Iglaw. Alum, vitriol, jeat, amber, agate, granate, jasper, marble, coal, &c. are likewise produced in Moravia.

The Marcomanni antiently inhabited Moravia, according to Pessina¹: though, that the Quadi occupied this part of antient Germany, together with part of Austria, may be inferred from Tacitus and Ptolemy². But possibly neither of these opinions may be very remote from truth, since the Marcomanni were considered sometimes as intermixed with the Quadi; especially, when with their united forces these two nations defended their respective territories against the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. It is certain, if any credit is to be given to antient history, the Marcomanni and Quadi either formed one nation³, extending from the Marus to the Cusus, or Vagus, (*i. e.* from the Morava to the Waag,) or had one common interest and form of government; and therefore conjointly

¹ Pessin. Mar. Mora. lib. 1. c. 2.

² Tacit. de Mor. Germ.; Ptol. Geogr. lib. 2.

³ See Cluver. Germ. Ant. lib. 3. c. 31.

opposed all foreign invaders, particularly the Romans. Afterwards having passed the Waag, they extended their dominions as far as Bregetio, or Strigonium, and the river Granua, or Gran. They carried on the war against the Romans, under Viguarius and his son Vitrodurus, as also under Gabinius and Fridegildus, their kings, with various success. But being greatly weakened by their frequent bloody contests with the Romans, Vandals, Goths, &c. and at last subdued by the Huns; they were obliged first to take on in the service of Attila, general of the Huns, and afterwards of Ardericus, captain of the Gepidæ. Being afterwards dispersed in different provinces, the names of Quadi and Marcomanni were totally lost, towards the close of the fifth century.

After the extinction of the Quadi and Marcomanni, the Slavi seated themselves here; and, as should seem from Suidas, were called Maravani, Marahenses, or Moravi. Of all the Slavic nations, the Moravians were the first that formed a kingdom. This kingdom was of much larger extent, than the present marquisate of Moravia. According to Æneas Sylvius (afterwards pope Pius the Second), the Hungarians, Bohemians, and Poles were subject to the king of Moravia. But with regard to the Hungarians, this cannot be allowed, since it is absolutely repugnant to the faith of history; and therefore Æneas Sylvius is only to be understood as asserting, that a considerable tract of the kingdom of Hungary antiently appertained to the kingdom of Moravia. This, we apprehend, cannot be denied; as being supported by some writers of indubitable authority. Our readers will not be displeased to see here a list of the antient Kings of Moravia; whose government continued above two-hundred years.

List of the Kings of Moravia.

I. Swatossius, or Suathes, the son of Marothus, or Moravodus, who fixed his residence at Vesprin, and presided over a great part of Pannonia and Moravia. He was defeated in two battles by the Hungarians, and being almost entirely driven out of Pannonia, took refuge in the island of Schut, from whence he passed into Moravia, and at Welehrad near the Morava built a palace, where he afterwards resided. He likewise erected several towers and redoubts along the Waag, in order to repress the courses of the Hungarians. This we learn from some authors of good authority; but Bonfinius and Thurocius affirm Swatossius to have been drowned in the Danube, after the last overthrow given him by the Hungarians. Which of these notions is the most agreeable to truth, we must leave our readers, after having consulted the above-mentioned authors, to decide. Swatossius began to reign about *an. Dom.* 720.

II. Samomirus succeeded his father Swatossius, according to Pessina. History is entirely silent, as to any remarkable particulars of his reign.

III. He was succeeded by Samoslaus; of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

IV. Lechus, or Lech, ascended the throne, after the decease of his father Samoslaus. He was killed in battle by Charlemain.

V. Hormidorus reigned after Lechus.

VI. Mogemirus, the next king of Moravia, in vain endeavoured to make himself master of the kingdom of Hungary. He likewise invaded Poland, and took Cracow; but, according to some authors, soon lost it again.

VII. Bryno, or Bruno, (by some called Prinnina,) came next; but not being able to quell the seditious commotions raised by Mogemirus, he abdicated the throne, and was succeeded by the author of those commotions, Mogemirus the Second.

VIII. Mogemirus the Second enjoyed the sovereignty of Moravia for some time. His predecessor Bryno had a certain district bordering on the Save given him by Lewis duke of Bavaria, where he ended his days in peace.

IX. Raczko, or Radislaus, (called by some Rastice,) swayed the sceptre of Moravia after Mogemirus the Second. He extended his conquests as far as Vesprin, the antient seat of the kings of Moravia; but being afterwards defeated, in a pitched battle, by the Hungarians, he found himself obliged to abandon them. He was at last taken prisoner by Lewis king of Germany, (against whom, in defiance of the faith of treaties, he had

several times taken up arms,) had his eyes put out, and was doomed to perpetual imprisonment in Bavaria.—The next prince that mounted the throne was

X. Suatopulcus, Suatoplucus, Zuentibaldus, (or, as he is called by some, Swendopoldus;) who was laid under arrest by Carolomannus, the son of Lewis, at Ratisbon, in 871. But, the crime alleged against him not being proved, he had his liberty restored, and was sent back to his subjects in Moravia. However, this proved a source of many broils and animosities between the abovementioned princes, which at length were removed in the reign of the emperor Arnulphus. Suatopulcus was succeeded by his son Suatobogus, or Suatobogius, the last king of Moravia.

XI. Suatobogus, or Suatobogius, was a prince guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes; and was therefore anathematized, or excommunicated, by pope Sergius the Third, and put to the ban of the empire by the emperor Lewis the Fourth. Upon which events, the Poles, Bavarians, and Hungarians broke into his dominions, and carried all before them. Some writers affirm, that Suatobogus, after having received a signal defeat, was slain by these invaders: but others, that after having lost his kingdom, he escaped to mount Sobor, or Zobor; and spent the remainder of his days with anchorets settled there.

An end being thus put to the kingdom of Moravia, the Bavarians seized upon that part of it lying between the Danube and the Taye, which was afterwards joined to Austria. The other part, which fell into the hands of the Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians, was at last adjudged by the emperor Otto, or Otho the Great, to St. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, in the year 937. But neither he nor his successors obtained the sovereignty of the whole country, till the time of Udalricus, and his son Brzetislaus the First, who having overthrown the Poles, in a great battle, *an. Dom.* 1026, wrested from them the Polish Moravia, and soon after made himself master of the other part appertaining to the Hungarians; and extending the frontiers to their present limits, annexed the whole province to Bohemia. Brzetislaus had five sons, Spitihnæus, Jaromirus or Jaromir, Wratislaus, Otto or Otho, and Conrad. Spitihnæus, Spitigneus, or Sbigneus, lived with his father, being the heir-apparent to his dominions; Jaromir took holy orders; Wratislaus had assigned him the district of Olmutz; Otto that of Brinn; and Conrad that of Znaim; Brzetislaus in the mean time reserving to himself and his successors the sovereignty both of Bohemia and Moravia. Upon the decease of his brother Spitihnæus without issue, Wratislaus obtained the crown of Bohemia, and ceded the territory of Olmutz to his brother Otto; annexing at the same time the district of Znaim to that of Brinn, in favour of Conrad. About the year 1086, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, Moravia assumed the title of Marquisate; and the kings of Bohemia, after the example of Brzetislaus, generally divided it, for some ages, amongst their younger sons or relations. This occasioned sometimes bloody wars between the kings of Bohemia and the marquisses of Moravia; the latter frequently refusing to acknowledge the sovereignty of the former. Notwithstanding which, Moravia was always considered as appertaining to Bohemia, after the reign of Brzetislaus the First, and came with that kingdom into the possession of the house of Austria.

The Christian religion seems to have been first planted in Moravia by the emperor Charlemain, who having driven the Slavi Moravians from one side of the Danube, and the Huns and Avars from the other, carried his victorious arms as far as the Raab; and committed the propagation of Christianity here to Arno, archbishop of Saltzburg, authorized thereto by pope Adrian the First. This is farther confirmed by the catalogue of the bishops of Passau, in which Dresserus relates, that bishop Runharius, or Reginarius, converted the Moravians to the faith of Christ in the year 807; which yet we apprehend is not to be understood of the whole Moravian nation, but only a part of it, perhaps that bordering upon the Danube. After the death of Charlemain, Urolphus, archbishop of Saltzburg, sent Adelvinus and Methodius, who were both adorned with the episcopal dignity, to instruct the Moravians in the principles of Christianity; and perhaps he himself assisted them in that laudable employment. Afterwards going to Rome, to give an account of the success of his endeavours, he met with a most gracious reception from pope

Eugenius the Second, who admonished Tuttundus and Moymarus, styled by him Dukes of Hunnia, or Avaria, and Moravia, as also the prelates, noblesse, armies, and people of those countries, to assist Urolphus in the execution of so noble and pious a design. The letter wrote on this occasion by that pontiff may be seen in Hundius, Gewoldus, and Guldastus.

But the progress of the Gospel in Moravia was greatly obstructed, if not totally stopped, by the civil wars between Bryno and Mogemirus, or Moymarus the Second; till St. Cyril and St. Methodius, coming out of the East, dispelled the thick clouds of ethnic superstition, and again refreshed this country with the salutary rays of Evangelical light: inso-much that they have been general esteemed as the genuine apostles of Moravia. This happened in the reign of Radislaus, when St. Cyril, after he had been sent by Michael emperor of the East, and Ignatius patriarch of Constantinople, into the Taurica Chersonesus, to convert the Chazari to the Christian Faith; and in order to effect this, had learned the Sclavonian tongue, which was spoken by that people, together with his colleague St. Methodius; passed through the Triballi and Bulgarians into Moravia, about the year 862. The unwearied labours of these holy men were attended with such extraordinary success, that in a very short time the king, noblesse, and, in fine, the whole nation of the Moravians embraced the Christian religion; and soon after the archbishoprick of Welehrad was founded, the antient bishopricks restored, and, as is probable, several new ones erected. In the mean time pope Nicholas hearing how happily the light of the Gospel diffused itself over Moravia; and that the natives there made use of the Sclavonian tongue, into which (after having formed a new alphabet for that purpose) St. Cyril had translated the Sacred Writings, in their public service; he summoned St. Cyril and St. Methodius to Rome: but died before their arrival, in November 867. However, they were treated with great distinction by his successor pope Adrian the Second. How St. Cyril justified his conduct in relation to the use of the Sclavonian tongue in sacred matters; and, as it were, extorted from that pontiff and the court of Rome a licence to continue the divine service throughout Moravia, &c. in that language; our curious readers will be fully and amply informed by the piece to which we shall here beg leave to refer them⁴.

St. Cyril spent the remainder of his days at Rome, but St. Methodius, his colleague, (after having been created archbishop of Moravia,) returned home, in the reign of Suatopulcus, who succeeded Radislaus. That prince afterwards sent this worthy prelate his ambassador to Rome; as appears from a letter wrote him by pope John the Eighth in 880; to be met with in Baronius. St. Methodius had not been long dead, when an end was put to the kingdom of Moravia by the Poles, Bavarians, and Hungarians; as already mentioned. This revolution occasioned the abolition of the archbishoprick of Welehrad, and the other cathedral churches in Moravia. The Christian religion, however, soon after recovered its former footing here; but after the death of Sylvester, the last archbishop of Moravia, this province was annexed to the diocese of Passau, or, according to some, to that of Ratisbon; of which it continued a part, till the time of St. Adalbertus, bishop of Prague, to whose diocese the church of Moravia was joined by pope Benedict the Sixth. This union remained till after the year 1060, when Severus, being bishop of Prague, (by the approbation, and, as some imagine, at the instigation of pope Alexander the Second,) the Moravians had their antient church restored them, and rendered distinct from that of Prague.

The followers of John Hus propagated their tenets here, in the fifteenth century; though John de Praga, bishop of Olmutz, prevented them from making any very great progress in Moravia. However, the reformation afterwards gradually so insinuated itself here, that it seems to have spread itself over, at least, the greatest part of the country; particularly in the reigns of George, Wladislaus, and Lewis, kings of Bohemia.

⁴ See the piece of Wenceslaus Charles count de Purgstall, intituled '*Germania Austriaca*,' already mentioned in the description of Moravia; p. 70, 71; published at Vienna in 1701.

The synod of Brinn, being acted by a spirit quite opposite to the genius of popery, granted an universal toleration, extending to people of all religions, in 1608. But an end was put to this by the fatal battle of Weissenburg, near Prague, in 1620, which gave the possession of this marquise to the house of Austria; and enabled the Cardinal de Dietrichstein, by his active and indefatigable zeal for popery, to re-establish the Roman-catholic religion in Moravia.

Notwithstanding which, many Protestants are still to be met with in this country. Most of these seem to acknowledge some sort of episcopacy, though in several points, as predestination, free-election, grace, regeneration, &c. they are said to approach very near the Calvinists. Nay, in consequence of some other opinions, we were told, that they maintain the absolute impeccability of the regenerate in this life; and that good works are not necessary to justification. But as most of the relations, travellers meet with, concerning them, come from the Roman-catholics, who are their declared enemies; perhaps our readers ought to suspend their belief of the particulars here mentioned, till we have a full and ample account of the religious tenets of the Moravian Protestants, from a candid and impartial person, who has, for some time, resided amongst them.

Moravia was divided into three toparchies, by Brzetislaus the First, duke of Bohemia; viz. that of Olmutz, that of Brinn, and that of Znaim. But in process of time, when the brothers and relations of the dukes, or kings of Bohemia, were branched out into several families, the toparchy of Olmutz, which was the largest of all, (as extending from the borders of Silesia to the conflux of the Taya and the Moravia,) was divided into two parts, in the year 1160, viz. the Upper and the Lower. Brzetislaus, son to Otto the Third, obtained the latter; and Wladimir, that prince's other son, the former; by the consent of Wladislaus, king of Bohemia. Lastly, in the age of Wladislaus the Second, Moravia was divided into five districts, viz. those of Olmutz, Brinn, Znaim, Iglaw, and Hradisch. The toparchy, or circle, of Olmutz is circumscribed, on the west by Bohemia and the Circle of Brinn, on the north by Silesia, on the east by Hungary, and on the south parts by the Circle of Brinn, and partly by the Circle of Hradisch. That of Brinn is limited, partly by the other districts, or circles, of Moravia, and partly by Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia. The Circle of Znaim is nearly of a pyramidal figure, and bounded by the Circles of Brinn and Iglaw, together with the archduchy of Austria. The Circle of Iglaw is terminated by those of Brinn and Znaim, and the kingdom of Bohemia. And lastly, that of Hradisch is surrounded by those of Olmutz and Brinn, and the kingdom of Hungary. It is, at present, divided into the Circles of Iglaw, Znaim, Brinn, Olmutz, Hradisch, and Prerau. The last circle of which is however considered, by the more accurate Moravian geographers, as part of that of Olmutz. So much for the history and geography of the marquise of Moravia in general; which, we hope, will not be considered, by our readers, as an impertinent digression.

But to resume the narrative of our journey from Vienna to Prague:

We staid one night at Zlabnitz, where we met with very good accommodations. Our landlord was a man of tolerable good sense and humour; and acquainted us with several particulars, relating to the country in which he lived, that we have taken care to insert in the above account. Zlabnitz seems to consist, at least, of four-hundred houses; is walled round, and the inhabitants appeared something civilized and polite. This town is pretty well built, and some of its houses consist of stone. Between Piesling and Zlabnitz we saw several very large woods of fir-trees, with which a good part of the Circles of Iglaw and Znaim abound. But this is not to be wondered at; since such sorts of woods are common, both in Moravia and Bohemia. Though the weather was excessive cold, we were scarce sensible of it, by reason of the stoves with which our rooms were heated. The principal places between Zlabnitz and Piesling are Zlabaten, Mudlau, and Khwalitz, all considerable villages. Zlabaten is in the post-road, Mudlau at a small distance from it, upon the Taya, and Khwalitz in sight of the post-road, scarce half a German mile S. E. of Zlabnitz. The two former are in the Circle of Znaim, and the latter in that of Iglaw.

Many of the chimneys here seemed to have something of the resemblance of a mitre. Most of the inhabitants of Zlabnitz speak Latin with tolerable fluency. The people of the inn where we lodged, stole another of our bottles of Tokay wine; upon which we came to a resolution to make sure of the other two the following night. However, we did not suffer greatly on this account, since the wine of the country was good and cheap enough. Though we regaled ourselves sufficiently at Zlabnitz, our whole expence there, including that incurred by the servants, did not exceed six florins.

From Zlabnitz we advanced to Konigseck, the first town in Bohemia, which terminates a post that consists of near three German miles. Konigseck seems not to be composed, at most, of above one-hundred and sixty houses. We found the tract between Zlabnitz and Konigseck pretty mountainous and woody, and part of it covered with snow. The women in this part of Moravia appeared to us handsome enough, and the men robust and well-made. Many of the hills in this western district of Moravia are covered with woods, full of various kinds of wild beasts, usually produced in such places. Between Zlabnitz and Konigseck we met with a wood of fir-trees (and such are many of the woods, in this part of Moravia at least) which seemed to be of a vast extent. The villages we passed through between the two places last mentioned, were Rudoletz, Waltersschlag, and Dimelschlag, none of which could be deemed very considerable. The two first stand in the Circle of Iglaw. The mountains separating Moravia from the Circles of Bechin and Czaslau in Bohemia, were almost entirely covered with snow. Dimelschlag, the last of the abovementioned places, is not much above half a German mile from Konigseck, and the first village in Bohemia.

After near an hour's stay at Konigseck, we set out for Neuhaus, which was next to supply us with post-horses. This is a pretty long post, but the road must be allowed good. Neuhaus (or, as the Bohemians call it, Gindrzichu Hradecz) is a fine city of Bohemia, in the Circle of Bechin, about fourteen German miles, according to the Austrian and Bohemian geographers, almost south of Prague. But this is to be understood of a right line drawn from Neuhaus to Prague; since the distance betwixt those two cities is much greater, according to the post-road; as will manifestly appear from the present narrative. Neuhaus is a large town, and its buildings neat and elegant, as well as the people that inhabit it. For several ages it was the seat of a prince of the same name. The princes of Neuhaus, (or *de Nová Domo*, as they were termed in Latin,) we find celebrated in the Bohemian annals. They carried a golden rose in their shield, and exerted themselves in defence of popery against Géorge of Podiebrad, king of Bohemia. Adam, the last of the antient family of these princes, built a noble college for the Jesuits in Neuhaus, which is richly endowed. Upon the extinction of this family, Neuhaus, with the district appertaining to it, fell into the hands of the descendants of the counts Slavata. The castle, in which the princes of Neuhaus resided, is a fine edifice, and a great ornament to the town. There are, or very lately were, in this castle the effigies of a long series of the dukes and kings of Bohemia, most exactly copied from some antient portraits of those princes, that for a long time adorned the castle of Prague. As the originals, from whence these effigies were taken, have been consumed by fire; they ought, if now remaining, to be looked upon as a most valuable curiosity. The erection of this castle (according to Balbinus, to whom we must beg leave to refer our curious readers for a more minute account of it, and several very remarkable particulars relating to it,) was owing to a certain matron, who had the care and education of some of the princes of Neuhaus committed to her. According to the same author, a spectre, apparition, or ghost, in his time, walked in the neighbourhood of this castle, and even in the castle itself. It was then (if he may be credited) so well known to all the citizens of Neuhaus, as well as the peasants of the adjacent villages, that not the least scruple was entertained amongst them about the reality of its appearance. It was believed to be the ghost of the aforesaid matron, as it appeared in the shape, or form of a woman, with a bunch of keys hanging at her girdle, and dressed in white; from whence it was called, by the people above-mentioned, 'the white lady.' Several persons of unexceptionable authority affirmed to Balbinus, that they had seen the

white lady; particularly a rector of the Clementine college, who declared that he once saw her from a window of the castle at noon-day. She then appeared in the market-place all in white, with white ribbands about her head, very tall, and with a modest countenance. He farther added, that when she saw herself discovered by many people, who pointed at her, she grew less, gradually, and at last disappeared. Whatever our readers may think of this story, many Bohemians, and some of very good fashion, still believe the reality of this apparition. There is in Neuhaus a fine *forum* or market-place, town-house, and piazza; as also a church dedicated to the blessed Virgin, whose architecture is reckoned admirable. Within a few minutes after we got out of our chaises, a mob of near three-hundred people assembled, in order to stare upon us. We must not omit observing, that Konigseck, as well as Neuhaus, is in the Circle of Bechin.

The next place we stopped at, our postiglioni called Samosol, or Somosol. It stands about two German miles from Neuhaus, and is a small inconsiderable village. As we could hear of nothing in this place worth seeing, and had spent some hours in Neuhaus, within half an hour after our arrival here, we put ourselves again in motion; hoping to reach Tabor, before the night surprized us.

From Samosol we went to Koschitz, a little village consisting of a few wooden houses. This post is about the common length, but the road did not entirely please us. As nothing remarkable occurred here, we did not stay above half an hour. The approach of the night likewise obliged us to be thus expeditious, in order to reach Tabor before it was dark.

We arrived at Tabor in good time, and without being greatly fatigued. Tabor, or Thabor, (called by the Bohemians Hradistie,) is a considerable town of Bohemia, in the Circle of Bechin, about ten German miles, according to the computation of the Austrian and Bohemian geographers, almost south of Prague; but this distance is too small, as will be clearly evinced. It is at present a place of some strength, and capable of sustaining a siege; especially if the emperor would lay out a little money upon it. This town stands upon a mountain, where the Hussites assembled, to the number of forty-thousand men, and pitched their tents, in 1420. As the situation was supposed by them to resemble that of Tabor, an antient city of Palestine, they gave it the same name. This body being joined by Ziska, after his expulsion from Pilsen, whom they chose for their general, seized (at his instigation) upon the fortress of Hradistie, demolished the town of Austa, and afterwards built houses upon the spots of ground occupied by their tents, which formed a handsome town, consisting of several streets. This is the origin of the town of Tabor. The emperor Sigismund adorned it with many noble privileges, and constituted it a royal city. It was besieged ineffectually by the Austrians and Bavarians, not long after it was built; and by the emperor Albert the Second, in 1438: but it was reduced by Don Balthasar de Maradas, for the emperor Ferdinand the Second, in 1621. Notwithstanding Tabor is a place of some note, we found ourselves obliged to lie upon straw, in a room one story high, at which we arrived by means of a sort of ladder. We had scarce laid ourselves down to sleep, when the straw we lay upon took fire; and had not the person who wrote this account been providentially awake, we (together with the house, and every body in it,) might have been consumed. He arose immediately, and, descending the ladder abovementioned, saw the whole family, men and women, lying together promiscuously in straw, with a dim lamp burning by them; who, being presently roused, soon extinguished the fire. Not only the poorer sort, but many of the middling families, in this part of Bohemia, (as we were told,) take up constantly with this kind of lodging; which to us seemed pretty extraordinary, as Bohemia is so civilized a country. We found provisions here both scarce and indifferent, particularly wine; so that our two remaining bottles of Tokay proved a seasonable refreshment to us. According to advices received here, a detachment of Kiowski's troops lately made an incursion into Silesia, where they committed great depredations. Nay, it was said, that a large body of them was advancing towards the frontiers of Bohemia. Though we found afterwards that this did not prove true; yet, as for the present it gave some alarm here, we rejoiced that we

had not taken the route of Breslau. We must not omit observing, that at Zlabnitz there was a very large and exceeding fine map of Moravia, which the landlord did not care for parting with. Our expences at Tabor, though we lived but poorly, and used our own wine, amounted to above twelve florins.

After we had taken our leave of Tabor, the postiglioni conducted us to a small village called Sudomirzitz. This post seemed a long one, but the road was good. We observed between Neuhaus and this place a considerable number of ponds, or standing waters, and one of very considerable extent, which the postiglioni said, abounded with a great variety of elegant and delicious fish. We did not stay above half an hour here.

From Sudomirzitz we pursued our journey to Woiditz, or Wotitz, a considerable village in the Circle of Beraun; where we took in fresh horses. To the left, between Miltschin and Wotitz, we saw several mountains covered with snow. The part of Bohemia, we have hitherto traversed, had the appearance of a fertile and plentiful country in general, though sometimes mountains and barren spots occurred. The people here, as well as in Moravia, were very civil and obliging; had an air of great probity and sincerity, and in their manners and dispositions seemed nearly to correspond. We refreshed ourselves for about half an hour, and then set out for Bistritz, where we proposed next to stop.

Bistritz, or Bistrzitz, (called likewise sometimes Bystrzice,) is a small town of the kingdom of Bohemia, in the Circle of Caurzim, two short German miles north of Wotitz. Here we dined; and found an officer, with about fifty Bohemian recruits, who seemed tall robust young fellows, on his route to Prague. Our Swiss servant accosted them in High-Dutch; but they answered him in Bohemian, which he understood not a word of. This town appeared to us to consist principally of one pretty long street, but did not make any considerable figure. As we could not meet with any thing substantial here for dinner, our expence amounted only to a florin.

The next post, which was terminated by Nesbeck, we passed the Sazawa. Nesbeck, Nosbeck, or Dnespeck, is a small village of Bohemia, in the Circle of Caurzim, upon the Sazawa; two long German leagues almost north of Bistritz, in the post-road to Prague. The country here, particularly about the banks of the river, was a fine verdant plain, and appeared inexpressibly delightful. The Sazawa, Zasawa, or Saczowa, one of the largest rivers of Bohemia, has its source in Moravia, (on, or near, the ridge of mountains, separating the Circle of Iglaw from that of Czaslau,) and throws itself into the Moldau, at no very great distance from Nesbeck. We took up our lodging here, and lay in the same manner as at Tabor. We observed in one of the rooms of our inn a tolerable good piece of St. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia; and in another a small portrait of that prince, under which, on the same sheet of paper, were printed several theses; proposed, under the auspices of the abovementioned saint, to be defended by a student of Prague, on a certain day therein specified. Papers of this kind are common in the inns and public-houses for three or four posts round Prague; as is likewise the picture of St. Wenceslaus, who is always considered as one of the greatest Bohemian saints. The order of knights of St. Wenceslaus is reckoned one of the most honourable in Bohemia. The high veneration the Bohemians have the memory of this saint in, appears from hence; that scarce any Christian name is in greater vogue amongst the Bohemian, Moravian, and even Austrian, noblesse and gentry, than Wenceslaus. Of this prince Wenceslaus de Lichtenstein, count Wenceslaus Wallis, and many other noblemen, &c. bearing that name, may be deemed a sufficient proof. The tract throughout this post we found mountainous, and full of woods of fir-trees. A most violent storm or hurricane, that happened about the beginning of February last, had made a most dreadful havock amongst these fir-trees; which, generally speaking, stood upon some hill or eminence; insomuch that many of them were torn up by the roots, some broke in the middle, others near the top, and, lastly, others within a yard or two of the ground. This havock manifested itself for above a German league and a half together. When our High-Dutch failed us, the author of this narrative made use of his Latin, which was of signal service to us; almost all of the people here, both high and low; having more than a smattering in that language, and many of them speaking it

with great elegance and propriety. We found provisions here, though none of the best, pretty dear; which may be attributed to the vicinity of the place to Prague. Notwithstanding we lived very moderately, nay, almost abstemiously; our landlord favoured us with a bill, in the morning, before our departure, of something above twelve florins.

From Nesbeck we advanced to Jesnitz (or, as some call it, Jessenicz), a small village of the Circle of Camzirn, two short German miles almost south of Prague. The principal places between Bistritz and Nesbeck are Beneschau, Konopischt, and Porzitsch; all on the other side the Sazawa. The last post, which commenced at Nesbeck, consisted of two long German miles. The effects of the late hurricane appeared likewise through this post; which, in some parts, was a little hilly, and therefore the more exposed to the violence of it. We were told, that in Bohemia such hurricanes frequently happen.

It has been just hinted, that the post between Jesnitz and Prague is a short one; to which we shall beg to add, that the road is extremely good. The ravages committed by the late hurricane amongst the firs, still presented themselves to our view, till we came within a German mile, as I supposed, of Prague. At a small distance from Prague, we passed by a sort of obelisk raised in the highway, with an inscription upon it, which we did not stay to read: but it was suggested to us, that this had been erected on occasion of the murder of one M. Asfeldt, on the spot whereon it stood, in 1706 or 1707. Between Wotitz and Prague, we met with several large ponds, like those already mentioned, and equally (as may be presumed) stored with various kinds of excellent fish. Upon our arrival at Prague, we passed two sentries before we were admitted into the town; and had our baggage examined with pretty great rigour. Our readers will find, by perusing what has been already laid down in this section, that the list of posts between Vienna and Prague stands thus:

- From Vienna to Enzersdorf, a short post, $1\frac{1}{2}$ German miles.
- From Enzersdorf to Stockerau, a long post, 3 German miles.
- From Stockerau to Mallebern, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Mallebern to Hollabrun, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Hollabrun to Nandorf, or Nodorf, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Nandorf to Pulekan, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Pulekan or Bulkha, to Langan, a long post, 2 German miles.
- From Langan or Languenau, to Frating, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Frating to Piesling, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Piesling to Zlabnitz, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Zlabnitz to Konigseck, a long post, 3 German miles.
- From Konigseck to Neuhaus, a pretty long post, 2 good German miles.
- From Neuhaus to Somosol or Samosal, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Somosol to Koschitz, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Koschitz to Tabor, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Tabor to Sudomirzitz, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Sudomirzitz to Wotitz or Woiditz, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Wotitz to Bistritz, one post, 2 German miles.
- From Bistritz to Nesbeck or Dnespeck, one post, 2 long German miles.
- From Nesbeck or Dnespeck to Jesnitz or Jessenicz, one post, $2\frac{1}{2}$ German miles.
- From Jesnitz to Prague, one post, 2 short German miles.
- Total 21 posts, 45 German miles.

PRAGUE, the capital of Bohemia, (called frequently in Latin by the Bohemian and Austrian writers *Tripolis*, *i.e.* the Triple City,) has formerly been the residence of many kings and emperors. It received that denomination from the three cities of which it consists. These are the New City, the Old City, and the Little City; every one of which, with regard to its extent and number of inhabitants, may be considered as scarce any thing inferior to a city of the first rank. The last of these is separated from the two first by the Moldau or Wltava; a river that has its rise in the district of Krumau, on or near the

ridge of mountains separating Bohemia from Bavaria, and unites its stream with that of the Elbe near Melnick, about four German miles north of Prague. The Little City stands on the western bank of that river, and the others on the eastern; but they are joined together by a noble bridge, one of the greatest curiosities in Prague, 35 feet broad, and 1770 long. This was begun, with great solemnity, by the emperor Charles the Fourth, in the year 1357; but, the work being frequently interrupted by the bloody wars that happened in Bohemia, was not finished till about half a century after. This bridge supplied the place of a more antient one, built, after three years labour, by Juditha or Gitka, wife to king Wladislaus, in 1170, and destroyed by an extraordinary inundation of the Moldau, in 1342, whose waters then rose to a very unusual height. The structure, composed of square stone, is sustained by eighteen prodigious piles rising out of the bed of the river, and connected by the arches under it. Each end of the bridge is adorned and defended by a fine tower. One of these⁵ has, about the middle of its exterior surface, (in much the same manner that the statues of the founders may be seen in Wadham and Oriel colleges, Oxford,) two stone figures of Luther and his wife. Luther appears in armour, and his wife with one of her hands extended towards his privities; which was done in order to ridicule the Lutherans, and perhaps the Protestants in general. The citizens of Prague (who are, for the most part, bigoted Roman-Catholicks) take great care to shew these statues of Luther and his wife to all Protestants that come here. This the author of the present account collected from our guide (or, as the Italians call that sort of servant, Cicerone), who took particular care to shew us the abovementioned effigies of Luther and his wife, and desired us to view them attentively; assuring us, that no foreigner, especially if he was a Catholick, who knew Prague, would believe that he had seen the capital of Bohemia, if he could not give a description of them.

There are many curious images or statues of saints upon the bridge over the Moldau, which very well deserve to be seen by every curious traveller; and particularly that of St. John of Nepomuck, which consists of brass, and stands on that part of the bridge from whence he was thrown into the river, and drowned, at the command of Wenceslaus the Fourth, surnamed Piger. Upon the spot there is a cross of copper or brass deaurated, which people are continually kissing from morning to night, when they offer their prayers to St. John Nepomucene, who is esteemed as one of the principal Bohemian saints. Nay, in Prague he seems to be more celebrated than any other. Many persons there wear his picture in miniature on their breasts, hanging down like the badge of an order; and most of the women have such a picture, by way of ornament, annexed to their necklaces. Many of these toys, in différent forms, are brought by Jews and others, to the strangers that come to Prague, to be purchased; as one of the curiosities of the place. The other saints, whose statues are erected on the bridge, have likewise their votaries, as well as St. John Nepomucene, who may frequently be seen performing their devotions to them; though those of the latter are by far the most numerous. There is exposed to sale, in the booksellers and print-shops at Prague, a collection of prints, or cuts, representing all the statues abovementioned on the bridge over the Moldau, with the title of '*Marmor Loquens*' prefixed to it.

In the Moldau there are two little islands, on the largest of which (according to our Cicerone) stands a sort of inn, whither young people sometimes go to divert themselves, called by the people of Prague, as he said, 'Great and Little Venice.' The breadth of the Moldau here may be easily understood, from the brief description of the bridge already given. Great Venice faces the Little Town; and Little Venice lies in the middle of the river, opposite to the northern extremity of the New Town. There are, besides these two islands, some others, that are smaller, in that part of the Moldau which divides Little Prague from the Old and New Towns.

The New City is larger than the others, touches the river in two places, and encompasses that part of the Old City which is not washed by the Moldau. Both the Little City and the New City, on the land-side (or that side facing the adjacent territory, opposite

⁵ The tower here mentioned is that which stands on the end of the bridge contiguous to the Old Town.

to the river,) are surrounded with a fossé, and a wall, though they are places of no great strength. Prague, according to Ricciolus, stands in 50 deg. 40 min. north latitude, and 37 deg. 23 min. longitude. Its distance from Vienna, according to our computation (which may be depended upon), is about forty-five German miles, though some of the Austrian geographers will not allow it much to exceed thirty-six.

Some believe that the city, where Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, called (as should seem) by Ptolemy, Marobudus, resided; stood on a spot occupied at present by part of the city of Prague. Bojohæmus, or Boviasmus, is the name given this city by Lipsius. But this seems to have been the name of a province, not of a city, as has been very justly observed by Cluverius. Hagecius thinks that Maroboduus's capital stood upon a mountain, or hill, about a German mile from Prague, opposite to the monastery of Sbraslau; but this situation seems rather to correspond with that of a castle, placed in the neighbourhood of this city by Tacitus. Others believe that the Casurgis of Ptolemy was formerly situated there. But to leave these, and other conjectures, which must be allowed very precarious; we shall give our readers a short and succinct account of the origin of Prague, extracted from the most authentic of the Bohemian historians.

Of the three cities of which Prague consists, the Little Town is the most antient. It was built in the year 723, by Libussa, the daughter of Cracus or Crocus, the second prince or duke of Bohemia; and deduced its name from the Bohemian word *prah*, which signifies a gate, or entry, according to Hagecius. But, supposing the Little City to have been built by Libussa, it must be older than the year 723, as will hereafter fully appear. The same author asserts, this part of Prague to have been first surrounded with a wall by Nezamyslus, or Nezamyslius, the son of Libussa; which, if the former notion be admitted, is probable enough. Notwithstanding which, Lupacius attributes the foundation of Prague to Mnatha, the son of Nezamyslus; and the first erection of a wall about it to Wogenus, the former prince's grandson. But these jarring accounts seem to be reconciled by Hagecius, when he affirms, that the Old Town was first built by Mnatha, about the year 795, and enlarged, as well as encompassed on the land-side with a wall, by Wogenus, in the year 830. Udalricus, duke of Bohemia, who died in 1037, likewise added many new buildings to it. However, according to Balbinus, as yet Old Prague was composed only of wooden buildings, more resembling soldiers' tents than citizens' houses, after the manner of all the antient towns erected in the northern parts of the world; till Sobieslaus the First, duke of Bohemia, who died in 1140, caused all those houses to be pulled down, and rebuilt of stone; and by improving the symmetry of the streets, greatly beautified the place. Charles the Fourth, emperor of the Romans, and king of Bohemia, annexed New Prague to the Old Town; called it at first Carlovía, and fortified it with a ditch and a wall, about the year 1348. Lastly, the Little City was strengthened in the same manner, in 1560. Within the wall of the New Town several eminences are enclosed; and within that of the Little Town a pretty noted hill, called mount Petrzin. The castle, or citadel, denominated the Wischehrad, stands upon a high mountain; and commands, in a great measure, both the Old and New Town. It was built, according to Merianus, in the year 683, and at first received various names, *viz.* Psary, Libice, &c. As the first dukes of Bohemia held their residence in this place, it was, for a considerable time, esteemed the principal part of the city of Prague, but they afterwards removed into the Old Town. Wischehrad, in the Bohemian tongue, signifies a castle, fortress, or high citadel. This place now seems in a mean condition; scarce any traces of its former grandeur at present remaining. Such an other castle commands Little Prague; which, for many ages, has gone under the appellation of the Castle of Wenceslaus.

Prague was taken by Henry the Fowler, in 930, when that prince obliged St. Wenceslaus, then duke of Bohemia, to pay him an annual tribute. Boleslaus, king of Poland, after he had treacherously put out the eyes of Boleslaus, duke of Bohemia, (whom he invited in a seemingly amicable manner to Cracow, under the pretence of entering into an alliance with him,) laid siege also to Prague, about the year 1000, and in two years time starved it to a surrender. However, he could not reduce the Wischehrad; which eluded all his efforts, till Udalricus, the son or brother of Boleslaus, by a singular stratagem, over-

threw the Polish army, in 1004. Wladislaus the Second, duke of Bohemia, and Conrad, prince of Znaim, having been entirely defeated in a bloody battle by Otho, prince of Olmutz, and several other princes of the Przemyslæan family, Prague was again besieged by the victors, in 1142; but Theobaldus, brother to Wladislaus, bravely defended it, till the emperor Conrad advanced with a powerful army to its relief; at whose approach the besiegers thought proper to retire. The city sustained no other damage from this siege, than what happened to the churches of St. Vite and St. George, which were set on fire by some flames conveyed to them by the enemy's arrows. John, king of Bohemia, having some dispute with Elizabeth, his queen, with Charles her son, retired to Melnick; and suspecting that the nobility of Prague espoused her interest, he laid siege to his capital city, with an army raised in Moravia, A. D. 1319. But William of Hasenburg, the commandant, defended the place with great valour, till the arrival of Peter de Rosis, who came with a formidable army, to the succour of the besieged; and, after he had almost driven the king out of the field, restored peace to Bohemia. The citizens of the Old and New Town joined the Hussites, and after a vigorous action, entered the Little Town, in 1419. Neither could the emperor Sigismund, king of Bohemia, attended by Albert, archduke of Austria, afterwards emperor, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, &c. retake Prague; though he assaulted it from four different quarters at once, with an army of 140,000 men. The besieged having thus, under the conduct of Ziska, repulsed the emperor, soon made themselves masters of the Wischehrad; which, till then, had been occupied by that prince's troops. This city espoused the interest of Frederick count Palatine of the Rhine; but returned to the house of Austria, after the fatal battle of Weissenberg near Prague, in 1620. The Saxons seized upon it, in 1631; but it was soon after recovered by Wallenstein, the imperial general. Lastly, count Königsmarck, the Swedish general, making an irruption out of the Upper Palatinate into Bohemia, possessed himself of the Little Town, and took the castle appertaining to it at the first assault, in 1648. But the Old and New Town repulsed him in every attack; till the treaty, then in agitation, was signed. These are the principal events, in which Prague has been more immediately hitherto concerned.

The city is exceeding populous, containing, according to the most approved and authentic accounts, five-hundred-thousand souls; of which, if some may be credited, near fifty-thousand are Jews. Be that as it will, for at least four-hundred years past, its citizens have been extremely numerous; as we may find attested by the best historians, who have treated of the Bohemian affairs. Nay, we are told by Matthias Lauda (a celebrated writer, who lived at that time), that in the year 1419, notwithstanding the troubles the kingdom was then involved in, fifty-thousand idle men, or more, might have been drawn into the field in the day-time, without being missed, or any sensible diminution of the inhabitants. A thing, which (notwithstanding the authority of Lauda) will, to many of our readers, appear absolutely incredible!

Prague, with its territory, for above two-hundred years, made up part of the diocese of Ratisbon. But at the desire of Boleslaus Pius, duke of Bohemia, and his sister Mlada, then a nun at Rome, by the consent of St. Wolfgang, bishop of Ratisbon, Ditmar, a member of the Benedictin convent at Magdeburg, was declared the first bishop of Prague, by pope John the Thirteenth; and consecrated, as his suffragan, by Hatto, or Robert, archbishop of Mentz. Ditmar was succeeded by St. Adalbert in 969, according to Hagecius; or, as Balbinus will have it, in 979. St. Adalbert, or Wogtiechus, nephew to Boleslaus, was destroyed by the pagans, in the mountainous part of Prussia (whither he went, as a missionary, to propagate the Christian religion), and succeeded by Theadagus, who belonged to a monastery in Saxony, A.D. 997. After him came Helikardus, Izo, and Severus; the last of whom, at the request of the Moravians, (though his diocese was already very much diminished,) gave his consent, that a new bishoprick should be erected in Moravia. Which was accordingly done; pope Alexander the Second giving a sanction thereto. Severus dying in 1067, Gerard, or Jaromir, succeeded him, and re-united the sees of Olmutz and Prague; the emperor Henry giving his consent thereto. After

Gerard's death, king Wratisslaus again separated the diocese of Olmutz from that of Prague; appointing one Cosmas to preside over the latter, in 1091. Ernest de Pardubicz, the twentieth prelate from Cosmas, was declared free from all jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mentz, and consecrated archbishop of Prague, the next Sunday before Advent, 1343, in the usual manner. This is said to have been foretold by St. Wolfgang to Boleslaus Pius, near four-hundred years before it happened. The bishop of Prague was not only thus dignified by pope Clement the Sixth, at the desire of John, king of Bohemia, and his son Charles; but had likewise the privilege of crowning the king of Bohemia transferred to him from the archbishop of Mentz. Nay Charles, successor to the above-mentioned John, king of Bohemia, obtained of pope Urban the Fifth the office of perpetual legate, in the dioceses of Ratisbon, Bamberg, Misnia, &c. for the archbishop of Prague, in 1365. After the death of Conrad, in 1431, Prague was destitute of an archbishop near half an age; the revenues belonging to the metropolitanical church there (according to the Austrian and Bohemian writers) having been squandered away and dissipated by Conrad, whom they scrupled not to accuse of heresy. Neither could this archbishoprick be put upon its primitive footing, though attempted by Wladislaus and other kings of Bohemia, till the reign of the emperor Ferdinand the First, of the house of Austria; who richly endowed it, restored it to its primitive lustre, and translated the bishop of Vienna, to the metropolitanical church of Prague, in 1562. We must not here omit observing, that the title of prince was conferred on the bishop of Prague, by king Wenceslaus, in 1315; and confirmed to the archbishop of that city, by the emperor Charles the Fourth, A.D. 1350. This title was, however, for a long time neglected, and, as it were, lost; but the archbishop, Zbignæus Berka, happily recovered it of the emperor, Rudolphus the Second.

Though the limits we have prescribed ourselves will not permit us to give a minute and particular description of all the principal churches and religious houses, nor even a bare enumeration of all the others, in Prague; yet we think it would be unpardonable to omit a short account of the following:

1. The cathedral church, in the citadel belonging to the Little City, was founded by St. Wenceslaus, in the year 935, and dedicated to St. Vite. This was occasioned by Henry, king of Germany, then holding a diet at Ratisbon, who made a present of an arm of St. Vite to that prince; which induced him to build a church in honour of that saint, as a proper place to deposit it in. However, death prevented him from fully executing his design; he dying before the church was finished. Some authors affirm, that the church of St. Vite was consecrated by Michael, bishop of Ratisbon; and others by St. Wolfgang, who presided over the same diocese. But these two different opinions may be rendered consistent, by supposing, that the first part of this church, built by St. Wenceslaus, was consecrated by the former prelate; and the whole edifice, which was probably finished in the reign of Boleslaus Pius, by the latter. Afterwards, about the year 1060, Spitihnæus the Second, surnamed the Just, observing that a greater number of people than the church could contain, crowded to the tomb of St. Wenceslaus, he determined to remedy this defect. In order to which he demolished the chapels, in which St. Vite and St. Adalbert were worshipped, and erected one magnificent church for the three saints, Vite, Adalbert, and Wenceslaus; but death would not permit him to put the last hand to it. This afterwards going to decay, John, king of Bohemia, and Ernest, archbishop of Prague, laid the foundation of a much more noble and august church, in 1343; but the whole fabrick was not finished till 1396. The present church was built by the emperor Ferdinand the First, in 1555; the former having been burnt, in 1541. It consists of square-cut stones, compacted in the Gothic taste. Within the tower of St. Vite, which is very lofty, there is a bell, said to be twenty-two thousand seven-hundred pounds weight. In this church there is a most sumptuous mausolæum, in which the bodies of the emperors, Charles the Fourth, Ferdinand the First, Maximilian the Second, Rudolphus the Second, and the kings Ladislaus, George of Podiebrad, &c. are deposited. But the greatest ornaments of the church of St. Vite, in the opinion of the Bohemians, are the

bodies of St. Wenceslaus, St. Adalbert, St. Vite, and St. Sigismund, king of Burgundy ; all of which are honoured in their respective *sacella*, or chapels. The finest and most grand of these, is that of St. Wenceslaus ; which shines on all sides with precious stones, especially jasper. To these may be added the noble and stupendous tomb of St. John Nepomucene, secured by a double chancel ; on which if any person carelessly treads, he will inevitably (according to the Bohemians) soon meet with some remarkable misfortune, or disgrace. This, they say, has frequently been proved ; so that it passes for an indisputable truth amongst them. Upon this tomb there stands the foot of a candlestick, of unknown metal, brought hither from Milan, when that place was laid level with the ground, by Frederick Barbarossa, in 1162 ; where it had long been kept as a most invaluable treasure. In fine, here is deposited such an infinity of sacred relicks, collected from all parts of the Christian world by the emperor Charles the Fourth, that nothing like it of the kind is to be met with out of the walls of Rome.

2. The Strahovian church on mount Petrzin, and the hill or tract called Ratzin, or Ratschin, belongs also to the Little Town. This church may justly be reckoned amongst the ornaments of Prague, and has annexed to it a noble monastery of the White Order of Præmonstrants, founded and richly endowed by Wladislaus the Eleventh, duke of Bohemia, at the instigation of Henry Zdik, in 1143. Having received some additional revenues, it was again consecrated by Albert archbishop of Saltzburg, by the consent of Valentine bishop of Prague, near forty years after its foundation. It was laid in ashes about 1258, but to the great surprise and admiration of the citizens of Prague, rebuilt in a more splendid manner, at the sole expence of John the abbot, in about five years time. The Austrian writers affirm, that it was destroyed by the Hussites, in 1421, and erected again, with the addition of two *odææ* ; in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary assumed into Heaven, and St. Roch. Here is deposited the body of St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, and patriarch of the Præmonstratensian order, which was brought hither from Magdeburg, in 1626.

3. The church of St. George, with a religious house, inhabited by virgins of the rule of St. Benedict, annexed to it, stands in the castle of Little Prague. This nunnery is one of the most antient religious houses in Prague, having been built by Wratislaus the First, duke of Bohemia, and father of St. Wenceslaus, in the year 912, according to Hagecius. Conrad prince of Znaim reduced it to ashes, in 1142 ; which obliged the nuns first to retire to a house upon one of the banks of the Moldau, and from thence to the church of St. John Baptist ; where they remained till their former habitation was capable of receiving them. Agnes, the daughter of king Wladislaus the First, the lady abbess here, not only adorned this convent with her virtues and sanctity of life, but likewise greatly enriched it, in the thirteenth century. The Hussites expelled these ladies a second time, in 1421 ; but they afterwards recovered their former situation. Amongst other privileges that these nuns enjoy, may be ranked two, which are pretty remarkable : 1. Their abbess is exempt from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and even subjection to the Benedictin order ; being subject only to the pope : as having been taken under the immediate protection of the holy see, by pope Eugenius the Third, in 1145. 2. The same lady has the sole right and privilege of crowning, with her own hands, the queen of Bohemia. Besides the crucifix, which the Bohemians pretend emits blood from the foot of the cross, when any signal calamity is to happen to their country ; there are here the remains of St. Ludmilla, the blessed Mlada or Milada, and the founder, on whose tomb the title ‘ Blessed ’ is inscribed.

4. The elegant church of the Carmelites, from whence the Protestants were ejected in 1624, belongs to the hill or tract called Radtschin, or the upper part of the Little Town.

5. As does the church of St. Joseph, with the Carmelite nunnery appertaining to it.

6. Wenceslaus the Second, surnamed the Good, added a religious house appropriated to the Augustines to the church of St. Thomas, whose first prior Theobaldus, or Dipoldus, was of the royal family. The church of St. Thomas is a fine edifice, and famous for the

fine piece of painting of the great altar. It stands likewise in the district abovementioned.

7. The church of St. Lawrence, with the religious house inhabited by virgins of the order of St. Dominic, translated to this place from Olmutz, was built by Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, a little before her death, in 1330.

8. The church of Sancta Maria de Victoria, with the monastery of the Servites adjoining to it, owes its erection to the emperor Ferdinand the Second, in the year 1628.

9. The house of the professors of the society of Jesus, besides a numerous *gymnasium* consisting of six schools, has two churches; one of which is called the German Church, the other the Bohemian. The German Church is famous for the singular neatness of its images, and the remains of St. Crispus and St. Caius deposited in it; the Bohemian, which has a pretty large parish appertaining to it, goes under the name of the Church of St. Wenceslaus.

10. The two churches of St. Martha and St. Mary Magdalen, belong to the order of the Prædicants.

11. Of the two churches appropriated to the knights of Malta, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Procopius; the second was erected, at the persuasion of St. Procopius in a dream, by Sulislaus and his wife Dobromila, and consecrated by Daniel bishop of Prague in the presence of Ottocar the First, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1213.

12. The churches of St. John the Evangelist under the rock, of St. John at the water-side, of St. Charles Borromeo in the Italian hospital, of St. Peter and St. Paul at the ferry, and St. Mary Magdalen in the vineyards, are not to be passed over in silence. Lastly, the churches of the Theatines, dedicated to the blessed Mother of God; of the Barnabites at St. Benedict, and of the Capuchins, with their house of Loretto, shall conclude our observations, with regard to the places set apart for religious purposes; not only on mount Petrzin, and the hill or tract of Radtschin, but in every part of Little Prague.

13. The parish-church of the blessed Virgin assumed into Heaven, is famous on account of its antiquity, (being built by some of the Christian dukes of Bohemia,) and its beauty, both within and without. This stands in the old town.

14. Not far from the former, a traveller meets with the church of St. James, famous for its height, as well as for its escaping the fury of the Hussites, by the bravery of the butchers who defended it. In honour of these butchers, and to perpetuate the memory of this glorious event, the Minorites erected a sort of trophy over the door of their convent, adjoining to St. James's church; which likewise owed its preservation to the valour of the butchers, in 1598.

15. The church of Our Saviour, which is called the German Church, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, was built by the Protestants, who were afterwards dispossessed of it, and succeeded by the religious of St. Francis de Paula. These last adorned it in a most beautiful manner, after it came into their hands.

16. The blessed Agnes, sister of Wenceslaus the First, king of Bohemia, gave the hospital at the bridge, together with the church of the Holy Ghost, to the Crutched Friars; who, by the indulgence of pope Innocent the Fourth, carried a red star below the cross, in 1238. These religious, after the taking of Jerusalem by Saladine, settled themselves at St. Peter's church, in the village of Porzicz contiguous to Prague. There is likewise another order of the Crutched Friars, *viz.* that of St. Cyriacus, instituted in 1256, and confirmed by pope Alexander the Fourth. The general, or chief of this order, has resided in Old Prague, at the Holy Cross, ever since the first institution of it.

17. The two churches, and convents of the Dominicans; one of which appertains to the nuns of St. Anna, and the other to the religious of St. Giles, famous for its uncommon breadth, which they took possession of in 1625, deserve next to be mentioned. This order was first settled upon the spot where the present academical college of the Jesuits stands. The first Dominicans that came here were a colony sent by St. Hyacinth, under his brother, the blessed Ceslaus, in 1222.

18. The churches of St. Clement and Our Saviour belong to the Jesuits, who have likewise a famous college here. These fathers were invited to Prague by the emperor Ferdinand the First, in the year 1552. In the former of these churches the Jesuits preach in High-Dutch; and in the latter, which was built chiefly at the expence of the family of Lobkowitz, in Bohemian.

19. The churches of the blessed Virgin assumed into heaven, erected by Peregrine bishop of Prague, about 1224, and used chiefly by the Italians; and that at St. Eligius, where the solemnities of the goldsmiths are celebrated, occur likewise to a traveller visiting Old Prague. These churches are smaller than those of St. Clement and Our Saviour, and likewise belong to the Jesuits.

20. Besides the churches and religious houses mentioned in the seven last articles, we meet with the following places, worthy of notice, in Old Prague. The churches of St. Martin, of the Benedictines, of the Fratres Misericordiæ, of the Servites, of the Carmelites, of the Præmonstratenses, of the nuns of Santa Clara; as also the churches of the blessed Virgin born at the Lake, St. Leonard, St. Valentine, St. Castulus, St. Paul in the Hospital, St. John Baptist at the Mills, St. Stephen the Less, the Holy Ghost (which had formerly a nunnery of the Benedictin order, founded by Nicolaus Rockanerus, in 1346, adjoining to it), and St. Andrew. The Bohemians pretend, that when this last church, with every thing else in it, was reduced to ashes, by an accidental fire, in 1338, the venerable host remained untouched amidst the flames.

21. The monastery called Emmaus, founded by the emperor Charles the Fourth, for the Slavonian nation in 1347, and dedicated to St. Jerom the Dalmatian, stands in the New Town. The divine service here is performed in the Slavonian tongue, by virtue of a privilege granted this monastery (which belongs to the Benedictines) by the see of Rome.

22. The college of the regular canons of St. Augustin, in the New Town, with the beautiful church appertaining to it, was begun by the same prince, about the year 1351; but not finished before 1377.

23. The church of St. Maria ad Nives, formerly a very grand and stately edifice, with the convent of the Carmelites adjoining to it, owed its erection to the abovementioned Charles the Fourth, in 1347. In the place of this, destroyed by the Hussites, was afterwards substituted that at present belonging to the Minores Observantes of St. Francis, who have likewise another church, called 'The Church of the Conception of the immaculate Blessed Virgin.' These religious are known by the name of the Irish Religious, or the Irish Franciscans.

24. The Jesuits-college, in New Prague, is a noble and superb building, adorned with a *gymnasium* of six schools, and surrounded by three churches; of which the first, being a grand structure, is dedicated to St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits order; the second to St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indians; and the third (which is the oldest of the three, being built by the emperor Charles the Fourth in 1364, and sometimes assigned to the academical doctors of the Bohemian nation,) goes under the denomination of 'The Church of the Body of Christ.'

25. The parochial church at St. Henry's, in the New Town, deserves to be viewed by every curious traveller.

26. The church of the Augustines at St. Catharine's, facing a high tower, was built by Charles the Fourth; who founded that religious house for the virgins of the rule of St. Benedict.

27. The monastery of St. Wenceslaus, inhabited by Discalceated friars, stands likewise in the new town.

28. The same may be said of the convent of the Capuchins, called the Convent of St. Joseph.

29. The Ursuline nuns have likewise a religious house here.

30. The Servites also have a monastery in the New Town, built and endowed by the emperor Charles the Fourth, in 1361.

31. Besides which, the churches of the Trinity, St. Clement, St. Peter, St. Adalbert,

St. Elizabeth, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, St. Lazarus, St. Bartholomew, St. Apollinaris, and St. Stephen the Greater, all in New Prague, deserve to be seen by all foreigners who make any stay here.

We must not omit observing, that the Hussites destroyed many churches in Prague, which were never afterwards rebuilt. In the Wischehrad only (according to Balbinus) they levelled fourteen with the ground. But, though the violences committed by them were undoubtedly great; yet we question not, but they have been aggravated by the Austrian and Bohemian historians.

The castle or citadel of St. Wenceslaus, which belongs to the Little Town, is seated in the hill or district of Radtschin, and includes within its walls several noble buildings. Nay, whether we consider its most commodious situation, its delightful prospect, its vast capaciousness and extent, or the salubrity of its air; it may justly be esteemed as one of the finest, most beautiful, and most august palaces belonging to the house of Austria. It owes its chief beauty to the emperor Ferdinand the Third, who reduced it to the more elegant rules of architecture. Amongst the most remarkable parts of it may be ranked the vast parlour, or hall, of Wladislaus, (called the *sala*, or hall,) and the mathematical house, which stands in the royal gardens. The former is two-hundred-twelve feet long, and sixty broad; and the latter cost the emperor Ferdinand the First, who built it, one-hundred-thousand florins. The gardens, in which this is situated, are adorned with many rare and select trees brought from Spain, Italy, and even several parts of Asia, in the reign of Rudolphus the Second. One of the principal curiosities, to be met with in the castle of St. Wenceslaus, is a celebrated equestrian statue of St. George, of bell-metal; the workmanship of which is so exquisitely fine, that the Bohemians think it cannot be paralleled. In this castle the States of the kingdom of Bohemia assemble, on all public occasions; and all the tribunals are held in it. When the emperor comes to Prague, he fixes his residence here.

The Town-hall, or Council-house, in Old Prague, is eminent for its bulk; for the election of George, king of Bohemia; and for the sumptuous banquets, and grand entertainments, given in it, by several emperors and kings of Bohemia.

The old Town-house, called Rychta, is a very proper place for boxing-matches, wrestling, or any such like diversions.

The two large houses or palaces, where some of the kings of Bohemia have formerly resided; one of which, from the money coined in it, is styled *Domus Monetaria*, or 'the Mint;' the other still retaining the name of the Old Palace, may be considered as some of the ornaments of Prague.

But, in our opinion, one of the finest things Prague can boast of, is the famous clock in the Council-house, or Town-hall, of the Old City, already mentioned. This, or rather the maker of it, deserves a peculiar encomium. For, besides the Bohemian, or Italian, and German hours, it presents the whole face of the heavens to one's view at once; exhibiting not only the day, month, and year, but likewise the risings of the sun and moon, the new and full moons, the eclipses, the motions of the other planets, the signs of the Zodiac, the cycles, and chief festivals of the calendar. This curious and most admirable machine is not to be paralleled in Germany; nor, perhaps, in any other part of the world.

The Custom-house and Toll-booth at the bridge will be esteemed by all persons, who have any skill in architecture, as fine and magnificent buildings.

The Little Town, particularly the upper part of it, or the hill or district called Ratzin, or Radtschin, abounds with noble and superb palaces, more than any other part of Prague. The Old and New Cities, however, are not void of magnificent structures. As the limits of the present piece will not permit us even to enumerate all the fine edifices of this metropolis, we shall content ourselves with mentioning these that follow, which are the principal of those that chiefly engage the attention of every curious traveller.

1. The palace of count Czernin is seated in the tract abovementioned. There are many pieces of painting here, done by the most celebrated hands of several nations. This palace has likewise a noble gallery, which is generally esteemed as a great ornament to it.

2. In the same tract stands the palace of the archbishop of Prague ; which is very magnificent, and well worth seeing.

3. The palace of the prince de Schwartzenburg, in the same part of Little Prague, must be allowed a very splendid and superb edifice.

4. Our guide shewed us a palace, in the hill or district of Radtschin, which he called the great duchess of Tuscany's. This seemed very stately ; but we were not within it.

5. Count Martinitt's palace, in the upper part of the Little Town, makes a fine appearance.

6. That of count Thun, in the Little Town, is an elegant and magnificent structure.

7. That of count Waldstein, in the same town, is admired by most foreigners.

8. The same may be said of that of the prince de Lichtenstein, in the same town.

9. The palace of count Martzin, in Little Prague, is generally allowed to be a fine structure.

10. That of the count de Collowrath, in the same town, is not inferior to many of the preceding.

11. That of count Wratislau, in the same town, is a stately and superb edifice.

12. That of the prince de Furstemburg, in the same town, is a splendid and magnificent palace.

13. The noble palace of count Gallas stands in the Old City.

14. As does that of count Kinski, which ought to be seen by all the strangers that come to Prague.

15. The fine palace of the prince de Piccolomini stands likewise in Old Prague ; but our guide informed us, that he had a seat much surpassing this, about two German miles out of town.

16. The last palace, we shall take notice of, is that of count Schafgotsch ; which ought to be viewed by every curious foreigner, that visits this metropolis.

According to the author of an antient Chronicon, cited by Balbinus, Prague must have been a very antient seat of literature ; since he asserts that the muses were banished that place, about the year 1248. Wenceslaus, king of Poland and Bohemia, near fifty years afterwards, (at the persuasion of Tobias Bechinius, bishop of Prague,) declared his resolution of reinstating them in their power and authority here ; but as he was opposed herein by the magistracy and noblesse, that salutary design could not be put in execution. But the emperor Charles the Fourth founded an university at Prague, in 1347, settling large revenues upon it, and granting it the same privileges as those enjoyed by the universities of Paris and Bologna ; which was confirmed by the popes Clement the Sixth, Urban the Fifth, Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Nicholas the Fifth. As the clergy of Prague contributed much to enrich this university, the archbishop of the city was appointed the perpetual chancellor of it. The year following, *viz.* 1348, it was divided into four nations, *viz.* the Bohemians (which comprehended the Moravians, Hungarians, and Sclavonians), the Poles, the Bavarians, and Saxons. Four faculties were likewise instituted here, *viz.* theology, law, physick, and philosophy. The first professors of which were M. Hermannus de Vintswik, M. Fridmannus de Praga, M. Vigtoldus de Osnaburgo, M. Henricus de Sicha, M. Jenikus de Praga, M. Nicolaus de Moravia, M. Dytherus de Widena, and M. Henricus Volerus. The emperor Charles the Fourth also erected a large and noble college for these, called the Caroline college ; and appointed them to succeed to the prebends of the royal church of All-Saints, belonging to the castle or palace already mentioned, founded by him in 1342, according to their seniority. Besides the Caroline college, that prince built two others in Prague, according to Hagecius. Amongst other colleges, here were likewise formerly the *Collegium Cæsareum*, or the college of king Wenceslaus, who founded it in 1399 ; Queen's-college, founded by Hedwig, queen of Poland, for the Lithuanians, lately converted to the Christian faith, in 1397 ; the college of St. Wenceslaus, founded long before the year 1407, for the Bohemian nation, but then richly endowed by Wenceslaus de Chotlow, minister of the royal church, or

chapel of All-Saints, who was therefore considered as its founder; the college of the blessed Virgin Mary, erected for the use of the same nation, by John Reczko de Ledecz, chief magistrate of the Old City, in 1438; the *Collegium Nazarathenum*, or Nazareth-college, founded by one Crux, a sort of factor, in 1412, near the church called Bethlehem, sacred to the apostles St. Matthew and St. Mark; and lastly, the college of the Apostles, or the college of Lauda, built by M. Matthias Lauda de Chlumczan in 1407, according to Hagecius, or (as Balbinus will have it) in 1451.

The number of students at Prague is not near so considerable now as it was in the time of John Hus; if any credit may be given to the Austrian and Bohemian historians. Hus, being in great favour with the queen, by her means obtained of king Wenceslaus a decree, which gave the Bohemians the same privileges in the university of Prague, that the French enjoyed in the university of Paris. This so incensed the German students and professors, that in about eight days time, forty-thousand of them are said to have abandoned Prague. The universities of Leipsick, Ingoldstadt, and Rostoch, (according to the Bohemian writers,) owed their origin to this secession. Hagecius asserts, that before this fatal accident, which happened about the year 1408, there were at least forty-four-thousand foreigners, who studied in Prague; whereas the highest accounts we received of the number of students at present seated here, did not make them to amount to ten-thousand; even including the boys instructed in grammar and rhetoric. Nay, some accounts reduced them to little more than half that number. We were told that the scholars had frequent skirmishes and engagements with the Jews, to whom they bear a mortal aversion; and that one-thousand of them had lately taken on in the emperor's service. The emperor Ferdinand the Third united the academies, founded by his predecessors Charles the Fourth and Ferdinand the First, in the Clementine college of the Jesuits; so that at present the principles of theology and philosophy are explained in the latter, and those of law and physick in the former. This college, frequently called the 'Carolino-Ferdinandean college,' is extremely noble, stately, and grand, and possessed by the Jesuits; to whose care the education of youth here is chiefly committed. The doctors in all faculties are created, and take their degrees, and all solemn acts of the university (as in our convocation and senate houses at Oxford and Cambridge) are performed in this college. We were told, that the quarrels between the scholars (who are divided into humanists and facultists, as our guide informed us,) and the Jews, were sometimes attended with such fatal consequences, that the Imperial troops in garrison found themselves obliged to interpose.

Prague, being a place of no great strength, and of a very large extent, requires a garrison of at least thirty-thousand men to defend it, if attacked by a numerous and well-disciplined army. The walls may be easily scaled (except defended by a sufficient body of troops) by soldiers endued with a common degree of resolution; neither can the Wischegrad, the only part of Prague capable of making any tolerable resistance, hold out long against a powerful enemy. The garrison of Prague (at present commanded by general Ogilvy, of Scotch extraction,) is said to consist only of a single battalion of regular troops; though upon any emergency a body of militia might be easily thrown into the town. Our guide informed us, that col. Montgomery and col. Mackaully, (the first a Scotchman and the latter an Irishman,) two officers in the emperor's service, resided here; but we did not see either of them. Some skilful engineers, after viewing the place, are said to have declared, that Prague, though possessed by a numerous garrison, can never be so fortified as to make a very long defence against a much superior force.

The noble college of the Jesuits, already mentioned, has a fine library; where, as we were informed, the works of Luther, Calvin, and some of the other first reformers, are deposited. But these, as we likewise learned, are not to be looked into by any, except some few of the senior fathers. The college is exceeding large, both with regard to the extent of its buildings, and its foundation. The number of fathers belonging to it, ac-

cording to some authentic accounts we received, amounts to between two and three-hundred, including those employed in the missions. We were two or three times to see this college, and were always received by the fathers with great affability and politeness.

Some of the churches here are adorned with tolerable good paintings; though, in our opinion, none of them can be deemed exquisitely fine. The best we saw was one representing the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the church of the Capuchins, in the hill or tract called Radtschin; and some in the church of the Crutched Friars, in Old Prague, done by Rayner a German. The church of the Carmelites of St. Gallus has likewise some internal decorations of this kind, which deserve to be seen.

In several of the churches, where the bodies of saints are deposited, may be seen hanging up printed papers, with the theses defended by some of the students of Prague, under the auspices of some saint, and cuts or devices, representing the subjects of these theses, or that saint, upon them. To omit others that might be produced, we saw one in the church of St. Vite, where St. John Nepomucene (who was the saint of the piece) had the most pompous titles given him. The saint generally used on these occasions, in Prague, is the famous St. John Nepomucene, canon of St. Vite, and confessor to the queen of Wenceslaus the Fourth; who ordered him to be drowned in the Moldau, because he would not discover the particulars of her confession. The theses in this paper were proposed to be defended by one Paulus Woloczka, a learned Bohemian youth, as is therein insinuated. Papers of this kind may likewise frequently be met with in the public-houses of the villages and towns for eight or ten German miles round Prague, as has been already observed.

Amongst other places, we visited the convent of the Irish Franciscans, who received us with great civility and respect. They have a good library, keep their rooms exceeding neat, and live in a very comfortable manner.

Dr. Smith, to whom we were recommended by Mr. Robinson, has exceeding good practice here. He is much esteemed by people of all ranks and degrees, and is physician to most of the noble families in Prague. He seems to have great skill, and to be very eminent, in his profession. We were greatly obliged to him for the kind reception he gave us, and for the many curious particulars relating to Prague, and the great families in it, that he communicated to us. These it would be too tedious at present to recite; neither will the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit it. One thing, however, that he related of general Mercy (who now commands the Imperial army in Italy), with whom he had the honour to be very intimately acquainted, we cannot pass over in silence. That general, though now far advanced in years, is still extremely choleric; and whenever he falls into a passion, (which frequently happens,) he loses his sight, and is affected with an apoplectic disorder, as long as it continues. This is more or less violent, in proportion to the intenseness or excess of the fit of choler he labours under. This weakness sometimes has been attended with no small inconveniencies; but in other respects, he has the character of an able and experienced general.

Prague being the capital of Bohemia; before we resume our march, it will be proper to say something of the kingdom in which it stands.

Bohemia, called by the Germans Boheim, is bounded on the east by Silesia and Moravia, on the south by Austria, on the west by the Upper Palatinate and Voigtland, and on the north by Misnia and Lusatia. It is almost of an oval figure, and in a manner circumscribed by the Hercynian forest, so celebrated amongst the antients. Its greatest length, exclusive of the county of Glatz, is about thirty-eight German miles, its breadth about thirty-four, and its circumference above an hundred such miles. Its air is salubrious; though, by reason of the northern winds, pretty cold. The soil produces all things necessary to the support of human life, except wine and oil, in vast abundance. The crops of wheat, barley, and hops, here are, for the most part, exceeding copious; and no small quantity of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, iron, mercury, sulphur, and alum, comes out of the Bohemian mountains. The rivers and standing waters abound with fish, the woods with wild beasts, and game of various kinds, &c. Gems likewise of different

sorts, as amethysts, emeralds, topazes, sapphires, &c. are dug out of the bowels of the earth in Bohemia. Saffron also and other aromatic herbs, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, are found to flourish here.

The emperor Charles the Fourth divided Bohemia into twelve circles, or provinces. These were the Circles of Caurzim, Pilsen, Leitmeritz, Konigingratz, Rakonitz, Chrudim, Prachin, Slaney or Schlan, Buntzlau or Buntzel, Saatz, Czaslau, and Bechin. To which king Wladislaus seems to have added those of Podbrd and Wltava. In the years 1569 and 1579, Prague was rendered independent on the governors of the Circle of Caurzim; but had no particular district assigned it. Some geographers add to the circles or provinces above-mentioned, the districts of Egra and Elbogen, and the county of Glatz; the last of which has, for a long time, been looked upon as a part of Silesia. Our readers will not be displeased to find here a brief description of the abovementioned circles, which will give them a better geographical idea of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The Circle of Caurzim (so denominated from its principal city) is said to have been formerly subject to its own dukes, and to have been a considerable state. It is bounded on the north by the Elbe, on the east by the Circle of Czaslau, on the south by that of Bechin, and on the west by that of Wltava. This fine territory abounds with salmon, and with woods; out of which, vast quantities of timber are carried down the Moldau and the Sazawa to Prague. The city of Caurzim is supposed to have been built by Czech, the founder of the Bohemian nation, soon after his arrival in these parts, and consequently to be the oldest in Bohemia.

The Circle of Konigingratz is larger than any of the rest. It is limited on the north by the Cerconossian mountains and the great Silesian woods, on the east by the county of Glatz, on the south by the Circle of Chrudim, and on the west by that of Buntzlau. It deduces its name from that of its principal city; and abounds with fish, venison, and pheasants. It is also reckoned to produce the best horses in Bohemia.

The Circle of Chrudim (so called from Chrudim its chief city) is terminated on the north by the last Circle, on the east and south by Moravia, and on the west by the Circle of Czaslau. This Circle, which is none of the largest, is said to abound with fish-ponds and standing waters more than any of the others.

The Circle of Czaslau, which assumes its name from the city of Czaslau, is surrounded on the north by the Circle of Konigingratz, on the east by that of Crudim, on the south by that of Bechin and Moravia, and on the west by that of Caurzim. It is said to produce a good quantity of silver, which is of considerable advantage to the emperor.

The Circle of Bechin is bounded on the north by the Circles of Wltava and Caurzim, on the east by that of Czaslau and Moravia, on the west by that of Prachin, and on the south by Austria. It receives its name from Bechin, the capital city, about twelve German miles from Prague.

The Circle of Wltava (so called from the Wltava, or the Moldau,) on the north and east is contiguous to the Circle of Caurzim, on the south to that of Bechin, and on the west partly to that of Podbrd, and partly to that of Prachin. This is the least of all the Bohemian circles or provinces, and is washed by the Moldau or the Wltava.

The Circle of Podbrd (so denominated from the Brdian mountains, at the foot of which it is situated,) on the north is adjacent to the Circles of Slaney and Rakonitz, on the east to those of Caurzim and Wltava, on the south to that of Prachin, and on the west to that of Pilsen. It abounds with iron, and is famous for the vast numbers of stags it produces; which far excel those to be met with in any of the other Circles.

The Circle of Prachin, (so denominated from the antient castle of Prachin or Prachn, that now lies buried in its own ruins,) on the north is joined to the district or circle of Podbrd, on the east to those of Wltava and Bechin, on the south to Austria, and on the west to the Circle of Pilsen. This district is said to abound with gems, and a particular species of small shell-fish, that produces the pearl called 'union.' It is remarkable, that, though these pearls are found in great numbers, not any two of them are alike; from which circumstance their name seems to be derived.

The Circle of Pilsen (so called from its primary city) on the south is connected with Bavaria, on the west with the Palatinate and the district of Egra, on the north with the Circles of Saatz and Rakonitz, and on the east with those of Podbrd and Prachin. This province consists chiefly of spacious pastures, and abounds with sheep more than any other part of Bohemia.

The Circle of Saatz (so denominated from the city of Saatz, the chief town in it,) has for its northern limit Misnia and the Circle of Leitmeritz, for its eastern the Circles of Slaney and Rakonitz, for its southern that of Pilsen, and for its western that of Elbogen. This province produces the best hops in Bohemia, and its crops of wheat equal those of the Circle of Slaney itself.

The Circle of Rakonitz is bounded on the east by the districts of Slaney and Podbrd, on the south by those of Podbrd and Pilsen, on the west by that of Saatz, and on the north by those of Saatz and Slaney. This province is full of woods and mountains, and is of the least extent of any, except that of Wltava, in Bohemia.

The Circle of Slaney, or Schlan, (which some call the granary of Prague,) is limited on the south by the Circle of Rakonitz, on the west by that of Saatz, on the north by that of Leitmeritz, and on the east by that of Caurzin. It is commonly called Slansko, from the royal city of Slaney, Schlan, or Slana; and Zrzitsko, from Mount Zrzt, or Zrzito, which is situated in it. The appellation just mentioned may be considered as a proof of its great and surprizing fertility.

The Circle of Leitmeritz is of a pyramidical figure, and seated, for the most part, at the foot of the *Montes Sudetes*. Its limit on the east is the Circle of Bunztlau and Lusatia, on the west Misnia and the Circle of Saatz, on the south Misnia and Lusatia, and on the north the Circles of Rakonitz and Bunztlau. This province is famous for its baths, and its mines of tin, from which the emperor reaps considerable advantage.

The Circle of Bunztlau, or Buntzel, touches on the east the Circle of Konigingratz, on the south that of Caurzim, on the west that of Leitmeritz, and on the north Silesia and Lusatia. It receives its name from Alt Buntzlau, or Old Buntzel, the chief city seated in it, and is famous for the great number of gems it produces. It is one of the largest provinces in Bohemia.

The Circle of Elbogen, or Elenbogen, (called by the Bohemians Loket,) is in a manner surrounded by Voigtland, and the Circle of Saatz. Elbogen, or Elenbogen, is its German name.

The Circle, or district of Egra, (so called from Egra its principal city,) has its limits defined by Voigtland, the Circles of Saatz and Pilsen, and the Upper Palatinate. The county of Glatz (as already observed) has, for a long time, belonged to Silesia.

But notwithstanding this division of the provinces of Bohemia, observed by the more accurate Bohemian and Austrian geographers, the country we are now upon is generally considered at present as divided into the twelve following Circles: Caurzim, Pilsen, Leitmeritz, Konigingratz, Rakonitz, Chrudim, Prachin, Bunztlau or Buntzel, Beraun, Saatz, Bechin, and Czaslau. These geographers make the district of Slaney or Schlan to be a part of the Circle of Rakonitz, and the provinces of Podbrd and Wltava to compose the Circle of Beraun. The district of Egra, according to them, belongs to the Upper Palatinate, and that of Elbogen to the Circle of Saatz. And let this suffice for a general geographical description of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The first migration of the Boii from Gallia Comata to this country (a considerable part of which was then covered with the Hercynian Forest, under the conduct of Sigovesus, nephew to their king Ambigatus,) happened, according to Livy⁶, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus; about six-hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra. The tract they possessed was from them called Boiohæm, or Boioheim, i. e. 'The habitation, house, or seat, of the Boii;' which by contraction became Boheim, the present German name. This is countenanced by Ptolemy⁷, who calls the Bæmi a great nation, and places

⁶ Tit. Liv. dec. i. lib. 5. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii.

⁷ Ptol. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 2.

them near the Quadi, making their territories to extend from the Hercynian Forest to the Danube; and by Tacitus⁸, when he fixes the Boii at the Hercynian Forest, and affirms, that the name of the region they inhabited was called in his time Boiemus, or Boiem. The testimonies of Ptolemy and Tacitus receive likewise some accession of strength from Strabo⁹, to whom for farther satisfaction on this head, we beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

It is probable, that before the abovementioned migration of the Boii, some small colonies of the Celtes were dispersed over this tract. But who they were, or how they came here, we cannot determine, for want of sufficient light from antient history; which supplies us with no particulars at all relating to them.

About six-hundred years after the settlement of the Boii in these parts, the Marcomanni, a people of Germany, having either expelled or subdued the former inhabitants, seated themselves here according to Tacitus¹⁰; which is confirmed by Velleius¹¹, Rufus¹², and Strabo¹³. It likewise seems to appear from Tacitus¹⁴, that the Hermunduri occupied one part of Bohemia.

The Marcomanni did not keep possession of Bohemia so long as their predecessors the Boii. That nation, together with several others, seated on the Elbe and the Danube, were in a manner swallowed up at once by an inundation of the Huns, who came into these parts from Scythia, under their leader Attila, about A. D. 440; insomuch, that we find no mention made of the Marcomanni, Quadi, or Hermunduri, by any writer after that period. Perhaps these nations, in order to avoid the fury and barbarity of the Huns, took refuge in Noricum, and other neighbouring countries; and left the region, called Bohemia, in a manner destitute of people; which, if it be allowed, will account for Czech's finding this tract, upon his arrival here, almost desolate and uninhabited. He was a Slavonian, born in Illyricum; or, as it is now denominated, Croatia; and (either through dislike of his own country, or by reason of a murder he had committed, or for some other cause) came into these parts at the head of a vast colony of Slavonians, in company with his brother Lech. Czech settled in Bohemia, and Lech in Poland. Some writers however maintain, that Czech came directly from Sarmatia (the original country of the Slavonians), after having traversed the territories of the Getæ and Daci, into Bohemia; but, with¹⁵ Hagecius, Dubracius, Æneas Sylvius, and many others¹⁶, we are inclined to embrace the former opinion. With regard to the time of this migration, authors are not agreed; some¹⁷ placing it A. D. 12, 278, 407, 451, 454, 457, 496, 550; and others A. D. 583, 600, 611, 639, 644, &c. But, from Procopius, and Paulus Diaconus¹⁸, it seems probable, that Czech entered Bohemia, some time between the years 548 and 595. According to Ptolemy, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others; the Vendi or Venedi, a tribe of Slavonians, advanced into Bohemia, long before the time of Czech¹⁹; which probably induced that leader to settle in the same country. Be that as it will, he must have behaved himself extremely well amongst the people he conducted hither; since they dropped their antient name, and styled themselves Czechites or Czechians; which is the appellation the Bohemians go by, amongst themselves, even at this day.

Czech, the first duke of Bohemia, was an idolater, as were all his successors to the year 864. Radislaus, king of Moravia, then invited Borzivoius, duke of Bohemia, to Welehrad, in order to draw him into a confederacy against Lewis, king of Germany. He there met with St. Cyril, and St. Methodius, who converted him to the Christian faith. This esta-

⁸ Tacit. de Mor. German.

⁹ Strab. apud Cluver. in Germ. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 30.

¹⁰ Tacit. ubi sup.

¹¹ Vell. Patere. lib. ii.

¹² Ruf. in Epit.

¹³ Strab. lib. vii.

¹⁴ Tacit. ubi sup.

¹⁵ Hagec. Chron. Bohem. ad ann. 644. Dubrav. Hist. Bohem. lib. i. Æn. Sylv. de Bohem. Gest. cap. xiii.

¹⁶ Piascius, Codicillus, Weleslavinus, Vapovius, Reusnerus, Matthias à Sudetis, Spandenberg. Car. Cuthen. Chyhraus, &c.

¹⁷ Rhenan. Rer. Ger. Nov.-ant. lib. i. Balbin. Miscel. Bohem. dec. I. lib. ii. cap. 9. Velser. Hagec. ad ann. 644. Calvis. &c.

¹⁸ Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. viii. Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longobard. lib. vii. cap. 4.

¹⁹ Balbin. Miscel. Bohem. dec. I. lib. ii. cap. 6. Dubrav. Hist. Bohem. lib. i.

blished the Christian religion in Bohemia; where it had been, before, but faintly introduced. Wenceslaus, Borzivoius's grandson, lived so holy a life, that after his death he was honoured with the title of St. Wenceslaus, and is at this day looked upon as one of the principal Bohemian saints. He was declared the first king of Bohemia, by the emperor Henry the Fowler, in 935; and was inhumanly murdered by his brother Boleslaus, in 938. The title of king did not, however, descend to his successors. But Wratisslaus the Second received that title and the royal diadem from the emperor Henry the Fourth, in 1086; and was crowned by Jaromir, bishop of Prague, assisted by the archbishop of Triers, and Benno, bishop of Misnia. In the year 1162, the emperor Frederick the First declared duke Wladislaus the Second king of Bohemia; but his successors were not adorned with that title till 1206; when the emperor Frederick the Second not only conferred it upon Przemislaus, but likewise extended it to all his successors. The crown was however elective, at least for some time; since after the assassination of Wenceslaus the Third, the last of the Przemislæan family, in 1306, the Bohemian nobility elected Rudolph, archduke of Austria, son to the emperor Albert the First, king of Bohemia, in opposition to Henry, duke of Carinthia, who was the other candidate for that crown. The throne was afterwards filled by princes of several families till the year 1527, when Ferdinand the First, archduke of Austria, ascended to it; and since that time Bohemia has made up part of the hereditary dominions of the august house of Austria.

We must not omit observing here, that the crown of Bohemia is rendered more illustrious by the Electoral dignity added to it; as well as the office of chief cup-bearer of the empire. This appears from the 'golden bull' of the emperor Charles the Fourth, which greatly distinguishes the prince that wears it, and confers several singular prerogatives upon him: the principal of which are, that he shall always sit on the right hand of the emperor, or the king of the Romans, whenever either of them appears at the head of the imperial court, or the diet of the empire, immediately after the archbishop of Mentz, or Cologne; and that, at the election of an emperor, the elector of Mentz shall call his vote as soon as the electors of Triers and Cologne have given theirs, as being the first of the laic electors. The king of Bohemia may (as chief cup-bearer of the empire,) if he pleases, claim the privilege of first giving the cup to the emperor, or the king of the Romans: though he is by no means obliged to do this. In all processions, the king of Bohemia is also, by the 'golden bull,' to be preceded by none but the emperor, and the king of the Romans.

The weather was excessively cold whilst we were at Prague; though milder in this climate, than might have been expected, the spring being pretty far advanced. All this time we staid upon Mount Petrzin, and the hill or tract called Radtschin, (from whence we had a noble view of the city of Prague,) we found the air extremely sharp. The same night we saw an Italian opera, which continued till near twelve o'clock; but the scenes were nothing near so fine and magnificent as those exhibited in Italy. The author of this Narrative was so affected by the cold weather here, that he was confined to his bed a day or two by a rheumatic disorder; and could scarce get into the chaise, when we set out for Saxony. In fine, Bohemia has a sharp and piercing air, its atmosphere being loaded with cold moist vapours, and does not at all agree with many foreigners, especially at certain seasons of the year.

As Bohemia is a very fertile country, it is no wonder that there should be so vast a supply of all kinds of provisions continually brought into Prague; and that the market there should be one of the finest and most plentiful in the world. Venison, fowl, both wild and tame, fish, and all kinds of butchers-meat, are very cheap; though not near so cheap as in Hungary. Amongst the vast variety of provisions, with which the citizens of Prague are constantly furnished, the thighs of frogs, at certain seasons of the year, find a place. They are then brought in very large jars, and seldom fail (as we were informed) of being soon bought up. Though it has been already hinted, that wine is not so common in Bohemia as in many other parts of Germany, yet we ought to observe, that this liquor is far from being scarce here. But in its fine qualities, it does not come up to the Austrian wine, much less to that of Hungary.

Our guide informed us, that some of the Bohemian nobility were immensely rich, and had very overgrown estates. He said, that the prince de Lichtenstein had five-hundred-thousand florins *per annum*, the count de Czernin three-hundred-thousand, the prince de Schwarzenburgh five-hundred-thousand, the count de Gallas three-hundred-thousand, and the count de Czernin's younger brother two-hundred-thousand. Several heads of noble families (according to him) are proprietors of tracts of land six or seven German miles in extent. In the Little Town (if he may be depended upon) they generally speak High-Dutch; but in the Old and New Towns chiefly Bohemian. The extensive language, of which the Bohemian, Polish, and Moravian are dialects, is called Ratz. It is the old Slavonian, and is at present spoken in a good part of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Ratzia, Servia, Dalmatia, Carniola, &c. The Poles and Moravians (as is said) understand the Bohemians perfectly well; but the latter, we were assured, do not so well understand the former. Nay, the Moravian dialect (if any dependence may be had upon the same authority) differs very considerably from those used both in Poland and Bohemia. The Jews here have long beards, wear ruffs, hats covered with coloured silk, and have some other peculiarities in their habit, in order to distinguish them from the other inhabitants. Not only the students, but the citizens of Prague, have a great aversion to them. They are entirely addicted to trade, and deal chiefly in the jewels which are the produce of this country. As they bring a good deal of cash into the emperor's coffers, they have, for a long time, been protected, and even encouraged by the House of Austria.

Though the greatest part of the Bohemians are Roman-Catholicks, and even bigots; yet there are many secret Protestants among them. Nay, we were told that many Hussites might still be found here, who have the Hussite liturgy and confession of faith. But as this intelligence came from Roman-Catholicks, who are seldom disposed to give a true representation of the principles of those they differ from; perhaps these Acatolicks (as their adversaries sometimes affect to call them, when discoursing with Protestants,) are all of them either Lutherans or Reformed. Be that as it will, we saw none of them; and therefore can say nothing, of our own knowledge, concerning them.

Before we conclude our imperfect description of the city of Prague, it will be proper to inform our readers, that many of the particulars it contains were related to us by our guide; and therefore depend entirely on his authority. However, as he seemed to us an honest man, and could have no end to serve in imposing on us, we ourselves are very well satisfied as to the truth of them. It is true, he seemed not a little inclined to bigotry; but, as the abovementioned particulars bear no relation to religion, this will not in the least affect their credibility. Besides, as he talked and understood Latin tolerably well, had a good share of common-sense, was versed in the history of Bohemia, appeared to be well acquainted with every thing in this city, and was even a native of it; we see no reason to doubt his veracity on this occasion. Amongst the fine monuments in the church of St. Vite, may be reckoned that of count Schlick, erected in the year 1723. At the tomb of St. John Nepomucene here, (on which is this inscription, *Divus Johannes Nepomucenus, canonicus hujus ecclesiæ, et reginæ Joannæ confessarius*,) there are generally an infinite number of people performing their devotions. In this church there is a Madona with two Jesus's, one in each arm, which we remember not elsewhere to have met with; as likewise a very good head of our Saviour. We were told, that the number of churches in this city amounts to an hundred and seven. All (or, at least, the greatest part) of the rich furniture of the imperial palace here, has been removed to Vienna; if our guide deserves any credit. That quarter, inhabited by the Jews, goes under the name of the Jews-town. Prince de Lichtenstein (besides his palace in Vienna and Prague, already mentioned,) has a noble country-seat at Crumau in Moravia, where he frequently resides. It stands in the Circle of Znaim, and has a very considerable tract of land appertaining to it. As the author of this Narrative conversed with our guide altogether in Latin, he sometimes found it a difficult matter to express the modern terms made use of in the Bohemian language; especially, as these related to customs, posts, offices, places, &c. to which we have nothing in England that entirely corresponds. An inaccurate expression, therefore, or such a one

as does not clearly enough exhibit the idea it is intended to convey, may now and then possibly occur; though we hope, these will prove so rare, that they will be easily pardoned by all our candid and ingenuous readers.

[*Continued in Volume VIII.*]

A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of Mustapha, Prince of Turkey, eldest Son of Mahomet, present Emperor of the Turks: together with an Account of the Marriage of his Daughter to his great Favourite Mussaïp, at Adrianople; as it was sent in a Letter to a Person of Honour: by Mr. Coke, Secretary of the Turkey Company; being in Company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Sir John Finch. Licensed, January 10, 1675-6. Roger L'Estrange.

London: Printed by J. C. for William Crook, at the Green-Dragon without Temple-Bar. 1676.

[Folio; containing eight pages.]

SIR,

THESE last five months I have spent in Adrianople: it is pleasantly situated on the rising and top of an easy hill, which to the south and west gives the prospect of a large plain, where the eye is not lost, but bounded with the mountains of Hæmus; on the north and east are small hills. It is watered with three rivers, (the chiefest, Hebrus,) which, often uniting and separating their streams, make many islands, capable of what the most refined luxury could plant, or build; but spring-gardens and walks, adorned with ladies and gallants, are things unknown to us Barbarians.

I have now told you all that is good: for this airy pleasure of the eye is lost in so many solid inconveniencies, that I never was yet, in any city, more uneasy, nay, more insupportable: the buildings, except a mosque or two, so mean and contemptible, that they would disgrace a poor village; the water bad, wine worse, the streets and all avenues to the city so crowded with carts, dunghills, and carrion, that nothing can be more troublesome, or offensive, to the sight and scent. In a word, what the riches and invention of mankind did contribute to make Rome delightful and glorious, the stupidity and sordidness of these people have outvied in the reverse; making this place the metropolis of filth and inconvenience.

Our arrival here was on the tenth of May; on the fifteenth began the festivals for the circumcision of the young prince. In a large piazza, or rather field, before the seraglio, were pitched the tents of the Grand-signior, vizier, and other great men, which made a side and half of the square; another side and half was taken up with lamps hung upon ropes, and fastened to poles, disposed into several figures of ships, buildings, and woods, &c. which were changed every night; others, as they use in Egypt at their rejoicing, when they cut the Nile. The fourth side was the seraglio, where the women had the convenience of seeing through lattices.

The show began in the afternoon; the morning being spent in entertainments. The Grand-signior, sitting in an elevated place by his tent, much like a summer-house in our gardens, which overlooked all, received the presents brought him by the bashaws, and all the officers of the empire, and all the arts of Constantinople. These were not left to the liberty and generosity of the presenter; but they were taxed what they should give, and an officer appointed to survey the quality of them; which, if not approved, was returned, and perhaps augmented: for, in this country, it is no ill manners to look a gift-horse in the mouth.

The mechanicks and some of the soldiery were every day entertained in a great tent with a Turkish feast; afterwards were antic dances in several habits, singing and dancing with most obscene gesticulations, Jack-pudding, and Punchinello's representations; wrestling, rope-dancing, feats of activity and strength; all these promiscuously in the area of the square. Had there been but a noise, rabble, and abominable pig's-head; nothing could have been an exacter scene of Bartholomew-fair.

At night, a row of poles, about a man's height, were stuck in the ground; on the top were hoops of iron, in which burnt pine-wood, with a brisk and lively flame, which, with the lamps, gave a delightful and magnificent prospect.

About an hour in the night began the fire-works, which were plentiful, and not amiss; though, I think, those I have seen at Rome surpass them. One sort, indeed, I never saw; which was a great bason, like a mortar-piece, fixed into the ground, and filled with wild-fire, which sent out a violent stream of fire, with a hideous noise, a great height: it was an object equally terrible and delightful. These were the constant divertisements, all the time of the solemnity.

The twenty-fifth, the mufti, vizier, and all the bashaws and great officers, with the janisaries walking before, and the chiaux on horseback, attended the prince; who was so adorned, or over-laden with jewels, both himself and his horse, that one might say, he carried the value of an empire about him.

The twenty-seventh, which was Mahomet's birth-day, he accompanied his father to the Moschea: here was no solemn cavalcade, only the Grand-signior's own retinue; and, though it was less in number far than the cavalcade, yet adjusted neater, and court-like; the Grand-signior's footmen and pages being very rich in clothes and jewels.

This evening, the prince was circumcised in the arms of his father; he is about eleven years old, of a good aspect, his name Mustapha. About two-thousand others were cut at this solemnity, who had money and a quilt from the Grand-signior. It was done publicly in the tents, and any one, Turk or Christian, admitted to see them.

June the fifth, this solemnity was concluded with horse-races. After ten days' repose, began the feasts for the marriage of the Grand-signior's daughter, of about seven years old, unto the Mussaip, or favourite, who, by the tefterdar, or lord-treasurer, (who was the compeer,) in a solemn show, sent his presents to her, thirty mules laden with sugar-plums and sweet-meats; figures of several sorts of birds and beasts, of sugar, so ill-favouredly represented, that they could not be said to break the law against making images, though the solemnity of the time had not dispensed with it; fifty-six men, each with five more vests of cloth of gold, satin, &c.; then her jewels, several suits very rich; five led horses, with rich furniture of pearls and precious stones; and, at last, coaches with slaves.

On the nineteenth of June, was the vizier, &c. in a solemn cavalcade, to accompany the presents, the Grand-signior gave her; eighty-six mules laden with rich household-stuff; very rich habits for her, and jewels of all sorts; twelve coaches with slaves, and six-and-thirty black eunuchs.

And, the twenty-third, was the last cavalcade of all the great men, to attend her from the seraglio to her husband's house; they were in a close coach plated with silver, attended with five-and-twenty others. At last came the hassaki, or queen-regent's coach, attended with ten more; to every one of these coaches were two black eunuchs. In a great courtyard of the Mussaip's palace, were repeated all the sports and fire-works that were before, at which the Grand-signior was a constant spectator. Besides, there was a rope fastened

to a high steeple, whence several men came flying down; one having a boy tied to his back with a drum, the rope broke; but, being near the ground, and falling on another man, they had none of them any considerable hurt. The most remarkable was a man that walked upon a rope fastened to the same steeple, forward and backward; and another man, that, upon a high loose rope, hanging by his hand, his body extended, swung himself over twelve times, without stop, or touching any thing.

But too much of these trifles; though the Grand-signior was much delighted with them, and made them be continued many more days than were intended. He took that fancy to a gypsy-boy, that swung and danced, as he hath him in the degree of a favourite; being taken into the seraglio, and presented by the great bashaws.

The Mussaïp, that hath married the Grand-signior's daughter, is a man that meddles in no business, nor is thought to be much capable of it; for, being chimacham in the vizier's absence, he shewed no great abilities. The Grand-signior takes him for a constant companion in all his divertisements, and hath a strong affection to him, which time does not impair, but rather augment; he being a prince most constant where he fixes. You would think this marriage would make him happy, but it is quite contrary: for it not only cuts him off in his pleasures, to which he is indulgent; he being forced to discharge all his women, even his own sisters; but it ruins his fortune, both by the expence in maintaining her, while she lives, and, should she die, he must refund to the treasury all he hath had with her, besides four-millions (according to common report) of dollars, which is her dote; which he is so far from an ability of, that he cannot pay his present debts. She hath good proofs of his abilities another way; he having, it is said, two-and-thirty children.

To our own private affairs; his Excellency my lord-ambassador, sir John Finch, had all satisfaction, and hath obtained very advantageous additions to our capitulations; but, they being things mercantile, and, though not beyond, yet beneath your knowledge, I shall not particularize.

We had a very hot plague: my lord-ambassador retired to a village, but it soon arrived there; so he lived in his tents till the sickness got among the servants, of whom five died: then he returned to the village. Mr. North and I stuck to the city, where, though in our street only two houses were free, besides our own, and the two adjoining had five sick on the one, and two on the other side, yet (God be praised!) we and our servants passed along the road. And here it is not much less: sir Thomas Baines, my lord-ambassador's companion, that attended him in his chamber, three days after our arrival, was taken, and in three more died; he is the only Englishman that hath been visited. His Excellency hath retired upon this, a little way out of town, for some time.

Dated from Pera, the 9th of October, 1675.

A brief Account of many memorable Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Shaftesbury, sometime Lord High-Chancellor of England; who departed this Life the twenty-first day of December, 1683: giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majesty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours he used, to bring in the King into England, unto his just Rights, in Peace and Safety; with his Majesty's grateful Acknowledgments of these his Kindnesses to him, in preferring him to several eminent Places of Honour and Trust; together with his great Patience under the Loss of the same. Also, his twice Imprisonment in the Tower, and his witty Answer to one of the Popish Lords upon his Imprisonment; his Releasement; and several Plots and Sham-Plots of the Papists, used to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Protestant Religion, and their Disappointments: of his Arrival in Holland, and his kind Entertainment there; together with his Sickness, and worthy Speeches a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer worthy of the Perusal of all Persons¹.

Printed for J. Conyers, in Duck-Lane.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

IT is not my presumption, in this sheet, to write the life of this great Statesman, but to give the reader a brief account of some remarkable passages in the same; for the satisfaction of the meaner sort, that cannot purchase large volumes.

Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, baron Ashley of Winbourn, and lord Cooper of Paulet, was descended from the honourable and ancient family of the Coopers of Winbourn, St. Giles's, in the county of Dorset.

¹ [What has been said by the writer of the Earl of Shaftesbury's life, in the Biographia, is particularly applicable to the tract now before us. 'The Earl of Shaftesbury (says he) was the soul and genius of the ministry, while he made a part of it; but whether he did not carry things too high, and out of the reach of all other capacities but his own, it would favour of rashness to determine. All that is said, either in our general histories, or private memoirs of the Earl, while in power, and, as it were, at the head of the administration, is liable to many objections, and ought therefore to be read with circumspection. Such as have written direct apologies for him, will have every thing to have been not only well and wisely, but uprightly and virtuously done; which, perhaps, is more than ought to be advanced in favour of any minister. Of these apologies there are many in print: such as Rawleigh Redivivus, Memoirs and Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Com-pleat Statesman, &c. and there are several others in MS. On the other hand, such as make no secret of their dislike to this great man, very seldom shew the least scruple of painting him in the blackest colours; and both discover how far they deviate, both from impartiality and truth, by running into palpable absurdities, and visible contradictions.'

We shall, in the first place, (laying aside all his other virtues,) treat of the loyalty of this noble Peer, in the words of the late author : saith he, ' Could we have taken a view of the inside of this noble Peer, we might have seen his heart full of loyalty to his prince, love to his country, and zeal for the Protestant religion ; the settlement of which can only secure us from the attempts of his Majesty's, and his people's enemies. With what admirable policy did he influence and manage the councils in the late times, in what he was concerned in, during the Interregnum, towards his Majesty's interest, and with what admirable subtlety did he turn the stream of their counsels ; and with unwearied diligence did he tug at the helm of state, till he had brought in his great master, the king, into his kingdoms again, in prosperity and safety, to the joy of all good subjects !'

His house was a sanctuary for distressed loyalists, and his correspondence with the king's friends, though closely managed (as the necessity of those times required), are not unknown to those that were the principal managers of his Majesty's affairs at that time. This made the late usurper, Oliver Cromwell, so jealous of him, whose arbitrary government he withstood to the utmost of his power. And we find that sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was accused before the Rump-parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king ; and having provided forces in Dorsetshire, to join with sir George Booth, in attempting to bring in our noble king, that now is², to his rightful throne ; and also his concurrence with general Monk, in that important juncture, if we remember that his regiment was one of the first that declared for a free parliament, and general Monk, in March 1659 ; so zealous was he in putting all his strength to turn the great wheel of state.

And at the time of his Majesty's restoration, (as a most signal testimony of his Majesty's good opinion of his former actions,) he was advanced to be one of the first rank in his Majesty's most honourable privy-council, and was placed above his royal brother, the duke of Gloucester, even general Monk himself, whom the king used to call his political father. And three days after his Majesty's coronation, he was created baron Ashley of Winbourn St. Giles's, and also lord Cooper of Paulet ; and, at last, another mark of royal favour, in the year 1672, he was made Earl of Shaftesbury : for his wise administration in his Majesty's affairs, he was made chancellor of the exchequer, and, some time after that, made lord high-chancellor of England, about the beginning of the year 1672 ; which place he executed with the greatest judgment and equity imaginable³.

Thus having briefly traced this great Minister of state, in these mighty employments under his great and good master, the king ; I shall take some notice of his relinquishment of that high employment, and what happened to him since.

About November 1673, his Majesty was pleased to send for the Lord-chancellor to Whitehall, where he resigned the great-seal of England to his Majesty⁴, and was dismissed from being treasurer of the exchequer. In the afternoon of the same day, the Earl of Shaftesbury was visited by prince Rupert, with other great lords, at Exeter-house, where they gave his lordship thanks, for his faithful and honourable discharge of that

² [Charles II. By this passage it appears, that the tract (though without date) was written shortly after the death of the Earl of Shaftesbury ; as that event happened in the year 1683, and king Charles ended his reign in 1685.]

³ [A very strong eulogium on Shaftesbury's juridical conduct, may be seen in Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53. Dryden himself praises his conduct whilst he administered this great office, saying of him,

Yet fame deserv'd, no enemy can grudge,
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge ;
In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean ;
Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access.' Absalom and Achithophel.

Charles the Second said of Lord Shaftesbury, " that he possessed in him a chancellor, who had more law than all his judges, and more divinity than all his bishops."]

⁴ [A curious anecdote of some particular circumstances which happened upon his resigning the great-seal, is related in Echard's History of England, p. 898.]

great employment. Thus, this great Minister of state, to the universal satisfaction of all good men, being raised to that high degree of interest in his master's favour, without a murmur, laid all his honour at his Majesty's feet; and was observed not to abate of the cheerfulness of his temper, upon the loss of all these temporal and honourable employments. I shall conclude this part of his life, with a character that a late author gave of him:

————— ‘ His choice sagacity
 ‘ Straight solv'd the knot that subtle lawyers ty'd,
 ‘ And, through all fogs, discern'd the oppressed side;
 ‘ Banish'd delays, and so this noble Peer
 ‘ Became a star of honour in our sphere:
 ‘ A needful Atlas of our state.’

On the sixteenth of February, 1676⁵, this Earl was sent prisoner to the Tower, by the order of the House of Lords; there were, at the same time, committed several other lords⁶, for maintaining, ‘ that the then parliament was dissolved, and ought not to sit any longer:’ where he continued prisoner about a year's time, and after submitting himself to his Majesty and the parliament, he was discharged, by acknowledging his fault. A little after his releasement, this parliament was prorogued, and after dissolved. Now was the wicked plot of the Jesuits and Papists discovered, by the great fidelity of Dr. Oates; which convinced both king, lords, and commons, and all the nation in general, of a damnable, treasonable, popish design, to murder our king, with the rest of the nobility and gentry, and to reduce the Protestant church to Romish idolatry, and the state to a Catholic slavery.

On the seventh of March, 1678, another parliament met at Westminster; this parliament did, like noble patriots, endeavour to give a check to the bloody popish designs afoot, and passed many excellent votes for that purpose: many members acquitted themselves, in their speeches, like men of high sense of the miseries the nation was like to be involved in; this House carried up their impeachments to the House of Lords, against the lord Powis, Stafford, Arundel, lord Peters, lord Bellasis, for high-treason, and other high crimes. But I shall forbear mentioning any farther; only instance how this noble Peer was struck at in that hellish design. I shall refer the reader to what hath been already published in print; only note two or three things of some persons, that made attempts on the life of this noble Peer: first, by Dangerfield, who had a great sum offered him, to have murdered the Earl of Shaftesbury, on whom the rage of the bloody Romish party was now so great, that they left no base and unwarrantable action unattempted, to rob him of his life; some were hired to stab or pistol him; others to swear treason against him; or any other way the devil put in their heads. Another design against this noble Peer, was to have been acted by a woman, called madam Cellier, a popish midwife; who attempted that cursed design, under the pretence of a visit to the Earl, and under pretence of her paying her thanks for favours received through his means; but she had a consecrated dagger under the skirt of her gown, ready to have expressed her gratitude, by opening the veins of this Protestant-Peer's heart.

Is then loyal innocence, and Protestant integrity, armour of proof against poisons, pistols, and poniards? No: the Catholic gallantry stops not here, but pursues this noble Peer with forgery of his hand, and other little sham-plots. What base and villainous acts the bloody papists used, to destroy the Earl of Shaftesbury, by many endeavours to have stabbed him; as hath been deposed by many persons, to whom the parliament, as well as the nation, have given belief! I shall instance one more of their mischievous practices in

⁵ [1677, according to the new style.]

⁶ [Viz. the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord Wharton. The Earl of Shaftesbury continued thirteen months in the Tower, though the other lords, upon their submission, were immediately discharged.]

this kind: there was a gentleman, who was a commander of a regiment of horse in the late king's army, (and lost all for his sake, and his present Majesty's,) writ to this noble Peer about a remedy against the gout, which he used to be afflicted with very much: this letter was intercepted, and (the person then living in the French king's dominions) after adding to it an account, that the writer was able to furnish the Earl with forty-thousand soldiers from France, to oppose the duke of York's interest: it was then conveyed to some of the French king's ministers, who, they suppose, would send a copy hither; but, by a strange providence, the original was returned into the gentleman's own hands.

Nor were they yet wanting in throwing dirt, and slandering this noble Peer in his reputation; which faculty they are famous at; for now a packet of base libels and treasonable reflections were, by the Penny-post, sent to a printer, and copies of the same dispersed about the parts of Westminster: all of venomous and malicious slanders and imputations, tending to the taking away the life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and divers other peers of honourable account. But the printer, detesting such a design, published an invitation to any person that would discover the author or publisher of that infamous libel. And now we are got into such a bog of plots, sham-plots, perjurers, subornations, as the histories of no age can parallel: in October, during the sessions of the last parliament, it is remarkable, that Francisco de Faria (interpreter to the Portuguese ambassador), amongst other matters relating to the plot, gave information to the bar of the House, that he was tempted to kill the Earl of Shaftesbury, by throwing a hand-granado into his coach, as he passed the road into the country. But to sum up all several methods, that were invented to be executed against the life of this Peer, were innumerable, by these jesuited crews, who set all their inventions and engines on work, to make away the Earl of Shaftesbury: he was the beam in their eye, and the clog that hindered the motion of their cursed designs. What have they not attempted, to make him distasteful to the king, through the foulness of their treasons on him? As was made appear before the king and council in October 1681, that Fitzgerald told Mr. Haines, that he the said Fitzgerald possessed his Majesty, and had given it under his hand and seal, that the late plot was a Presbyterian plot, and invented by the Earl of Shaftesbury, on purpose to extirpate the royal-family, and to dethrone his present Majesty, and turn England into a commonwealth, or else to set the crown upon the Earl's own head; with more such wicked and treasonable matter: a further account you may have in his trial.

But a new parliament was summoned⁷ to appear at Oxford, where things of as high nature were agitated, as ever came before the consideration of a parliament; no less than the preservation of the king's Majesty's person, the Protestant religion, and the good of the people of England: all which now was invaded by the bloody designs of the Papists; but, being very hot about the business of Fitzharris, and things of the like nature, it pleased his Majesty to dissolve them.

Some time after Fitzharris was tried and executed, the Earl of Shaftesbury was again committed to the Tower of London: the circumstances of his examination, and acquittal, would take too much room here to be recited. To finish this tragical story, only I cannot omit, that on the fifteenth of August, 1681, Mrs. Fitzharris gave a deposition on oath, that her husband, a little before his execution, not only told her, what great offers he had made him, if he would have charged that treasonable and infamous libel (which he was executed afterwards for) on this noble Peer and the lord Howard; and that he advised her to do it to save his life; though he protested, at the same time, that they were wholly innocent. She likewise deposed, that a certain gentleman assured her, that she should have what money she pleased, if she would accuse the Earl and the lord Howard, as the authors of the said libel: but they, having tampered with so many, on account of this baffled design, that it was impossible but their consult must take wind; especially,

⁷ [March 21, 1681. The Earl of Shaftesbury joined with several lords, in a petition to prevent the parliament's meeting at Oxford, which however failed of success.]

when we consider, they were a people, that either to supply their necessities, or to feed their ambition, (or, more probably, thought⁸ irresistible fatality,) had blabbed and discovered the secrets of Holy Mother, and had spoke so unseasonably in her tip, that they had spoiled her game. What security could these Romish sophisters have, but that their corked vessel would prove leaky again?

I shall give one memorable passage, said to have passed between the Earl and one of the popish lords, soon after his commitment; the story is this: Meeting, accidentally, with one of the popish lords, he was asked by him, "What his lordship did there, and that he little thought to have his good company?" To which the Earl of Shaftesbury replied, "That he had lately been sick of an ague, and was come there to take some jesuits-powder." It was said, during the whole time of his lordship being in the Tower, he remained very cheerful, beyond what could have been expected from a person labouring under such extreme pains and diseases. During the Earl's imprisonment, many made it their business to detract and vilify him; and it was their mode to drink his health at an hempen-string, and call him, 'Tony Tapskin⁹,' and 'King of Poland¹⁰.' After the Earl's trial, it is reported he arrested one Baines, one of the witnesses for a conspiracy; also several others; but, being not suffered to have his trial against them in London and Middlesex, he remitted the same till another opportunity.

Thus have we given a brief account of the most remarkable things relating to this great Peer, to this time: after which he lived very private at his house in Aldersgate-street, till the beginning of the month of November¹¹, when (it is reported) he left England, and landed at Brill in Holland¹², where he was nobly entertained by the States; and, as some say, hath put into their stock a considerable sum of money.

But, amongst the rest, let us take cognizance of his deportment, in the time of his seeming affliction: he was little or nothing dismayed at the contrary current, which opposed the stream of his aspiring mind, which was a generous and magnanimous spirit in him; for, indeed, he was as much befriended by unexpected favours abroad, as afflicted by domestic troubles in his own native soil; his reception in Holland was, unquestionably, very kind, as doubtless was appertinent to a person of his parts. It is not to be doubted, but the many transactions, happening in his time, had recorded him there, as well as in other countries, for a politician, and so was he received by them. His deportment there was such, that he obliged all that came near him, indulged all that knew him, and, at his death, left no man without an obligation of a *memento*. It was much to be taken notice of, that during the time of his illness, he rather seemed to be of better composure in mind, than ordinary, as seeming to embrace his malady with a kind of welcome, that might transmute his soul into that endless happiness, which he had been so long labouring for; he seemed to covet after that continual blessing, which alone makes happy, and rejoiced at his approaching change. O, happy is that man, who, like an undaunted champion, can boldly look upon the pale messenger of grim death without terror; when no astonishment comes to amaze the drooping senses; but, on the contrary, if filled with comfort, at the perfect assurance of a better state, by the help and assistance of a blessed

⁸ [Qu. through?]

⁹ [Alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of an ulcer between his ribs when he was chancellor.]

¹⁰ [It was a standing joke among the opponents of Shaftesbury, that he hoped to be chosen king of Poland at the vacancy, when John Sobieski was elected. His supposed election, its causes and effects, are very humorously stated in a pamphlet republished among Lord Somers' Tracts. The joke of Shaftesbury's election to the Polish throne having been once thrown out, was echoed, and re-echoed, through an hundred ballads, till it ceased to be a joke at all. Scott's Dryden.]

¹¹ [1682.]

¹² [Lord Shaftesbury had been always very inveterate against Holland, and used constantly to conclude his speeches in the House of Peers on that subject with—*delenda est Carthago*; applying this celebrated sentence to that country: but before he took refuge there, he appealed to the magistrates for permission to do so, who answered his petition thus laconically: *Carthago, non adhuc abolita, comitem de Shaftesbury in gremio suo recipere vult*. Seward's Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 54.]

change: no peace like a quiet mind, no comfort like the peace of conscience, nor no conquest like the victory over sin: thrice happy is that man, whom the thoughts of death cannot terrify: then let us all labour so to live here, that we may assure ourselves of an inheritance hereafter, that shall furnish our souls with joys everlasting, that have no end!

But when he perceived, that his fatal hour was most certainly approaching; with a most heavenly frame, he prepared himself to meet with that unwelcome messenger, taking great and particular care of his menial servants, that will imprint a memorial in their now bleeding hearts; so having settled affairs in his house, according to his own mind and will, he recommended his soul to Him that gave it, in the following words and manner: 'O most gracious and merciful Lord God! who, out of thy infinite mercy and goodness, hast preserved and protected me through an ocean of trouble and perplexity; yea, and brought me out of a labyrinth of danger, which, without thine assistance, I could never have waded through: and now, since by thy mercy I am made sensible of thy unspeakable love to me in this my last hour; I beseech thee, with an unfeigned desire, to have mercy upon my immortal soul, and let thine angel conduct it to the throne of thine everlasting happiness. Lord! preserve and keep my sovereign liege, Charles the Second, king of the land of my nativity; and protect that poor nation, now in a tottering condition, from the yoke and burthen of popish tyranny; that the Gospel may flourish in the dominions thereof. Lord! strengthen me in this hour of tribulation, that I may cheerfully pass through the dark passage, which leads to thy never-fading light. Amen.'¹³

¹³ [This distinguished politician died in exile, at Amsterdam, Jan. 22, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age: a striking instance of the little utility of great talents either to the possessor or to the world in general, where they are not directed by just and good principles. Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 101.]

A Speech of a Fellow-Commoner of England, to his Fellow-Commoners of the Convention.

Printed in the Year 1689.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

Mr. SPEAKER;

THE present providence deserves our most serious thoughts; and truly, Sir, I cannot but say, that we are extremely obliged to the great goodness and valour of the Prince of Orange, who, with such hazard and expence, has brought us so seasonable and eminent a deliverance from popery, and, I hope, from arbitrary power also. Sir, we cannot give him too much, unless we give him more than our own, (the crown I mean;) we have been of a long time taught, that is not the gift or work of subjects: sovereign princes have made bold with one another, but I am of opinion, whatever malice may suggest against his Highness, he has too noble a soul to be guilty of such an attempt; he came not hither for greatness, he has it of his own, and brought it with him, and values being *optimus* more than *maximus*, which is the best way of joining that imperial style together, *Optimus Maximus*. I say, I am confident it is more than he will judge proper to receive, and that he will think it more for his glory to reduce the monarchy to its just and legal establishment, than to be king himself; and to secure us against popery, than to lead us into

the errors of it; of which the most pestilentious are, deposing princes, and breaking faith with hereticks.

Mr. Speaker; The Prince is too great a disciple both of religion and honour, not to be satisfied with our doing what is agreeable to them; and let us not press him out of his own sentiments (which have been the greatest and most heroic, that have appeared in this latter age of the world), lest, whilst we have taken arms to redress grievances, we do not draw greater upon ourselves; and that as well from abroad as at home.

For, Sir, when we believe Catholic princes to have zeal so unseasonably fierce, and unsafe to other people; we cannot, at the same time, think they will tamely suffer a Catholic king to be kept out of his kingdom, for little more than being so; and I am afraid that this procedure may precipitate Ireland unto extremities; and if it should follow the king to France, all sober sensible men know, of what ill consequence a revolt to that crown may be to this kingdom: we shall then, instead of invading France, find difficulties to preserve our own country; nor, for what I see, are we sure of being at peace here. The tide is mightily abated since the king's going from Rochester: those, that wished his humiliation in the government, will by no means hear of his exclusion and perdition, from the crown; they either believe the fault none of his, or not of weight enough to justify so extraordinary an example. Kings must see and hear by the eyes and ears of others; which makes it their misfortune, rather than their crime, that they do amiss. We are also of a church that has been singular for her honour and deference to kings, and, if we have any for her, we ought to tread tenderly in this point; and, that we may be just, two things compel us to it for our own sake.

The first is, That the most of things that made the king's government so obnoxious, have already been done in this: we have had a dispensing power exercised both at Exeter and at London; we have had free-quarter constrained almost in all places where the Dutch army has marched; we have, in great part, a popish army too; though that was one of the most crying offences we objected to the king, and from which we drew the most popular notions of our insecurity: the very money, that is now receiving, was asked with armies on foot, and all men will conclude, there was no refusing a proposal so seconded; and, how far our famous petition of right may be concerned in this, the gentlemen of the law must determine. But, I dare say, this very loan could not escape this censure under a lawful prince; and, under our present circumstances, we cannot reasonably think the case better.

Nor is this all; the second reason of our caution is, The little truth that at last appears in those many stories, that, above any charge, seemed to alienate the hearts of his subjects from his Majesty, and to dissolve that tie of affection and duty they had to him, as his subjects. Such as, the alarms we had here of a French invasion; the king's selling the kingdom for five millions sterling; the Irish killing man, woman, and child, upon the roads; the French embarked for the West, but met and sunk by the Dutch; the forty-thousand new-fashioned knives of slaughter; the queen's back-door for bringing to bed a supposititious child; her cuffing the earl of Craven and the princess Anne; with forty more of that stamp, which time hath proved as malicious as false: how much they have influenced to this present great change, is not unworthy of our just thoughts and answers; and, in my opinion, it calls upon us as loudly for a speedy reparation.

Mr. Speaker; These are the things that have driven the king out of England; and, if it can be proved that the prince of Wales is an impostor, and that there was a league with France to cut off Protestants, I think nothing has befallen him, too hard measure for him. But truly, Sir, it is upon no other terms that the people of England will part with their king, or with any patience think of the usage he has got upon that supposition. But it is objected, that some of those that were in arms are in apprehension, lest their estates and lives should be at the mercy of the king, in case he returns: I think that the king will be so far from expecting, and the nation from yielding to it, that they must not only be all pardoned, but those lords and gentlemen, that have been the noble assertors of our English liberties at this juncture, must be posted in the greatest places of honour and trust.

I hope the king himself will see it his interest to leave off little and parasitical favourites, and be willing, that such be employed in all his affairs, as his people can confide in; and, as will use their preferments for the honour of their prince, and the good of his subjects.

Mr. Speaker; The objection against the king's return, upon the account of having deserted his kingdoms, by going into France, I am astonished at it; since it is plain, he did not voluntarily desert us, (as the queen of Sweden did her kingdom,) but was attacked from abroad, and deserted at home: consequently, Sir, that cannot be, in good morality, as well as law, a demise, forfeiture, surrender, or abdication of the crown of England.

Mr. Speaker, I fear, that if I have not tired your patience, I have been, at least, ordinary long for some members of a contrary judgment, who sit in this convention; and, therefore, I shall add this humble caution, that our convention consider well their power, which I do conceive, is too scanty to make a new king; though it may call home that, to whom we have most, if not all of us, sworn allegiance. Nay, let me say further, if our case were so desperate that no remedy would serve but creating a new king, our convention has not enough of our fellow-subjects for the rest to be concluded by. When things are transacted, according to the known laws and ancient customs, the usual deputies may deliver and state the intentions of the people; but when so many and great alterations must be made in the building, that is to be for the common convenience, every man thinketh himself worthy to be consulted, as well as the greatest architect, when he is to dwell in the house. Parliaments, that are called by kings, cannot make kings; and a convention not called by a king, and as narrow-bottomed as a parliament, nor is yet less a parliament, because it wants the sanction, a parliament has: if then it seems a solecism, that a meeting, less than a parliament, can make a king, without whom a parliament cannot be; what shall we think of this convention's making a king of him, that makes the convention? Can you act lawfully upon an unlawful call, or an unlawful convention make him a lawful king? We are taught by an English proverb, 'that no stream rises higher than its fountain.' How is it possible for them to give authority to govern, that have none, but what they receive from him, who, by our law, can have none, to give? Sir, this is neither more nor less than for his Highness to make himself king, by a medium of his own; a thing as much below him to do, as it is above us to think of; therefore, if we must go to this work, let us call in more heads to our assistance: but I rather advise, and humbly move, that we pray the Prince, who has been our deliverer, to be our arbitrator, to give limits to prerogative and our liberty, to secure us that are the Protestant subjects, in our religion, and to shew the king what sort of liberty he only ought to expect for his Roman-catholic subjects: I say, let us beseech him to call back the king for these great ends, the accomplishing of which will make both king and kingdom happy, and the great Prince of Orange renowned in all the histories of Europe, as well as in our annals.

A Philosophical Essay, treating of the most probable Cause of that grand Mystery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea.

London; Printed by T. M. for T. Passinger, at the Three Bibles, on the Middle of London-Bridge, 1673.

[Quarto; containing eighteen pages.]

To the learned and judicious Sir John Marsham, of Whoornes-Place in Kent, Knight and Baronet, one of the Six Clerks of his Majesty's High-Court of Chancery.

SIR,

WHEN the Sun opens the curtains of the East, and gilds and enamels the fringes of the firmament with his early beams, the lesser lights resign themselves up to his, and muffle themselves up in their own obscurity, as being vanquished with an excess of splendour: so the meaner and pettier censures shall look faint and dim, if you, that are the great luminary in the orb of Learning, shall shed a propitious beam and influence upon this crude essay; which will not only rescue it from the virulency of detraction, but so foment and improve it, that it will bourge on and flourish under your protection. So that, though it owe its birth to my pen, it will intitle its verdure and perfection to your candid acceptance of it; now it is offered up to yours, from the hands of him, who is,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Servant,
THOMAS PHILIPOT.

THERE is a huge variety of opinions, that intitle themselves to have unwound the cause of this grand mystery of nature, 'the Flux and Reflux of the Sea'; but they are erected upon untenable principles, and so intertwined and complicated, that I may say of them, as Florus did of the mountainous inhabitants of the Alps, *Pluris erat invenire quàm vincere*; 'It is a greater difficulty to trace out and unravel them, than to subvert or dismantle them.'

The First Opinion is,

Of Leonardus Lessius; who affirms, that the motion of reciprocation or replication, commonly styled, the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, intitles its primitive and original causality, to the supernatural guidance and managery of an angel; but if the strength of man be seen in his reason, and the strength of reason evidenced in his judgment, and the strength of judgment manifested in his knowledge, all these three, by this frail opinion, must be destroyed: for, who will ever attempt by a noble winnowing and industrious pursuit and inquest after the more eminent but cloudy and abstruse causes of nature, to unlock the mysteries of them, which are laid up in her gloomy cabinet; when he can affirm, that their operation owes its original emanation, or efflux, to the supernatural conduct of an angel, and this at last will become the common sanctuary to shelter a universal ignorance? Indeed, I do not deny, but the hand of God's special Providence is sometimes stretched out and extended to support nature, when she is feeble and faint in her operations, or else to knit and twist extraordinary causes with extraordinary effects, when she is not able to perfect and perform this union, and then only when she is defective either

in her strength, or in her light; but to do it always, and assert that these extraordinary efforts of God's special Providence are visibly manifested at all times, and in all seasons, is to ravel and discompose the chain of second causes, whose operations are still interwoven with the concurrence and concomitance of the first. But the irregularity of this opinion will further appear by this question, Why have not the Baltick, Euxine, and Caspian Seas, this flux and reflux of waters, by this angelical motion; since they are as capable of it, as other parts of the ocean abroad, that daily receive it? Besides, it is absurd to imagine that seas, divided by such vast intervals, should at one and the same instant swell into tides, and fall into ebbings, by the transport and managery of one single angel; and yet these waters, being equally moved, should produce such different fluxes and refluxes. And now, I hope, by this time, wise men will laugh at this opinion, not in applause, but contempt of the vanity of it.

The Second Opinion is,

That of our countryman Lydiat, who avers, that the Flux and Reflux of the Sea owes its primitive efficiency to subterraneous fires, fed and fomented by a stock either of sulphurous or else of bituminous matter: but this position of his meets with so many ruinous and destructive difficulties, that it is almost impossible to reconcile it to truth: for it is by all agreed, that the flux and reflux of the sea is periodical in its revolution, and so determined, fixed, and certain. But, if this opinion of his should be assented to; where there is not this collection of sulphurous and bituminous matter (as on the coast of Norway, and other places), there would be no tides at all. Besides, where this stock of combustible matter is wholly wasted and impaired, the flux and reflux of the sea must wholly cease. But then, secondly, Why should not the Dead-Sea in Palestine, or the Lake Asphaltites, (that has such an eminent congestion of bitumen transfused through the bowels of it,) be capable of prodigious tides? But this, we know, is contradicted by all experience. Thirdly, Why should not the Baltick Sea, that is replenished with many bituminous particles, as appears from the generation of amber (which most do conclude to be a coagulum or concretion of salt, sulphur, and bitumen, and which is frequently found upon the coast of Liesland, Courland, and Prussia,) have these tides and ebbings, which every one knows to be contrary to all observation? Fourthly, Why do not the tides upon the coasts of Sicily and Naples swell to a very important height; since both their circumambient shores abound with such a copious quantity of sulphur? But this we know is evidently false; the sea not swelling upon those coasts to a diameter of above three or four feet, when it is at the highest. But, last of all, if you ask Lydiat, what superior cause produces these subterraneous fires? he will tell you, that it is the reflexion of the beams of the sun upon the convex superficies of the sea. To this I answer, that by the consent of many eminent philosophers, the rays of the sun never operate by penetration upon that watery body above fifteen cubits; and so impossible, where the sea is of any considerable depth, to produce these subterraneous fires. And thus, I think, I have sufficiently disarmed his opinion.

The Third Opinion is,

That the Flux and Reflux of the Sea is caused by some prodigious eddies and whirlpools, that suck and transport the sea from the North to the South; and from the South to the North. That there is such a vast whirlpool upon the coast of Norway, is most certain, which is by mariners styled, 'the Navel of the Sea;' but that there is such an one in the Southern hemisphere to refund back the sea by a motion of replication, no observations either of Ramusius, Linschoten, or the more curious De Leat, have ever discovered to us; whose searches and inquisitions into the mysteries of the East-Indian and West-Indian Seas were never yet cavilled or quarrelled at. Besides, if there were any such in those parts, upon the reciprocal return of the Southern waters toward the North; that multitude of angry circles, which discompose (by reason of that voluminous whirlpool) the face of the Norwegian Sea, would every twenty-four hours disband, and be smooth, as the aspect of peace; and even as the margin of a pool, when it is not disordered into

wrinkles by the rough breath of a ruder tempest. But this is contradictory to the daily observation of the inhabitants that confine upon the fringes of this stupendous whirlpool. Thus, I think likewise, this opinion, that is supported by such feeble crutches, is at last overturned.

The Fourth Opinion.

But, as some have found out a navel, so Kepler hath found out the lungs of the sea : for he asseveres the terrestrial globe to be but one great animal, and that the Flux and Reflux of the Sea does proceed from the systole and diastole, or the contraction and expansion of its spacious lungs. But then I ask, first, Whether does this motion result, either from air, or some spirit? Or, secondly, Does it issue either from a sensitive or rational soul? And, thirdly, I enquire, Upon what coast these prodigious lungs are situated? And until the abettors of this wild opinion (if there be any such) do give some satisfactory answers to these queries, this opinion is demolished by a bare negation of it.

The Fifth Opinion is,

Of *Picus Mirandula*; that this increase and decrease of water is caused *per mutuas & benevolas aquarum allicientias*; that is, by a motion of aggregation or sympathetical connexion; by which, water does vigorously endeavour to unite and combine with water. But if this were granted, streams would seek to intwine with streams, and lakes twist with lakes; till, at last, long before this, the world must have suffered under the angry baptism of a public deluge. Secondly, Where there is this motion of aggregation or connexion, the tides would swell to an important height, as in the Caspian, Euxine, and Baltick Seas; where all geographers, that have displayed to us the topography of those places, have discovered to us, that a multitude of huge rivers do daily disembody themselves. And, on the other side, those seas that do not swell with the additional supplies of very few or no rivers, (as the Norwegian ocean, and others,) would have very little or no tides at all; both which are evidently false, and repugnant to daily observation. Therefore, this opinion of his, established upon such frail principles, does easily shrink and languish into its own ruin.

The Sixth Opinion,

Does aver, that the sea does intitle the causality of its Flux and Reflux to some currents that either set from East to West, or from North to South. But, if this were assented to, the Red-Sea, the Euxine Sea, and the Baltick Sea, would improve themselves to a huge increase of tides; considering all three are fed by a communication of perpetual currents. But this is manifestly false; for the Red-Sea and Euxine have little or no tides, and the Baltick Sea none at all. Therefore I wave this opinion as altogether erroneous.

The Seventh Opinion,

Intitles the motion of the Earth to be the cause of the motion of the Sea. Those who abet this opinion, affirm three things: First, That the earth and sea have but one centre, to render the whole globe more regularly and uniformly orbicular, and so more apt for that motion they are designed to receive. Secondly, They assert, that every part and particle of this spherical body is so tied and threaded together by a magnetical union, that it is impossible that the least atom should start out of its natural situation; being fastened and fettered to its station, by so inexpugnable a magnetism. Thirdly, That its motion is circular. Now the flux and reflux of the sea is *motus transversus*, or a motion of reciprocation and rejection, like water that is justled, and thrown from side to side, in a pail or bowl: now, if it should move circularly, every part would move so evenly and magnetically, that there would be no flux or reflux of the sea at all. Secondly, since the Euxine, Baltick, and Caspian Seas, are such considerable parts of this globous body, they must move equally with it, if it move at all; and then why have they not the same flux and reflux, as other seas have, since they have the same aptitude, or natural intrinsic capacity, to receive this motion, as other seas have? But that they have not flux or reflux

at all, is demonstratively true. But whether this opinion be so or no, I refer to the scrutiny of the judicious reader. Indeed, I could wish that those, who defend the motion of the earth, would produce more vigorous arguments to fortify and secure their thesis, merely to subvert the pope's infallibility; one of whom, not many years since, by a signal determination and definition, *ex cathedrâ*, blasted it for impious and heretical, and condemned the obstinate assertors of it, to his truest purgatory, the Inquisition.

The Eighth Opinion is,

That the Sun is the sole, primary, and efficient cause of this Flux and Reflux. That the sun is a partial, concurrent, or concomitant cause, I affirm; but that it is the sole and principal, I deny, and that upon these foundations: for, if it should be, the tides, in the vast wilderness of the Northern seas, would upon the *apogæum*, or recess of the sun, shrink and contract themselves, for want of his vigorous excitation to a considerable decrease; and again, upon his *perigæum*, or nearest approach, swell to an important magnitude; both which are evidently false: for it is generally observed, that about the autumnal æquinox, and sometimes after, the tides, in those seas abovesaid, are improved and increased to an extraordinary height; and on the contrary, about the summer-solstice, they suffer a sensible and visible diminution and decrease, rather than any augmentation: both which were absurd to imagine, if the sun was the sole efficient cause. Secondly, Why should not the Caspian, Euxine, and Baltick Seas, be capable of this motion, since they are also exposed to the impressions of the sun, either perpendicular, or by vibration, when he is in, or near his *perigæum*? But this they have not, is evident; and therefore, the sun is not the prime, sole, and efficient cause of the flux and reflux of the sea.

The Ninth Opinion is,

That the Moon is the principal cause of this marine motion. That it is a subservient, concurrent, and concomitant cause, I shall grant; but that it is the sole efficient, I shall never affirm; for if it were, it would universally and equally move all seas, especially when they are under its *perigæum*, and then the Baltick, Euxine, and Caspian Seas would be capable of this flux and reflux likewise; but that they are not, is apparently evident. I know it is objected, that the moon hath a principal efficiency in the flowings of the sea; because it is observed, that when she is in her sextile, and in her full, shell-fish do swell and increase to an unusual bulk and corpulency: but to this I answer, that this is produced not by any direct causality of the moon, but only by accident; for those great tides, which intervene at those times, transport with them a large quantity of mud and sillage, which treasure up a fat slimy unctuous juice, which shell-fish greedily sucking in, by the supply of so luscious an aliment, enlarge themselves to that dimension they arrive at, at those seasons.

The Tenth Opinion,

Which I adhere to, is; that there is a vitriolated, volatile, or armoniac salt or spirit, that is wrapped up in the bowels of the sea, and lies there clasped up and imprisoned in the embraces of the fixed and nitrous salt; which upon its excitation, by the agitation of the superficies of the sea, and the opening of it, by the combined and complicated impressions of the sun and moon, dislodges from its inclosure, and shoots itself up to the watery margin, and drags along with it, that heap of waters we style the Flux, (though I do not deny, but that it is something aided and assisted in this operation by an elater or spring of air, that being rescued from its compression and confinement, ascends up with it,) and upon closing and contracting its face upon the recess of those two great luminaries, shrinks back again, and with it pulls along that mass of waters, it before had elevated, and this produces the Reflux. And this opinion is supported by three experiments. The first is, that of Zuingerus, a modern chymist, cited by Fromondus, in his Book of Meteors; who observed that some sort of chymical oil of vitriol did ascend and descend in times proportionate and adequate to the flux and reflux of the sea. The second is, that of Atha-

nasius Kircherus, in his '*Mundus Subterraneus*,' who there discovers to us, that an infusion of sal-armoniac, lodged in an open vessel, and placed obliquely to receive the influence of the moon; when she was in her sextile, did increase and decrease, as if it held an equal correspondence, by an uninterrupted chain of atoms, with the flowings and ebbings of the marine waters. The third is that of Greatric's glasses, upon whose sides if you beat with important onsets, they resist their impression, but break it at the top, and it flies in pieces with much violence and tumult; and the reason is, because the armoniac or volatile salt, that lay imprisoned, and cloistered up, in the claspings and circumscription of the nitrous or fixed salt, finding itself infranchised and redeemed from the strict inclosures of those two rigid adversaries, sallies out, with an impetuous eagerness, and that eruption occasions that disorder and concussion.

But I know it will be objected, Why have not the Euxine, Baltick, and Caspian Seas, their flux and reflux likewise; since it is probable their waters imprisoned as great a stock of vitriolated, volatile, or armoniac salt, as other seas are intrusted with, that have the vicissitudes? To this I answer, that it is as probable they have not: but suppose they had, yet its volatile spirit is checked and depressed by that multitude of vast and deep rivers, that perpetually disgorge themselves into those seas above-said: and it is likewise possible, that there is a considerable quantity of sulphur, bitumen, fixed and nitrous salt, conducted along with their currents, whose fixing quality may improve the depression of the vitriolated and armoniac particles, and so benumb their volatility, that it is almost impossible for the united influences of the sun and moon, to excite their so stupified vigour. But if it be enquired how it happens, (since so many capacious streams disembody themselves into those seas,) that the neighbouring territories do not suffer under a constant inundation? I answer, that the water that is treasured up in the cells and caverns of the earth, (which it is probable, here are more than ordinary copious,) entice and allure back the marine waters, *per motum nexûs*, by a motion of adherence, aggregation, union, and connexion; and so by a continual circulation, reimburse, and new-stock the rivers with additional streams, which are daily paid, in so profuse a tribute, to the vast exchequer of their watery sovereign.

And thus have I, as compendiously as might be, wound up this essay: yet I am not so confident to believe, but that posterity may by new discoveries, and scrutinies, (for arts are not yet in their solstice, nor knowledge in its zenith,) improve it to greater advantage of the publick, than could be expected from this faint result of my pen. In the interim, I shall desire the reader, to acquiesce in that amicable and ingenuous determination of the poet,

———*Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.*

Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

‘**W**HOSOEVER will be saved; before all things, it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.’

A good life is of absolute necessity to Salvation: but a right belief in these points, that have been always controverted in the churches of God, is in no degree necessary, much

less necessary before all things. He that leads a profane or vicious life, sins against a plain acknowledged rule, and the express unquestioned words and letter of the Divine Law, and the dictates of natural conscience: he wilfully refuses to advert to these monitors, and, therefore, can no way palliate or excuse his wickedness. But he that errs in a question of Faith, after having used reasonable diligence to be rightly informed, is in no fault at all; his error is pure ignorance. Not a culpable ignorance: for how can it be culpable, not to know that, of which a man is ignorant, after a diligent and impartial enquiry?

‘Which Faith, except a man keep whole and undefiled; without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.’

By keeping this Faith whole and undefiled, must be meant, (if any thing be meant,) that a man should believe and profess it, without adding to it, or taking from it. If we take from it, we do not keep it whole; if we add aught to it, we do not keep it undefiled: and either way we shall perish everlastingly.

First, for adding. What if an honest plain man, because he is a Christian and a Protestant, should think it necessary to add this article to the Athanasian Creed: ‘I believe the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to be a divine, infallible, and complete rule, both for faith and manners?’ I hope no Protestant would think a man should be damned for such addition: and, if so, then this Creed of Athanasius is at least an unnecessary rule of Faith.

Then, for taking aught from this Creed; the whole Greek church (diffused through so many provinces) rejects, as heretical, that period of it, ‘The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son;’ contending, that the Holy Spirit is from the Father only. Which, also, they clearly and demonstratively prove, as we shall see in its proper place. And, for the menace here of Athanasius, that ‘they shall perish everlastingly,’ they laugh at it, and say, “he was drunk when he made this Creed;” Gennad. Schol. Abp. of Constantinople.

‘And the Catholic Faith is this.’

Catholic Faith is as much as to say in plain English, the faith of the whole church. Now in what age was this, which here follows, the faith of the whole church? Not in the age of Athanasius himself; who for this faith, and for seditious practices, was banished from Alexandria in Egypt, where he was bishop, no less than four times; whereof the first was by Constantine the Great. He was also condemned in his own life-time by six councils, as an heretick and seditious person. Of these councils, that at Milan consisted of three-hundred bishops; and that at Ariminum, of five-hundred and fifty; the greatest convention of bishops that ever was. This consent of the churches of God, against him and his doctrine, occasioned that famous proverb, ‘Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius.’

For the times before and after, the curious reader may see Chr. Sandius’s Ecclesiastical History; in which the learned author gives a large account, by what, and whose means, the Athanasian and Trinitarian faith did at length prevail, against the antient belief of but one God, or but One who is God. Therefore *quare*, with what forehead, the author of this Creed calls this, ‘the Catholic Faith;’ or, faith of the whole church? When it is certain, it has been so in no age; and least of all in the author’s.

‘The Catholic Faith is this, That we worship one God in Trinity; and, Trinity in Unity.’

He means here, that we must so worship the one true God, as to remember he is three Persons; and so worship the three Persons, as to bear in mind, that they are but one substance, or Godhead, or God. So the author explains himself in the three next articles, which are these:

‘Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance: for there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost; but the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one.’ Therefore, all these articles make indeed but one article, which is this: The one true God is three distinct

Persons; and three distinct Persons (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,) are the one true God.

Plainly, as if a man should say, Peter, James, and John, being three persons, are one man; and one man is these three distinct persons, Peter, James, and John. Is it not now a ridiculous attempt, as well as a barbarous indignity, to go about thus to make asses of all mankind; under pretence of teaching them a creed, and things divine, to despoil them of their reason, the image of God, and the character of our nature? But let us, in two words, examine the parts of this monstrous proposition, as it is laid down in the Creed itself.

‘Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance.’

But how can we not confound the Persons, that have, they say, but one numerical substance? And how can we but divide the substance, which we find in three distinct divided Persons?

‘There is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost.’

Then the Son is not the Father, nor is the Father the Son, nor the Holy Ghost either of them. I shall not need to prove this consequence; not only because it is evident, but because it is acknowledged by the Trinitarians. But if the Father is not the Son, and yet is, by confession of all, the one true God; then the Son is not the one true God, because he is not the Father. The reason is self-evident: for, how can the Son be the one true God, if he is not he who is the one true God? After the same manner it may be proved, that on the Athanasian principles, neither the Father, nor Holy Spirit are, or can be God, or the one true God; for neither of them is the Son, who is the one true God; according to Athanasius, and all Trinitarians. For they all say, the Father is the one true God, the Son is the one true God, and the Holy Ghost is the one true God. Which is a threefold contradiction; because there is but one true God, and one of these Persons is not the other. But if it be a contradiction, it is certainly false: for every contradiction, being made up of inconsistencies, destroys itself, and is its own confutation.

‘The Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the glory equal, the majesty coëternal.’

The meaning of the last clause is, That the glory and majesty of the Son and Holy Spirit is equal to the glory and majesty of the Father; or, the Son and Holy Spirit are equally glorious and majestic with God the Father.

Therefore I ask, Whether the glory and majesty, with which the Son and Spirit are glorious and majestic, be the same in number (that is, the very same) with which the Father is glorious and majestic; or only the same for kind and degree? If it be not the same in number, then the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, is not, as this Creed teaches, all one; and they are not one and the same God. For two infinite and distinct glories, and majesties, make two Gods, and three make three Gods, as every one sees; and, to say true, the Trinitarians themselves confess. It remains therefore, that (they say) the glory and majesty of the Son and Spirit is the same in number, and not for kind and degree only, with that of the Father. But then it follows, that the glory and majesty of these Persons is neither equal nor coëternal. Not equal; for it is the same, which equals never are: nor coëternal, for this also plainly intimates, that they are distinct; for, how coëternal, if not distinct? Do we say, a thing is coëternal or contemporary with itself? Therefore, this article also doth impugn and destroy itself. Besides, if the glory and majesty of the three Persons be numerically the same, then so are all their other Attributes. From whence it follows, that there is not any real difference between the three Persons, and they are only three several names of God; which is the heresy of the Sabellians.

In the next place, this Creed teaches, that ‘The Father is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, all-mighty; the Son is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, all-mighty; the Holy Spirit is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, all-mighty. Also, that each of these Persons by himself is God and Lord: so that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy

‘ Ghost is God ; yet there are not three Gods or Lords, nor three Incomprehensibles, nor three Almightyies, nor three Eternals or Uncreated.’

Now if, in imitation of this, a man should have a mind to say : ‘ The Father is a Person, the Son is a Person, and the Holy Ghost is a Person ; yet not three Persons, but one Person.’ I would know, why this were not as good grammar and arithmetick, as when Athanasius says, ‘ The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God ; yet not three Gods, but one God.’ Or, when he says, ‘ The Father is uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Ghost uncreated ; yet not three Uncreated, but one Uncreated ;’ and so of the rest ?

Doth not a man contradict himself, when the term or terms, in his negation, are the same with those in his affirmation ? If not, then it may be true, that ‘ The Father is a Person, the Son is a Person, the Holy Ghost is a Person ; yet there are not three Persons, but one Person.’ For all the fault here is only this, that in the last clause, the term Person is denied to belong to more than one ; when, in the first, it had been affirmed of no fewer than three. For the same reason, it must be a contradiction to say, ‘ The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God ; yet there are not three Gods, but one God :’ for the term GOD is at last denied to belong to more than one ; though, in the first clause, it was affirmed of three. Will they say, that in these words, ‘ There are not three Gods, but one God,’ the term GOD is not denied to belong to more than one, or is not appropriated to one ? If so, then there are not three Persons, but one Person : and again, there are not three men, but one man. Then I say, these propositions do not deny the terms person and man to belong to more than one, or appropriate them to one only ; which yet every body confesses they do.

But here is a numerical, or arithmetical, as well as grammatical contradiction. For, in saying, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost ; yet not three Gods, but one God : a man first distinctly numbers three Gods ; and then, in summing them up, brutishly says, ‘ Not three Gods, but one God.’

To these things it will, perhaps, be answered ; that when we say, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost ; or thus, ‘ The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God ;’ the term GOD is used personally : but, when it is said, ‘ There are not three Gods, but one God ;’ the term GOD is used essentially, and therefore comprehends the whole three Persons : so that there is neither a grammatical, nor arithmetical contradiction. But this remedy is worse, if possible, than the disease ; for it owns that there are three personal Gods, though there is but one essential God ; and that, otherwise, the propositions, of which we are speaking, would imply all the aforesaid contradictions. This remedy, I say, is worse than the disease : for, 1. Three personal Gods, and one essential God, make four Gods ; if the essential God be not the same with the personal Gods : and though he is the same with them, yet since they are not the same with one another, but distinct ; it follows, that there are three Gods, that is, three personal Gods. 2. It introduces two sorts of true Gods, three personal, and one essential. But the Christian Religion knows and owns but One true and most high God, of any sort. And I would know of the Trinitarians, whether they dare say, in express words, there are two sorts of true Gods ?

‘ For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity, to acknowledge every Person by himself to be Lord and God,’ &c.

By the ‘ Christian Verity,’ I suppose is meant, the sacred books which contain the Christian Religion ; that is, the Books of the Old and New Testaments. But do these books ; and does this verity compel us to the acknowledgment of three Persons, each of which is, by himself, supreme God and Lord ; and yet, all of them together, but one God ? Doth, I say, the Holy Scripture compel us to this contradictory acknowledgment ? Is there any text alleged from Scripture, which all the Unitarians, and some or other of the most learned Trinitarians, do not easily interpret in such sense, that the Unity of God is preserved ; and, no more than one Person, even the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, acknowledged to be God ?—(See the History of the Unitarians.) But, if there is no text

of Scripture, but what is, in the opinion of some or other of their own learned men, fairly capable of a sense contrary to the Faith delivered in this Creed, then we are not compelled to acknowledge this Faith. And the truth is, the contest between the Unitarians and Trinitarians is not, as is commonly thought, a clash of reason with Scripture: but it lieth here, Whether, when the Holy Scriptures may be understood as teaching only one God, or but One who is God, which agrees with the rest of Scripture, and with natural reason; we must, notwithstanding, prefer an interpretation of it that is absurd, and contrary to itself, to reason, and to the rest of Scripture; such as the Trinitarian interpretation, expressed in this Creed, appears to be? In a word, the question only is, Whether we ought to interpret Holy Scripture when it speaks of God, according to reason, or not; that is, like fools, or like wise men?

‘The Son is of the Father alone; not made, nor created, but begotten.’

Here, and in the next period, Athanasius is got into his altitudes, or profundities, which you will. Here it is, that the ignorant think they are taught the inmost secrets of theological knowledge: but *high* and *low* are not more contrary, than the things which are here affirmed as equal truths.

If the creed-maker had spoken here of the generation of the Son by the Divine power on the Virgin Mary, it would have been true, that ‘the Son is neither made, nor created, but ‘begotten:’ but then the first part of the article would be false, ‘That the Son is of the ‘Father alone;’ for he, that has a father and a mother, is of both. But, since he speaks of the (pretended) eternal generation; the latter part of the article is false, and inconsistent with the first part of it. Every novice in grammar or proper speaking knows, that ‘begotten,’ when it is distinguished from ‘made’ and ‘created,’ always supposes two parents, a mother, as well as a father. It is, therefore, a contradiction to say, ‘The Son is of the ‘Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten:’ for, if he is begotten, he cannot be of the Father alone; and if he is of the Father alone, he is not begotten, but either made, or created.

‘The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.’

The first fault here is, that the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, and from the Son. To which heresy the Greek church have ever opposed those clear words, John xv. 26: ‘When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father; ‘even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father; he shall testify of me.’

Secondly, He saith here, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeding; he adds, shortly after, that ‘he, who will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.’ Therefore, surely, ‘begotten’ and ‘proceeding’ differ very much, and very clearly; else, it is an harsh sentence, That we shall be damned, if we do not conceive, besides all other inconceivable mysteries of this Creed, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeds. Yet, after all, it is now confessed, by the most learned Trinitarians, that ‘begotten’ and ‘proceeding’ differ nothing at all; and that it is rightly said, The Son proceeds from the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is generated of both, directly contrary to this Creed. It follows, that Athanasius has damned the whole world, for not distinguishing, where no distinction can be made; at least with any certainty. And, perhaps, this damning humour of his, has justly provoked some to write him, not *S. Athanasius*; but drawing the *S* a little nearer, *Sathanasius*.

‘So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, ‘not three Holy Ghosts.’

In consistence with what goes before, he should have said, two Fathers, two Sons, and three Holy Ghosts, or Spirits. For the Second Person is the Son of the First, and the Third proceeds (which is nothing else but *is generated*) from the First and Second; which makes two Fathers, and two Sons; and all three of them are Holy Spirits: for the Father is an Holy Spirit, and so is the Son, no less than the Third Person. But this is not the first time, in this Creed, that Athanasius has discovered he could not count.

‘In this Trinity, none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another.’

Yet the Son himself saith, John xiv. 28: ‘My Father is greater than I.’ And, for the

other clause, 'None is afore, or after other;' it is just as true, as that there is no difference between 'afore,' and 'after.' I ask, Whether the Son doth not, as he is a Son, derive both life and Godhead from the Father? All Trinitarians agree, he does: grounding themselves on the Nicene Creed, which expressly calls the Son 'God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made.' But, if the Father gave to the Son life and Godhead, he must have both, before he could communicate or give either of them to the Son; and consequently was, before the Son was. No effect is so early as its cause; for, if it were, it should not have needed, or had that for its cause. No proposition in Euclid is more certain or evident than this.

'The right Faith is, That we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man.'

Then the Lord Christ is two Persons; for, as he is God, he is the Second Person of the (pretended) Trinity; and as he is man ('a perfect man,' as this Creed afterwards speaks), he is also a Person: for a rational soul, vitally united to an human body, is a person, if there be any such thing as a person upon earth; nay, it is the only thing upon earth, that is a person. Let the Athanasians, therefore, either say, that the Lord Christ is two persons, (which is the heresy of Nestorius, condemned in a general council;) or, that he is not a Man; contrary to 1 Tim. ii. 5, 'There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ;' or, that he is not God; which is the truth.

'Who, although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one CHRIST; one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into GOD; one, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.'

But, because these words, 'One, by taking of the Manhood into GOD, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh;' and again, 'One, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person;' cannot readily be understood by themselves; therefore the creed-maker explains them, in this following article. 'For, as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man; so God and Man is one CHRIST.' That is; as a soul, united vitally to a body, maketh one person, called Man, without confounding the two substances of soul and body; for the soul remains what it was, and so also does the body; so God the Son, being united to a reasonable soul and body, doth, together with them, make one Person, called CHRIST, without confounding the substances of the Divinity, or Humanity: for the Divinity remains, without the least change, what it was; and so doth the Humanity, or reasonable soul and body. This is the only offer at sense, that is to be found in this whole Creed; but so far from explicating, that it farther perplexes the difficulty of the (pretended) Incarnation; as will appear by these two considerations.

1. In the personal union of a soul with a body, the union is between two finite things; but, in the (pretended) personal union of God to man, and man to God, the union is between finite and infinite; which, on the principles of the Trinitarians, is impossible. For we must either suppose, that finite and infinite are commensurate, that is, equal; which every one knows is false; or that the finite is united but to some part of the infinite, and is disjoined from the rest; which all Trinitarians deny and abhor.

You will say, If they admit neither of these; how do they shew the possibility of the incarnation, or union of God and Man? They tell you, God indeed is infinite, and every reasonable soul and body, even that of Christ, is finite; yet the whole God and whole Man are united: because, as the whole eternity of God doth co-exist to a moment of time; so the whole immensity of God is in every mathematical point of space. The very truth is, they cannot otherwise defend the incarnation, or personal union of an infinite God to finite man; but, withal, it must be owned, that then the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation do infer, imply, and suppose all the contradictions, that Mr. Johnson has objected to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, in that little golden tract so deservedly esteemed by all. His whole book and all his demonstrations are founded on these two suppositions: That a longer time doth not all of it co-exist to a shorter; nor is a greater extension constricted or contained in a less, much less in a mathematical point. Therefore, all his book, and all that he hath so well said and argued, in the preface, concerning the authority and

judicature of reason in matters of religion, equally and effectually destroys the doctrines of the Trinity and Transubstantiation. If the reader would have an excellent book, let him procure that. But oh! were the press as free for the Unitarians, as it is for other Protestants; how easily would they make it appear, that the follies and contradictions, so justly charged on the Transubstantiation, are neither, for number, consequence, nor clearness, any way comparable to those implied in the Athanasian Creed! And that the Trinity hath the same, and no other foundation, with the Transubstantiation! So that we must of necessity admit both, or neither. If the Church is to interpret Scripture for us, we must admit both; but, if reason, we can admit neither; and this, I think, the Trinitarians will not deny.

But, secondly, in the (pretended) incarnation or union of God with man, the union cannot be personal, as it is between the soul and body: it cannot, I mean, be such an union, as to make but one person. The union of the soul and body may be properly personal, that is, may constitute or make one person, because it is not the union of two persons, but only of one person, the soul, to a thing otherwise without life, reason, memory, or free-will. The body is but, as it were, the garment of the soul, and is wholly acted by it, and depending on it: but, in the (pretended) union of God with a man, there are two distinct and very different lives, memories, reasons, and free-wills; which utterly destroys a personal union: for that supposes but one life, one reason, one memory, one free-will. For, if these things, which constitute a person, are found more than once, there is no longer one person, but two; and consequently no personal union, in the sense of which we are speaking.

‘This is the Catholic Faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.’

By *believing*, Athanasius doth not mean bare believing, but he includeth also therein profession; for he saith a little before: ‘The right faith is, That we believe and confess,’ &c. So that a man cannot be saved, unless he believes and professes, as this Creed directs him.

First, For believing: What if a man cannot believe it? Are we obliged, under the penalty of the loss of salvation, to believe it, whether we can, or no? Doth God require of any man an impossible condition, in order to salvation?

Secondly, As to professing, under pain of damnation: What if it be against a man’s conscience to profess it? The Scripture saith, ‘Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin:’ if therefore a man profess against his conscience, he sins; and if, notwithstanding this, a man must either profess, or be damned, then God requires some men to sin in order to their salvation. But this we are sure is false, and therefore that the menace in the article is vain.

And now I appeal to all men, that have any freedom of judgment remaining: Whether this Creed is fit to be retained in any Christian, much less Protestant and Reformed church? Since it subverts the foundations, not only of Christianity, but of all Religion, that is to say, reason and Revelation: there being no principle in reason and Scripture more evident, than that ‘God is One;’ or that there is one Almighty, only Wise and Good Person, or Father of all. If we cannot be sure of this, then Religion and Christianity are built upon fancy only, and have no solid foundation.

This Creed may be professed by the Roman political church, because it gives countenance to their absurd Transubstantiation, and cunning traditions added to Scripture; as those doctrines do to the gaining of veneration, and consequently dominion and riches to their clergy: but, in a Reformed church, where the Scripture is held to be a complete rule of Faith and manners, and also to be clear and plain in all things necessary to Salvation, even to the meanest understanding, that reads it or hears it with sobriety and attention: such a confession of faith is, I think, intolerable; as being utterly inconsistent with those principles, and reducing us back to the Roman bondage.

Besides, nothing has been or is more scandalous to Jews and Mahometans, than this Creed, the chief article of whose religion is, that there is ‘One only God.’ The evidence

of which principle is such in nature as well as Scripture, that it has propagated Mahometism among greater numbers, than at this day own Christianity : for the sake of that one truth, so many nations have swallowed all the errors and follies of the Alcoran, or that of Mahomet ; as, on the other hand, Christianity has been rejected and detested among them, on the account of the Christians' Three Persons, who are severally and each of them God.

But the mischiefs of this Creed do not stay here ; it is levelled not only against the true Faith, but is also destructive of that love and charity, which is the spirit and life of Christianity ; and, without which, faith is but a lifeless body. For, as if it would effectually inspire all its believers, with a spirit of judging, damning, and uncharitableness ; it pronounces the sentence of eternal damnation, in the beginning, middle, and conclusion, upon all that do not both believe and profess this faith, and keep it whole and undefiled ; that is, upon the whole Greek church, and other churches in the East ; and upon at least five parts of six of all that profess Christianity in the world, whose understandings cannot possibly reach to the sense and coherence, which some pretend to find in this Creed.

Thus the Christian religion is destroyed, in both the essential parts of it, faith and love. Hence have proceeded many and endless controversies, bitter animosities, cruel persecutions, wars among Christians ; and at length, the more fierce and violent, the more deceitful and sophistical part, have attained their tyrannical domination over their opposers ; and have introduced and settled, a Christianity shall I call it, or, a superstition, or a polity, quite contrary to the doctrine and practice of our Blessed Lord, and of his Apostles.

A Description of the most glorious and most magnificent Arches erected at the Hague, for the Reception of William the Third, King of Great-Britain. With all the Mottos and Latin Inscriptions, that were written upon every one of the said Arches. Translated into English from the Dutch.

London: Printed for F. S. and are to be sold by Richard Baldwin, at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1691.

[Folio ; containing eight pages.]

HIS Majesty William the Third of Great-Britain, having made his voyage into Holland, and being arrived at the Hague¹, the most noble and most high the Estates of Holland and West-Friesland, as well as the honourable magistrates of the Hague, gave orders to prepare for a reception correspondent to the majesty of so glorious and so excellent a monarch. To which purpose, their high and mighty lordships, among other things, have erected one Triumphal Arch, and the magistrates two more ; to be set, one in the Piazza, called Buyton-Hoff, the other in the Public Piazza, and the third in the

¹ [Jan. 18, 1691.]

Market-place of the Hague; the figure and structure of which, together with the Latin inscriptions which adorn them, are as follow.

That which was set up at the Buyton-Hoff was a Triumphal Arch, of a most curious Italian architecture, the order compounded Doric, having three open gates, that of the middle being the highest of all, supported backwards and forwards upon eight pillars, underneath upon large basements, separated from the body of the work. Upon every one of those basements, stand two of the said pillars, with a cupola of eight faces upon the said overture: in the middle of which cupola appears a pedestal, upon which is represented his Majesty on horseback, both figures costly gilded. To the horses on each side are tied two slaves, or statues, of a brass colour, prostrate and groveling, and the whole work is coloured, as if it were of free-stone; between the pillars, and upon each side, inward and outward, the spaces are filled with pictures, comprehending some historical representation, and hieroglyphical figure, relating to the life and glorious actions of his Majesty. At the frontispiece of that stately Arch, and upon the fore-mentioned pillars, as well backwards as forwards, and at each side are placed in the same order eight statues of both sexes together, to the height and bigness of the life. In that part of the Arch, which faceth the end of the town, upon a very high pedestal, set above all, on both sides of the round pieces that cover the work, is erected a Neptune, lying down with his trident in his hand, with this motto underneath:

Triumphet in undis. 'Let him triumph upon the seas.'

At the other side of the Arch that looks towards the street, commonly called *Cingel*, upon a like pedestal, a plough-man with a spade in his hand, with this motto underneath; *Attingat solium Jovis.* 'Let him reach to Jupiter's throne.'

Round about the cupola is written the following inscription:

Pio, felici, inclyto, Guilielmo Tertio, triumphanti patriæ patri, gubernatori, P.C.I.P. restauratori Belgii Fæderati, liberatori Angliæ, servatori Scotiæ, pacificatori Hi-bernæ, reduci. 'To the pious, happy, renowned William the Third, the triumphant father of his country, governor, stadtholder, and restorer of the United Netherlands, England's liberator, Scotland's preserver, Ireland's pacificator, now returned.'

Upon the frontispiece, underneath the statues above-mentioned on the side of the Buyton-Hoff, are these following inscriptions:

In the first place,

Post maximas res domi forisque gestas, arctissimo cum principibus icto fædere, suorum vindex, defensor oppressorum. 'After great things done at home and abroad, as having made a strict league with the princes, the revenger of his subjects' wrongs, and defender of the oppressed.'

Under that, and upon a large picture, there is a little table upon which are represented several armed men, fighting a dragon, with this motto,

Uniti fortius obstant. 'Being united, they make a stronger opposition.'

In the second hollow seat this motto,

Mare transvectus, liberat Britanniam, & latè dominantibus ornatus sceptris, in patriam publicâ cum lætitiâ receptus est. 'Being passed beyond sea, he has rescued Great-Britain, and being adorned with sceptres of a vast extended power, he has been received in his own country with all the demonstrations of public joy.'

In the table underneath is represented a balance with the two scales, in one of which are several crowns, and in the other a sword, the sword out-weighing the crowns; with these words,

Premia non æquant. 'Rewards are not answerable to merit.'

In the third hollow seat, this motto,

Lugente patriâ, mærente Europâ, afflictâ antiquissimâ Nassoviorum stirpe, heroïum, imperatorum, principum fœcundâ. 'Our country mourning and bewailing, Europe in

'tears, the most ancient family of Nassau, fertile and producing heroes, emperors, and princes afflicted.'

In a table underneath is represented a phoenix burning, with this sentence:

Præluceat posthuma proles. 'Born after his father's death, shines so much the more.'

In the fourth hollow nich,

Gulielmum posthumum, Britannorum Arausionensiumque tertium, patriæ spem, reipublicæ palladium. 'William born after his father's death, the third of Great-Britain, and of Orange, the hope of his own country, and the support of the common-wealth.'

In a table underneath is represented a sceptre and three crowns with this motto,

Tenues ornant diademata cunæ. 'Tender age an ornament to diadems.'

On the back-side of the said Arch, towards the palace, are also four hollow niches in the frontispiece, with the following inscriptions:

In the first hollow nich,

Fatum, Europæ favens, dedit de cælo, futuram portendens majestatem, admodum puerum, exemplar constituit. 'Fate, favourable to Europe, has bestowed him from heaven, and portending his future majesty, fixed him for an example, when he was but very young.'

As on the other side, above a large picture, there is a little table, upon which is represented a young eagle flying upwards against the rising of the sun; with this motto,

Tener adversis enititur alis. 'Young and tender as he is, he strives with all the force of his wings against the wind.'

In the second,

Zui juventute strenuè transactâ, funestis jactatâ bellis ac dissidiis in tanto rerum discrimine. 'Who having spent his youth in many hardships, tossed with funest wars and seditions, in so much hazard, vanquished all before him.'

In the table underneath is represented a castle upon a hill, at the foot of which is a javelin planted, from which spring up two branches of laurel, with these words,

Contorta triumphos portendit. 'Darted forth it presages triumphs.'

In the third,

Nutantis Belgii, quâ mari, quâ terrâ admotus, in pristinum decus gubernaculi, gloriam, aras & focos asseruit. 'The Netherlands tottering, and he made chief commander by sea and land, has re-established the government in its first lustre, conserved our religion, and secured the people.'

In the table underneath is a boat with some armed men in it, who row it forward; with this inscription,

Alter erit Tethys. 'There will be another Tethys.'

In the fourth hollow seat,

Meritis famam superantibus trophæis, principiatavis regibus editæ, felicibus junctis hymenæis. 'His merited triumphs surmounting fame itself, more glorious still by happy marriage with a princess, born of royal ancestors.'

In the table underneath, are an unicorn and a lion, going side by side, the unicorn thrusting with his horn a heap of serpents and vipers; with these words,

Virusque fugant viresque repellunt. 'They drive away the venom and repel the force of it.'

On the one side of the pedestal, where is the King on horseback, are these words written,

Populi salus. 'The people's welfare.' *Procerum decus.* 'The glory of the States.'

Within the Arch's ceiling are four different historical representations, in four tables separated one from another, and each of them has an inscription: that of the first table is,

Refert Saturnia regna. 'He reviveth the Golden Age.'

In the second table,

Novos orbes nova sceptra paramus. 'We are preparing for new worlds and new sceptres.'

In the third,

Superare & parcere vestrum est. ‘Your part it is to overcome and to forgive.’

In the fourth,

Cætera transibunt. ‘All other things are transitory.’

The Arch itself is adorned both before and behind, and at the top of the afore-mentioned overtures, you see the arms of England, and the supporters withal; and of the large overture, both behind and before, the arms of Holland, and two flying Fames at each side of them, blowing their trumpets.

The Description of the Arch in the Public Piazza.

This Triumphal Arch is, as the other, of a very fine and stately architecture, with pillars coloured like marble, red and white; and the rest of the body of the work of marble, black and white; the basis and the chapiter gilded with four great pictures, two behind, and two before, set between the forementioned pillars, drawn in lively colours: the two that are foremost, representing a battle of the Romans by sea and land; and the two that are behind, one representing War, and the other Peace: War, with a flaming world, near which, several persons represented, some dead, and some alive, make Justice lie down in distress. Peace, with a world, upon which Justice and Peace standing, embrace one another; and by them is the god Pan, and his companions, making themselves merry with some fruits of the earth. At the upper part of the Arch in the middle, is a pedestal, upon which is the King on horseback, as big as the life, brass-like, with this motto,

Regi triumphanti. ‘To the triumphant King.’

Above the King on horseback, are erected two wreaths, crossing and covering his head, adorned with green, and above it a royal crown, with the sceptres, and a cross underneath. On each side of the Arch are two squares, wherein are set, both behind and before, transparent pictures, wrought upon silk, which were lighted in the evening, and shewed on one side a cloud, and a pillar of fire on the other, the corners being adorned with green. At the gilded frize of the Arch, are written these words:

Soloque saloque. ‘By land and sea.’

In reprimendâ tyrannide & restituendâ sæculi felicitate. ‘In repressing tyranny, and restoring the felicity of the age.’

And on each side of the aforesaid frizes are these inscriptions:

On the right,

Heroibus priori. ‘To him that excels the heroes.’

And on the left side,

Antiquis majori. ‘To him who is greater than any of the ancients.’

On each side of the forementioned pedestal, upon which is the King on horseback, are two gilded armours, and two covered with silver, adorned with feathers, and some trophies besides; England’s coat of arms before, and the king’s cypher behind. The said Arch has on every side two wings, in which are represented the histories of Hercules, Perseus, Phaëton, and Andromeda’s deliverance, with four escutcheons of the four kingdoms, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Underneath, round about the said Arch, are these words: Before,

Scepтрis, exercitibus, classibus, votis. Behind,

Augusto, armato, parato, recepto. Which must be read thus:

Augusto sceptris, Armato exercitibus, Parato classibus, Recepto votis. ‘Honoured with sceptres, armed with armies, provided with fleets, and received with acclamations.’

On each side of the Arch are two pictures, one representing Europe distressed, and the other, Neptune ravishing; with this motto:

Eripe raptori miseram. ‘Snatch the wretched from the ravisher.’

The other,

Mea jura tuere. ‘Defend my right.’

Above the door of the Arch these words are written,

Haga posuit Coss. decreto. 'The town of the Hague has erected this Arch by the decree of the magistrates.'

The Description of the stately Arch erected at the Great Market-place.

This Arch is the highest of all, without any pillars in relief. However, it is filled with very large pictures of a greyish colour; of which, two, that are upon the door, are drawn upon silk, to be transparent by torch-light in the evening. Upon that Arch is a rainbow, with three crowns, seeming to hang in the air. There is besides upon that Arch a sphere, and upon it a flying Fame with her trumpet, and the horse Pegasus running by her, and some trophies on every corner of each side. On the back-side of the said Arch is seen the Imperial coat of arms of Nassau, that of the emperor Adolphus of the family of Nassau, with the eight quarters on every side. Round about the forementioned Arch are these following inscriptions:

Nobilium primo, ducum maximo, Posthumo, Gulielmo Tertio, cælitus dato. 'To the first of noble heroes, to the greatest of generals William the Third, a Posthumus, the gift of Heaven.'

Above the pictures on the back-side,

Victoriis, trophæis, fortissimo imperatori, cautissimo gubernatori, destinatis. 'Erected to the victories and trophies designed for a most strenuous leader, and prudent commander.'

Underneath at the bottom of the Arch upon one side,

Quatuor regnorum regi, Fæderati Belgii gubernatori, Gulielmo Tertio, virtute & triumphis fulgenti. 'For William the Third, king of four kingdoms, governor of the United-Provinces, shining with virtues and triumphs.'

On the other side,

Grati animi & lætitiæ publicæ signum hoc erexit Haga-comitis. 'The Hague has erected this as a testimony of public joy and gratitude.'

On each side of the Arch are two wings, composing together a half-circle, and in each of those wings are seven pictures, representing the battles and victories of the precedent princes of Orange by sea and land, each picture having its motto: upon the first of the right wing,

Patientia læsa furor fit. 'Patience exasperated turns to fury.'

Upon the second,

Res poscit opem & conspirat amicè. 'The matter requires aid, and friendly confederacy.'

Upon the third,

Per tela, per undas. 'Through darts and waves.'

Upon the fourth,

Audentes Deus ipse juvat. 'God himself assists the courageous.'

Upon the fifth,

Tantas dedit unio vires. 'Such is the force of union.'

Upon the sixth,

Aquilas & mænia cepit. 'Nor walls nor armies can resist him.'

Upon the seventh,

Celsas superas virtute carinas. 'Your valour masters the tallest navies.'

Upon the first of the left wing,

Repetenda quiescunt arma virum. 'Armies laid aside are again to be taken in hand.'

Upon the second,

Non uno virtus contenta triumpho. 'Valour not satisfied with a single triumph.'

Upon the third,

Crescunt numero crescente trophæa. 'Number increasing, the trophies increase.'

Upon the fourth,

Cæsorum replebant funera campos. 'The funerals of the dead filled up the fields.'

Upon the fifth,

Ultra Garamantas & Indos. 'Farther than the Garamantes and the Indies.'

Upon the sixth,

Fortis promissa juvenas. 'The promises of a courageous youth.'

Upon the seventh,

Deos in prælia confert. 'He consults the gods before he goes to battle.'

In the middle of every one of those wings are two pyramids, one at each side upon their pedestals, which support a picture with this inscription:

Upon that of the right hand,

Hanc accipe, magne, coronam. 'Great hero, accept this crown.'

Upon that of the left hand,

Thure tuo redolent aræ. 'Your incense perfumes the altar.'

The same pyramids have each in the front three transparent pictures, comprehending either a hieroglyphical figure, or some trophy or cypher, being adorned on the sides with green, upon one of those pyramids. The King and Queen upon the other are set to the bigness of the life.

Upon that of the King is this inscription,

Quis gravior appulit oris? 'Who e'er arrived more welcome to our shore?'

Upon that of the Queen,

Reprimit & refigit. 'She represses and re-establishes.'

Upon the border of the wings are, in their order, the first four princes of Orange between two trophies.

Under the effigies of William the First,

Patriæ liberatori. 'To his country's liberator.'

Under that of prince Maurice,

Gloriæ vindici. 'To glory's vindicator.'

Under that of prince Frederick Henry,

Libertatis assertori. 'To our liberty's defender.'

Under that of prince William the Second,

Publicæ felicitatis statori. 'To the conservator of our public felicity.'

Above the opening of the Arch before is the escutcheon of the Hague, with these words underneath,

Hic incunabula divûm. 'Behold the cradles of the gods.'

Before the Town-house of the Hague are seven pictures transparent for a light. In the highest range are placed in the middle the representations of the King and Queen; and on each side two hieroglyphical figures, one representing a lion with this motto,

Placidum venerantur, & horrent infestum. 'They venerate the moderate, and abhor the tyrant.'

On the other, an unicorn thrusting with his horn some serpents, with this inscription, *Nil passa veneni.* 'Enduring nothing venomous.'

At the order underneath it contains three symbols more: the first representing a crane sitting upon her nest, and clapping her wings at the rising sun, with these words,

Recreatur ab ortu. 'Revived by the rising sun.'

The second represents Atlas upholding the world upon his shoulders, and stooping under the weight, and resting upon a mountain, with this inscription,

In te domus inclinata recumbit. 'Upon thee the falling mansion leans.'

The third represents a crane resting in her nest, and clapping her wings at the rising sun, with this motto,

Vidit & exultavit. 'She saw and rejoiced.'

By the Town-house in the public place of execution, is a tree like a maypole, surrounded with arms in four rows one above another for torch-light. The arch of the bridge, commonly called the Loosduyn, has been coloured with a representation of a man and a woman at an altar, upon which is the King's effigies with a staff in his hand,

upon which staff his Majesty's name is written, with a crown, and these words underneath,

Iō, triumphator. 'All hail, triumpher.'

Upon the two pillars of the said arch of the bridge, are these following inscriptions:

Ob cives servatos, & hostes fugatos. 'For citizens preserved, and enemies put to flight.'

The other side of the arch,

Ob liberata regna, & restitutas provincias. 'For the kingdoms rescued, and provinces restored.'

Behind are two ovals besides, in one of which is represented a laurel, and underneath, the word

Victoriæ. 'To victory.'

On the other an orange-tree, with the word

Clementiæ. 'To clemency.'

I add here, for the conclusion, that in the middle of the pond of the palace was erected a great scaffold, upon which was set down the cypher of his Majesty's name, with a royal crown above, which was shewn by torch-light; without mentioning many other curious and artful lights, in several other places; besides the firing of thirty great guns that were planted by the said pond, and frequently discharged as occasion and the design required.

A Quip for an upstart Courtier: Or, a quaint Dispute between Velvet-Breeches and Cloth-Breeches. Wherein is plainely set downe the Disorders in all Estates and Trades.

London: Imprinted by John Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his Shop at Poules Chayne. 1592.

[In Black-letter. Quarto; containing forty-eight pages.]

To the Right Worshipfull Thomas Burnabie, Esquier; Robert Greene¹ wisheth harte's ease and Heaven's blisse.

SIR,

AFTER I had ended this 'Quippe for an upstart Courtier,' containyng a quaint disput betweene Cloth-Breeches and Velvet-Breeches; wherein, under a dreame, I shadowed the abuses that pride had bred in England: how it had infected the Court with aspiring

¹ [The following account of this voluminous writer is principally taken from his own penitential confession, intituled 'The Repentance of Robert Greene,' and from the memoir prefixed to Mr. Haslewood's list of his works in *Censura Literaria*, vol. viii. p. 381.]

Robert Greene was born at Norwich, about the middle of the sixteenth century. He was by birth a gentleman, and received his education at Cambridge, from whence he tells us 'wags as lewd' as himself 'drew him 'to march into Italy and Spaine,' where he 'saw and practised such villanie as is abominable to declare.' On his return to England, 'I ruffled (says he) out in my silks in the habit of a Malecontent, and no place 'would please me to abide in.' He made considerable stay, however, in Cambridge, as we find that in 1578,

envie, the Citie with griping covetousnesse, and the Countrey with contempte and disdain: how, since men placed their delights in proud lookes and brave atyre, hospitality was left off, neighbourhood was exciled, conscience was skoft at, and charitie lay frozen in the streets: how upstart gentlemen, for the maintainance of that their fathers never lookt after, raised rents, rackte their tenants, and imposed great fines: I stode in a muse, to whome I shoulde dedicate my labours; knowing I shoulde bee bitten by many, sithens I had toucht many, and therefore neede some woorthie patrone, under whose winges I might shroud my selfe from goodman Findefault. At last I cal'd to mind your Worship, and thought you the fittest of all my frends, both for the duetie that I owe, and the worshipfull qualities you are indued withall; as also, for that all Northamptonshire reports, how you are a father of the poore, a supporter of auncient hospitalitie, an enimie to pride, and (to be short) a maintayner of Cloth-breeches; I meane, of the old and woorthye customes of the gentilitie and yeomanrie of Englande. Induced by these reasons, I humbly present this pamphlet to your Worship, only craving you will accept it as courtiously, as I present it duetifully, and then I have the end of my desire; and so, resting in hope of your favourable acceptance, I humbly take my leave.

Your duetifull, adopted Sonne,

ROBERT GREENE.

To the Gentlemen-Readers; health.

Gentle Gentlemen,

I HOPE, Cloth-Breeches shall find you gentle censors of this homely apologie of his auntient prerogatives; sith, though he speakes against Velvet-Breeches (which you weare), yet he twits² not the weede³, but the vice; not the apparell when 'tis worthily

he took the degree of B. A. of St. John's college, and removing to Clare-hall, became M. A. in 1583. In the following year, it is said, he was presented to the vicarage of Tollesbury in Essex, which he shortly resigned. After this he went 'away to London, where he became an author of playes, and a penner of love-pamphlets; and who for that trade growne so ordinary as Robin Greene.' It is probable, that about this period he formed an union with a lady, who appears, from his own writings, in the most amiable and interesting light. One only son was their offspring; but it is alleged, that even these tender connections could not prevent conjugal desertion: which is supposed to have taken place in 1586. Whatever fortune he inherited, or received on his marriage, was squandered in scenes of dissipation and licentiousness. His wife it seems retired into Lincolnshire, but he continued in London, where he 'fell into favour with such as were of honourable and good calling;' but not having discretion to preserve their friendship, his constant acts of profligacy and misconduct made him generally despised and rejected. Nevertheless, it appears that in 1588 he was incorporated at Oxford, where (according to Wood) he became 'a pastoral sonnet-maker, and author of several things which were pleasing to men and women of his time.' Winstanley observes, that 'he made his pen mercenary;' and Cibber considers him 'the first of our poets who writ for bread.' His early productions were licentious, but in his later writings he seems to have endeavoured to retrieve his character. From an imputed penitential epistle to his wife (which the reader will find in Winstanley, and in Cibber's Lives,) he appears to have been reduced to the utmost degree of misery. Disregarded by his holiday-acquaintance, and with a mind embittered by the keen anguish of remembrance, his closing scene was in sad unison with the vagrant part of his life; he died (says Meres) 'of a surfeit taken at pickeld herrings, and Rhenish wine, as witnesseth Thomas Nash, who was at the fatall banquet.' This happened in 1592. The publisher of his 'Repentance' tells the reader, that during his whole illness he conducted himself in the most pious and becoming manner. He was buried (according to Gabriel Harvey) in the new church-yard, near Bedlam.

Of his numerous productions the most complete list yet given is that by Mr. Haslewood, *ut supra*, who, in the memoir prefixed, has taken much pains to exculpate Greene from the severity of the stigmas cast upon him by his biographers; yet, (as Mr. H. quotes from Fox's work,) 'if he was a bad man, let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations for the purpose of making him a monster.' — 'I have been highly entertained (says Mr. Beloe) with many of his performances. I feel a great respect for his talents, much disgust at his profligacy, but a sincere concern for his misfortunes.' *Anecd. of Lit.* ii. 196.

This scarce and witty Satire was reprinted in 1620, 1625, and 1635. A sarcastic allusion to the father of Gabriel Harvey, which is said to have given rise to the implacable controversy that followed, will be noticed in the subsequent pages.]

[² Upbraids.]

[³ Weed, in ancient phraseology, means garment. We still say, "a widow's weeds."]

worn, but the unworthie person that weares it; who, sprang of a pesant, will use any sinister meanes to clime to preferment; being then so proude, as the foppe forgets, like the mule, that an asse was his father. For auntient gentility and yeomanrie, Cloth-Breeches attempteth this quarrell, and hopes of their favour: for upstarts he is halfe careles; and the more, bicause he knowes, whatsoever some thincke privately, they will bee no publike carpers, least, by kicking where they are toucht, they bewray⁵ their gal'd backs to the world; and by starting up to find fault, prove themselves upstarts and fooles. So then, poore Cloth-Breeches sets downe his rest on the courtesie of gentle gentlemen and bold yeomen, that they will suffer him to take no wrong. But, suppose the worst; that hee should bee froun'd at, and that such occupations, as hee hath uppon conscience discarded from the jury, should commence an action of unkindnesse against him, heele prove it not to hold plea, bicause all the debate was but a dreame. And so, hoping all men will merrilie take it, he stands sollemnlie leaning on his pike-staffe, till he heare what you conceave of him for being so peremptorie. If well; he sweares to crack his hose at the knees to quite your courtesie: if hardly; he hath vowed, that whatsoever he dreames, never to blab it again: and so he wisheth me humbly to bid you farewell.

IT was just at that time, when the cuckould's quirrester⁶ began to bewray Aprill-gentlemen, with his never chaunged notes, that I (damped with a melancholy humor) went into the fields to cheere up my wits with the fresh aire; where solitarie seeking to solace my selfe, I fell in a dreame: and in that drowsie slomber I wandered into a vale, all tapis-⁷tredd with sweet and choice flowres: there grew many simples, whose vertues taught men to be subtil, and to think nature, by her weeds, warn'd men to be wary; and, by their secret properties, to check wanton and sensuall imperfections. Amongst the rest, there was the yellow daffadil, a flowre fit for gelous dottrels⁸, who through the bewty of their honest wives, grow suspitious, and so prove themselves, in the end, cuckould-heretikes: there buded out the checker'd paunsie, or party-coloured hart's-ease, an herbe sildome seene, either of such men as are wedded to shrewes, or of such women that have hasty husbands; yet there it grew, and as I stept to gather it, it slipt from me like Tantalus' fruit, that failes their maister. At last, woondring at this secret qualitie, I learned that none can weare it, be they kinges, but such as desire no more then they are borne to, nor have their wishes above their fortunes. Uppon a banke, bordring by, grew women's weedes, fenell I meane for flatterers⁹, fit generally for that sexe, sith while they are maidens, they wishe wantonly; while they are wives, they will wilfully; while they are widowes, they would willingly; and yet all these proud desires are but close dissemblings. Neere adjoyning, sprouted out the courtier's comfort, time: an herb that many stumble on, and yet over-slip; whose rancke savor, and thick leaves, have this peculiar property, to make a snaile, if she tast of the sappe, as swift as a swallow, yet joyned with this prejudice, that if she clime too hastily, she falls too suddenly. Mee thought, I saw divers yong courtiers tread upon it with high disdain; but, as they past away, an adder, lurking there, bit them by the heeles that they wept: and then I might perceiue certaine clownes in clowted shoone gather it, and eat of it with greedinesse; which no sooner was sunke into their mawes, but they were metamorphosed, and lookt as proudlie, though pesants, as if they had been borne to be princes' companions.

Amongst the rest of these changlings whome the tast of time had thus altered, there was some that lifted their heades so hie, as if they had beene bred to look no lower then stars: they thought *Noli altum sapere* was rather the saying of a foole, then the censure of a philosopher; and therefore strecht themselves on their tiptoes, as if they had beene a kin-

⁵ [Discover or disclose; à Goth. bewrye. Minsheu.]

⁶ [The cuckow.]

⁷ [Interwoven, as in tapestry.]

⁸ [Jealous dolts.]

⁹ [So, in a Handfull of Pleasant Delites, &c. 1584: "Fennel is for flatterers; an evil thing 'tis sure."]

dred to the lord Tiptoft; and began to disdain their equals, scorne their inferiours, and even their betters, forgetting now, that time had taught them to say masse, how before they had playde the clark's part to say *Amen* to the priest. Tush, then they were not so little as gentlemen, and their owne conceipt was the herralde to blason their descente from an olde house, whose great-grandfathers would have bin glad of a new cottage to hide their heades in. Yet, as the peacocke wrapt in the pride of his beautious feathers is knowne to be but a dung-hill birde by his foule feete; so, though the high lookes, and costly sutes, argue to the eies of the world they were cavaliers of great worship; yet the churlish illiberalitie of their mindes bewraide their fathers were not above three poundes in the kinge's bookes at a subsidie; but, as these upstart changelings went strouting¹⁰, (like Philopolimarchides the bragart in Plautus,) they lookte so proudlye at the same, that they stumbled on a bed of rue that grewe at the bottome of the banke where the time was planted, which, fall'n upon the dew of so bitter an herbe, taught them that such proud peacockes as over hastily out-run their fortunes, at last, to speedily, fall to repentaunce; and yet some of them smil'd and said, 'rue was called herbe grace,' which though they scorned in their youth, they might weare in their age, and it was never too late to say *miserere*. As thus I stood musinge at this time borne broad, they vanisht away like Cadmus' copesmates¹¹, that sprang up of vipers teeth; so that, casting mine eie aside after them, I saw where a crew of all estates were gathering flowres; what kind they were of I knewe not, but pretious I geste them, in that they pluckt them with greediness, so that I drew towards them to be partaker of their profits; coming neerer, I might see the weede they so wrangled for was a little daper flowre, like a ground hunnisuckle, called thrift, praised generally of all, but practised for distillation but of few. Amongst the crue that seemed covetous of this herbe, there was a troope of old graiberds in velvet, sattin, and woorsted jackets, that stooped as nimbly to pluck it up by the rootes, as if their joynts had bene supled in the oile of misers' skins; they spared no labour and pains to get and gather, and what they got they gave to certaine yong boies and girls that stood behinde them, with their skirts and laps open to receive it; among whome some scattered it as fast as their fathers gathered it, wasting and spoyling it at their pleasure, which their fathers got with labour.

I thought them to be some herbalistes, or some apothecaries, that had imployed such pains to extract some rare quintessence out of this flowre; but one, standing by, told me they were cormorantes and usurers, that gathered it to fill their cofers with; and "Where-to (quoth I) is it pretious? What is the vertue of it?" "Marry, (quoth he,) to qualifie the heat of insatiable mindes, that, like the serpente Dipsas, never drinketh enough till they are so full they burste." "Why then (said I) the divell burst them all:" and with that I fell into a great laughter, to see certain Italianate cantes, humorous cavaliers, youthfull gentlemen, and *inamorati gagliardi*, that scornefully pluckt of it, and wore it a while as if they were weary of it, and at last left it as too base a flowre to put in their nosegayes. Others, that seemed *homini di grandi istima* by their lookes and their walkes, gathered earnestly and did pocket it up, as if they meant to keepe it carefully; but, as they were carrieng it away, there met them a troupe of nice wantons, fair women, that like to Lamiaë had faces like angels, eies like stars, brestes like the golden front in the Hesperides, but from the middle downwards their shapes like serpents. These with syrenlike allurement so entised these quaint squires, that they bestowed all their flowres upon them for favours, they themselves walkinge home by Beggar's Bushe for a pennance¹². Amongst this crew were lawyers, and they gathered the divell and all; but poore poets were thrust backe, and coulde not bee suffered to have one handfull to put amongst their withered garlands of

¹⁰ [Strutting.]

¹¹ [Perhaps for *cupsmate*, a companion in drinking; or one that dwells under the same *cope*, for house.]

¹² Beggar's Bush was a well-known tree, on the left-hand of the London-road from Huntingdon to Caxton. The proverbial expression of 'the Way to Beggar's Bush,' is spoken of such who use dissolute and improvident courses, which tend to poverty. Grose's Local Proverbs.]

baies, to make them glorious. But Hob and John of the countrey, they stept in churlishly in their high startups, and gathered whole sackfuls; insomuch, they wore beesoms of thrift in their hats like fore-horses, or the lusty gallants in a morice-dance. Seeing the crue thus to wrangle for so paltry a weed, I went alone to take one of all the other fragrant flowres that diaped this valley: thereby, I saw the batchelers-buttons¹³, whose vertue is to make wanton maidens weepe, when they have worne it forty weekes under their aprons for a favour.

Next them grew the dessembling dasie, to warne such light of love wenches, not to trust every faire promise that such amorous batchelers make them; but sweete smels breed bitter repentaunce. Hard by grew the true lovers primrose, whose kind savour wisheth men to be faithfull, and women courteous. Alongst in a border, grew maidenhair, fit for modest maidens to beholde, and immodest to blushe at; bicause it praiseth the one for their naturall tresses, and condemneth the other for their beastly and counterfeit perriwigs. There was the gentle gillflowre that wives should weare, if they were not too froward; and loiall lavender, but that was full of cuckoe-spittes, to shew that women's light thoughts make their husbands hevy heads. There were sweete lillies, Gods-plenty, which shewed faire virgins need not weepe for wooers; and store of balme, which could cure strange wounds, only not that wound which women receive when they loose their maidenheads: for no herbe hath vertue inough to scrape out that blot, and therefore it is the greater blemish. Infinite were the flowres beside that beautified the valley, that to know their names and operations, I needed some curious herball: but I passe them over as needelesse, sith the vision of their vertues was but a dreame, and therefore I wish no man to holde any discourse herein authentically; yet thus much I must say for a parting blow, that at the lower end of the dale I saw a great many women using high wordes to their husbands; some striving for the breeches, others to have the last word; some fretting they could not find a knot in a rush, others striving whether it were wooll or hair the goat bare.

Questioning with one that I met, why these women were so cholericke, he, like a skoffing fellow, pointed to a bush of nettles. I, not willing to be satisfied by signes, asked him, "what he meant thereby?" "Marry, (quoth hee,) all these women that you heare brawling, frowning, and scolding thus, have severally pist on this bushe of nettles; and the vertue of them is to force a woman, that waters them, to be as peevish for a whole day, and as waspish, as if she had bene stung in the brow with a hornet." Well; I smil'd at this, and left the company to seeke further; when, in the twincklinge of an eye, I was left alone, the valley cleered of all company, and I, a distressed man, desirous to wander out of that solitary place, to seeke good consorts and boone companions to passe away the day withall.

As thus I walked forward, seeking up the hill, I was driven halfe into a mase with the imagination of a strange woonder, which fell out thus. Me thought I saw an uncouth headlesse thinge come pacing downe the hill, stepping so proudly with such a geometricall grace, as if some artificiall bragart had resolved to measure the world with his paces. I could not descrie it to be a man, although it had motion, for that it wanted a body; yet, seeing legges and hose, I supposed it to bee some monster nurishte up in those desartes. At last, as it drewe more nigh unto mee, I might perceive that it was a very passing costly paire of Velvet-Breeches, whose panes, being made of the cheefest Neapolitane stuffe, was drawne out with the best Spanish satine, and marvellous curiously over whipt with gold twist, intersemmed with knots of pearle; the nether-stocke was of the purest Granado silck: no cost was spared to set out these costly Breeches, who had girt unto them a rapyer and dagger gilt, *point pendante*; as quaintly as if some curious Florentine had trickte them up, to square it up and downe the streetes before his mistresse. As these Breeches were ex-

¹³ [It was likewise a custom among the country-fellows, to try whether they succeed with their mistresses, by carrying the batchelor's-buttons (a plant of the *lychnis* kind, whose flowers resemble a coat-button in their form) in their pockets. And they judged of their good or bad success by their growing, or not growing there. Reed's Shaksp. v. 122.]

ceding sumptuous to the eie, so were they passing pompous in their gestures; for they strouted up and downe the vally as proudly as though they had there appointed to act some desperat combat.

Blame mee not if I were driven into a muse with this most monstrous sight, to see in that place such a strange headlesse courtier, jettinge up and downe like the usher of a fense-schoole about to play his prise, when I deeme never in any age such a woonderfull object fortun'd unto any man before. Well; the greater dumpe¹⁴ this novelty drave me into, the more desire I had to see what event would follow. Whereupon, looking about to see if that any more company would come, I might perceive from the top of the other hill an other pair of Breeches more soberly marching, and with a softer pace, as if they were not too hasty, and yet would keepe promise neverthesse at the place appointed. As soone as they were come into the vally, I sawe they were a plaine paire of Cloth-Breeches, without either welte or garde¹⁵, straight to the thigh, of white kersie, without a slop, the nether-stocke of the same, sewed too above the knee, and only seamed with a little country blewe; such as *in diebus illis* our great-grandfathers wore, when neighbourhood and hospitality had banisht pride out of Englande. Nor were these plaine Breeches weaponlesse, for they had a good sower bat with a pike in the ende, able to lay on load inough, if the hart were answerable to the weapon; and upon this staffe, pitcht downe upon the ground, Cloth-Breeches stood solemnly leaning, as if they meant not to start, but to answere to the uttermost whatsoever in that place might be objected. Looking upon these two, I might perceive by the pride of the one, and homely resolution of the other, that this their meeting would grow to some dangerous conflict; and therefore, to prevent the fatall issue of such a pretended quarell, I stept betwene them both; when Velvet-Breeches greeted Cloth-Breeches with this salutation: "Proud and insolent peasant, how darest thou, without leave or lowe reverence, presse into the place, whether I am come for to disport my selfe? Art thou not afraide thy high presumption should sommon me to displeasure, and so force me draw my rapyer; which is never unsheathed but it turnes into the scabberd with a triumph of mine enimes bloud? Bold bayard, avaunt; beard mee not¹⁶ to my face: for this time I pardon thy folly, and grant thy legges leave to carry away thy life." Cloth-Breeches, nothing amased at this bravado, bending his staffe as if he meant (if he were wronged) to bestow his benison, with a scornefull kind of smiling, made this smooth reply: "Marry gip, goodman upstart, who made your father a gentleman? Soft fire makes sweet mault, the curstest cow hath the shortest hornes, and a brawling curre, of all, bites the least. Alas! good sir, are you so fine that no man may be your fellow? I pray you what defference is betweene you and mee, but in the cost and the making? Though you bee never so richly daubde with gould and powdred with pearle, yet you are but a case for the buttockes, and a cover for the basest part of a man's body, no more then I: the greatest preheminance is in the garnishing, and thereof you are proud; but come to the true use we were appointed to, my honor is more than thine; for I belong to the old auncient yeomanry, yea, and gentility, the fathers; and thou to a companie of proud and unmannerly upstarts, the sonnes." At this, Velvet-Breeches storm'd, and said, "Why, thou beggars brat, descended from the reversion of base povertie; is thy insolency so great to make comparison with me, whose defference is as great as the brightnesse of the sunne, and the slender light of a candle. I, poor snake, am sprung from the auncient Romans, borne in Italy, the mistresse of the world for chivalry, cal'd into England from my native home (where I was famous), to honour your countrie and yong gentlemen here in Englande with my countenance, where I am holden in high regarde; that I can presse into the presence, when thou, poore soule, shalt, with cap¹⁷ and knee, beg leave of the porter to enter; and I sit and dine with the nobility, when thou art faine to wait for the reversion

¹⁴ [Melancholy musing.]

¹⁵ [Gaired, having streaks or stripes of various colours. Jamieson.]

¹⁶ [i. e. Affront me not.]

¹⁷ [To cap, is to salute by taking off the cap. It is still an academic phrase. Nash, speaking to Harvey of the Butler of Pembroke-hall, says—'thou hast cap'd and knee'd him, for a chipping.' Pierce Pennilesse, &c.]

of the almes-basket. I am admitted boldly to tell my tale, when thou art fain to sue, by means of supplication, and that, and thou too, so little regarded, that most commonly it never comes to the prince's hand, but dies inprisoned in som obscure pocket. Sith, then, there is such defference betwene our estates; cease to urge my patience with thy insolent presumption."

Cloth-Breeches, as breefe as hee was proud, swore by the pike of his staffe, that his chop-logicke was not worth a pinne, and that he would turne his own weapon into his bosome thus: "Why, signor glorioso, (quoth hee,) though I have not such glosing phrase to trick out my speeches withall as you, yet I will come over your fallowes with this bad rhetoricke. I pray you, monsieur malapart, are you therefore my superiour, because you are taken up with gentlemen, and I with the yeomanry? Doth true vertue consist in riches, or humanity in welth? Is auncient honour tied to outward bravery? Or not rather true nobility, a mind excellently qualified with rare vertues? I will teach thee a lesson worth the hearing, proud princocks¹⁸, how gentility first sprung up; I will not forget the olde wives logick, 'When Adam delv'd, and Eve span; who was then a gentleman?' But I tell thee, after the generall flood, that there was no more men upon the earth but Noe and his three sonnes, and that Cham¹⁹ had wickedly discovered his father's secrets; then grew the division of estates thus: The church was figured in Sem, gentilitye in Japheth, and labour and drudgerie in Cham; Sem being chaste and holy, Japheth learned and valiaunt, Cham churlish and servile; yet did not the curse extend so far upon Cham, nor the blessing upon Japheth; but, if the one altered his nature, and became either indued with learning or valour, he might be a gentleman; or, if the other degenerated from his auncient vertues, hee might be held a pesaunt: whereupon Noe inferred, that gentility grew not only by propagation of nature, but by perfection of qualities. Then, is your worship wide, that boast of your worth for your gold and pearl, sith *cucullus non facit monachum*; nor a velvet-slop make a sloven a gentleman. And whereas thou sayst thou wert borne in Italy, and called hither by our courtiers; him may we curse that brought thee first into Englande: for thou camest not alone, but accompanied with a multitude of abhominable vices; hanging to thy bumbast nothing but infectious abuses, as vaine-glory, selfe-love, sodomie, and strange poisonings, wherewith thou hast infected this glorious Island: yea, insolent bragart, thou hast defiled thine owne neast, and fatal was the day of thy byrth, for since the time of thy hatching in Italy (as then famous for chivalrey and learninge), the imperiall state, through thy pride, hath decayed, and thou hast, like the yonge pellican, peckt at thy mother's brest with thy presumption, causing them to lose that their forefathers with true honor conquered: so hast thou beene the ruine of the Romane empyre, and now fatally art thou come into Englande to attempte heere the like subversion. Whereas thou doost boast that I am little regarded where thou art highly accounted of, and hast sufferance to presse into the presence, when I am, for my simpleness, shut out of dore; I grant thy allegation in part, but not in whole: for men of high wisdom and honour measure not men by the outward shewe of bravery, but by the inward worth and honesty; and so, though I am disdained of a few overweening fooles, I am valued, as well as thy selfe, with the wise. In that thou sayst thou canst speake when I sue by supplication, I grant it; but the tale thou telst is to the ruine of the poore: for comming into high favour with an impudent face, what farme is there expired, whose lease thou doost not begge? What forfeite of penal statutes? What consealed lands can overslip thee?—Yea, rather then thy bravery should faile, begge powling pence for the verye smooke that comes out of poore men's chemnies? Shamest thou not, uplandish upstart, to heare me discourse thy imperfections? Get thee home againe into thy owne country, and let me, as I was wont, live famous in my native home in Englande where I was borne and bred; yea, and bearded Cæsar, thy countryman, till he compast the conquest by treason."

¹⁸ [Or *princox*, i. e. a coxcomb, a conceited person. It is still in use in the North of England.]

¹⁹ [Or Ham.]

"The right and title in this country, base brat, (quoth Velvet-Breeches;) now authority favours me, I am admitted viceroy; and I will make thee do me homage, and confesse, that thou holdst thy being and residence in my land from the gracious favour of my sufferance:" and with that he laid on the hilts of his rapyer, and Cloth-Breeches betooke him to his staffe; when I, stepping betwixt them, parted them thus: "Why, what meane ye; will you decide your controversie by blowes, when you may debate it by reason? This is a land of peace, governed by true justiciaries and honorable magistrats, where you shall have equitie without partiality, and therefore listen to me, and discusse the matter by lawe: your quarrel is, Whether of you are most auncient and most worthy? You, sir, boast of your country and parentage; he, of his native birth in Englande: you claime all, he would have but his owne; both plead an absolute title of residence in this country: then must the course betweene you be trespasse or disseison of franke tenement; you, Velvet-Breeches, in that you claime the first title, you shall bee plaintiffe, and plead a trespasse of disseison doone you by Cloth-Breeches; so shall it be brought to a jurie, and tried by a verdict of twelve, or fower and twenty." "Tush, tush, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) I neither like to be plaintiffe, nor yet allow of a jurie; for they may be partiall, and so condemne me in mine owne action; for the country swaines cannot value of my worth, nor can mine honors come within the compasse of their base wits: bicause I am a stranger in this land, and but heere lately arived, they will hold me as an upstart, and so lightly esteeme of my worthinesse; and, for my adversary is their countriman and lesse chargeable, he shall have the lawe mitigated, if a jurie of hinds or pesaunts should bee inpanelled. If auncient gentlemen, yeomen, or plaine ministers should bee of the quest,²⁰ I were sure to lose the day, because they loath me, in that I have persuaded so many landlords, for the maintenance of my braverie, to raise their rentes." "You seeke a knot in a rush, (quoth I,) you need not doubt of that; for whom you distrust and think not indifferent, him you, uppon a cause manifested, challenge from your jurie." "If your lawe allowe such large favour, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) I am content my title be tried by a jurie; and therefore let mine adversary plead me *Nul tort, nul disseison*." Cloth-Breeches was content with this, and so they both agreed I should be judge and juror in this controversie: whereupon I wisht them to say for themselves what they could, that I might discourse to the jurie what reasons they alledged of their titles.

Then Velvet-Breeches began thus: "I cannot but greeve that I should be thus out-facst with a carter's weed, onely fit for husbandry, seeing I am the originall of all honourable endeavors. To what end doth youth bestowe their witts on law, phisicke, or theology, were it not the ende they aime at is, the wearing of me and winning of preferment? Honor norisheth art, and, for the regarde of dignity, do learned men strive to excede in their faculty:

*Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
Per mare, per saxa, &c.*

What drives the merchants to seeke forreign marts; to venter their goods, and hazard their lives? Not, if still the end of their travell were a paire of cloth breeches; no, velvet, costly attire, curious and quaint apparell, is the spur that prickes them forward to attempt such daunger. Doth not the souldior fight to be brave, the lawyer study to countenance himselfe with cost? The artificer takes paines only for my sake; that wearing me, he may brag it among the best. What credite carries he now-a-daies, that goes pin'd up in a cloth breech? Who will keepe him companie that thinkes well of himselfe, unlesse he use the simple slave to make cleane his shoone? The worlds are chaungde, and men are growen to more wit, and their mindes to aspire after more honorable thoughts; they were dunces in *diebus illis*, they had not the true use of gentility, and therefore they lived meanely and died obscurely; but now mennes capacities are refined. Time hath set a new edge on gentlemen's humors, and they shew them as they should bee; not like

²⁰ [Quest or inquest, for jury.]

glottons as their fathers did, in chines of beefe and almes to the poore, but in velvets, satins, cloth of gold, pearle; yea, pearle lace, which scarce Caligula wore on his birth-day: and to this honourable humor have I brought these gentlemen, since I came from Italy. What is the end of service to a man but to countenance himselfe and credit his maister with brave suites? The scurvy tapsters and ostlers, *fæx populi*, fill pots, and rubbe horse-heeles, to prancke themselves with my glory. Alas! were it not to wear me, why would so many apply themselves to extraordinary idlenes? Beside, I make fooles be reverenst, and thought wise, amongst the common sort. I am a severe sensor to such as offend the law, provided there be a penalty annexed, that may bring in some profite; yea, by me the cheefest part of the realm is governed, and therefore I refer my title to the verdict of any men of judgment."

To this, mildly, Cloth-Breeches aunswered thus: "As I have had alwayes that honest humor in mee, to measure all estates by their virtues, not by their apparell; so did I never grudge at the bravery of any whome birth, time, place, or dignity, made worthy of such costly ornaments: but if by the favour of their prince and their owne desarts, they merited them; I helde both lawfull and commendable to answeere their degrees in apparell, correspondent unto their dignities. I am not so precise, directly to inveigh against the use of velvet, either in breeches, or in other sutes; nor will I have men goe like John Baptist, in coates of camels-hairs. Let princes have their diademes, and Cæsar what is due to Cæsar; let noblemen goe as their byrth requires, and gentlemen as they are borne or beare office. I speake in mine owne defence, for the auncient gentility and yeomanrie of Englande; and inveigh against none, but such malapart upstarts as raised up from the plough, or advanced for their Italian devises, or for their witlesse wealth, covet in bravery to match (nay, to exceed) the greatest noblemen in this land.

"But leaving this digression, mounsier Velvet-Breeches; againe to the perticulars of your fond allegation. Whereas you affirme yourselfe to be both original and final end of learning; alas! proud princ Cox, you pearch a bow too hie²¹: did all the philosophers beat their braines, and busie their wits to wear velvet breeches? Why both at that time thou were unknowne, yea, unborne; and all excess in apparell had in high contempt: and now, in these daies, all men of worth are taught by reading, that excess is a great sin; that pride is the first step to the downefall of shame. They study with Tully, that they may seeme borne for their countries, as well as for themselves. The devine to justice, the phisition to discover the secretes of God's wonders, by working strange cures. To be breefe: the end of all being, as to knowe God; and not as your worship, good maister Velvet-Breeches, wrests to creep into acquaintance.

"I will not denie, but there be as fantasticall fooles as yourselfe, that, perhaps, are puffed up with such presuming thoughts, and ambitiously aime to trick themselves in your worship's masking sutes; but while such climbe for great honors, they often fall to great shames. It may be thereupon, you bring in *Honos alit artes*; but I gesse your maistership never tried what true honor meant, that trusse it up within the compasse of a paire of velvet breeches, and place it in the arrogancy of the hart. No, no; say honor is idolatry, for they make fooles of themselves, and idols of their carcasses: but he that valueth honor so, shall reade a lecture out of Apuleius' Golden Asse, to learne him more wit. But now, sir, by your leave, a blow with your next argument; which is, that marchants hazard their goods and lives to be acquainted with your maistership. Indeed you are awrie; for wise men frequent marts for profit, not for pride, unlesse it be some, that by wearing of velvet breeches, and apparell too high for their calling, have prooved bankeroutes²² in their youth; and have been glade in their age to desire my acquaintance, and to trusse up their tailles in homespun russet: whereas thou dost object the valour of hardy souldiors to grow for the desire of brave apparell. 'Tis false; and I knowe, if any were present, they

²¹ [*i. e.* You perch a bough too high.]

²² [Bankrupts. It is said the term is derived from the Italian *banco rotto*, broken bench, which the ancient orthography is evidently a corruption of. See Rees, Cyclopæd. art. *Bankrupt*.]

would prove upon thy bones, that thou wert a lier; for their countrey's good, their princes' service, the defence of their frends, the hope of favor, is the finall ende of their resolutions; esteeming not only them, but the world's glory, fickle, transitory, and inconstant. Shall I fetch from thine own country, weapons to wound thyselfe withall? What saist thou to Cincinnatus? Was he not called to be Dictator from the plough; and, after many victories, what did he jet up and down the court in costly garments and velvet breeches? No; he dispised dignitie, contemned vain glorie and pride, and returned againe to his quiet contented life in the country. How much did Caius Fabritius value their Numa Pompilius, Scevola, Scipio, Epaminondas, Aristides; they held themselves wormes' meate, and counted pride vanity; and yet thou art not ashamed to say, thou art the ende of soldiors' worthy honor. I tell thee, sawcy skipjack, it was a good and a blessed time here in England, when K. Stephen wore a payre of cloth breeches, of a noble a payre, and thought them passing costlye: then did hee count Westminster-hall too little to be his dining-chamber, and his almes was not bare bones, instead of broken meat; but lusty chines of beefe fell into the poore men's basket. Then charity flourished in the court, and yong courtiers strove to exceede one an other in vertue, not in bravery. They rode, not with fans to ward their faces from the wind, but with burgant²³ to resist the stroke of a battle-axe: they could then better exhort a soldior to armor, then court a lady with amoretts; they caused the trumpette to sounde them pointes of warre, not poets to write them wanton elegies of love; they soght after honorable fame, but hunted not after fading honor; which distinction, by the way, take thus: there be some that seek honor, and some are sought after by honor. Such upstarts as fetch their pedigree from their fathers' auncient leather apron, and creepe into the court with great humility, redy at the first *basciare li piedi di la vostra signoria*, having gotten the countenance of some nobleman, will strait be a kindred to Cadwallader, and swear his great grand-mother was one of the burgesses of the parlamente house: will, at last, steale by degrees into some credite by their double diligence, and then winde some worshipfull place, as far as a hungry sow can smell a sir reverence, and then, with all their frends, seeke day and night, with coyne and countenance, till they have got it.

"Others there be, whome honor itselfe seekes, and such be they whome vertue doth frame fit for that purpose; that rising by high desarts, (as learning or valour,) merite more then eyther they looke for, or their prince hath anye ease conveniently to bestow on them. Such honor seekes; and they, with a blushing conscience, entertain him: be they never so high in favor, yet they beg no office, as the shamelesse upstart doth; that hath a hungry eie to spy out, an impudent face to sue, and a flattering toong to intreat, for some void place of worship, which little belonged to them, if the prince intended to bestow offices for vertue, not favor. Other, M. Velvet-Breeches, there be of your crue, that pinch their bellies to polish their backs; that keepe their mawes emptie, to fill their purses; that have no shewe of gentillity but a velvet slop²⁴; who, by poling or selling of land that their father left, will bestow all to buye an office about the court, that they may be worshipfull; extorting from the poore, to raise up their money, that the base deceiveng companions have laid out to have an office of some countenance and credit, wherein they may have of me better then themselves, bee tearmed by the name of 'Worship.' The last, whome vertue pleadeth for, and neyther silver, gold, frends, nor favor advaunceth, bee men of great worth; such as are thought of worship, and unwillinglie interteine hir, rather vouchsafing profered honour for their countrey's cause, then for any proud opinion of hoped-for preferment. Blessed are such landes whose officers are so placed, and where the prince promoteth not for coine nor countenance, but for his worthy deserving vertues.

"But, leaving this by-talke, me thought I heard you say, signior Velvet-Breeches, that you were the father of mechanickall arts; and handiecraftes were found out, to foster your bravery. In faith, goodman goosecap, you that are come from the start-ups, and there-

²³ [Or *burgonet*, a kind of helmet.]

²⁴ [Slops are large loose breeches or trowsers, worn at present only by sailors.]

fore is called an up-start, *quasi*, start up from clouted shoone; your lippes hoong in your light when you brought forth this lodgike. For, I hope, there is none so simple, but knowes that handicrafts and occupations grew for necessity, not pride: that men's inventions waxed sharpe, to profit the common-wealth, not to pranke up themselves in bravery. I pray you, when Tubulcane²⁵ invented tempering of mettals; had he velvet breeches to weare? In sadness, where was your worship when his brother found out the accords and discords of musick hidden in hell, and not yet thought on by the divell, to cast forth a baite to bring many proud fooles to ruine?

"Indeede, I cannot deny, but your worship hath brought in Deceipt as a journeyman into all companies, and made that a subtile crafte, which while I was holden in esteem was but a simple mystery. Now every trade hath his sleights, to slubber up his worke to the eie, and to make it good to the sale, howsoever it proves in the wearing. The shoemaker cares not if his shoes hold the drawing on: the tailor sows with hot needle and burnt thred. Tush, pride has banisht conscience, and velvet breeches honestie; and every servile drudge must ruffle in his silkes, or else he is not suteable.

"The world was not so *à principio*: for when velvet was worne but in kings' caps, then Conscience was not a 'brome-man in Kent-street'²⁶, but a courtier; then the farmer was content his sonne should hold the plough, and live as he had done before: beggars then feared to aspire, and the higher sort scorned to envie. Now every lowt must have his sonne a courtroll²⁷, and those dunghil drudges waxe so proud, that they will presume to wear on their feet what kings have worne on their heads. A clowne's sonne must be clapt in a velvet pantophle, and a velvet breech; though the presumptuous asse be drowned in the mercer's booke, and make a convey of all his lands to the usurer for commodities: yea, the fop must go like a gallant for a while; although, at last, in his age he beg. But, indeed, such yong yooths, when the broker hath blest them with saint Needams-crosse, fall then to privy lifts and coosenages; and, when their credit is utterly crakt, they practise some bad shift, and so come to a shamefull end.

"Lastly, Whereas thou saist thou art a severe sensour²⁸ to punish sins, (as austere as Cato to correct vice;) of truth, I hold thee so in penal statutes, when thou hast begged the forfeit of the prince. But such correction is open extortion and oppression of the poor; nor can I compare it better, M. Velvet-Breech, then to the wolfe chastising the lamb for disturbing the fountaine, or the devill casting foorth devilles through the power of Belzebub. And thus much, curteous sir, I have said, to display the follies of mine adversary, and to shewe the right of mine own interest."

"Why then, (quoth I,) if you have both saide, it resteth but that we hadde some to empanel upon a jury, and then no doubt but the verdict would soone be given on one side."

As thus I was talking to them, I might see comming downe the hill a brave dapper Dicke, quaintly attired in velvet and sattin, and a cloake of cloth rash²⁹, with a cambrick ruffe as smoothly set, and he as neatlie sponged, as if he had beene a bridegroom: only I gest by his pase a far off he should be a tailor; his head was holden uppe so pert, and his legges shackle ham'd, as if his knees had beene laced to his thighes with points³⁰. Coming more neere indeed, I spied a tailor's morice-pike³¹ on his breast, a Spanish needle; and then I fitted my salutations, not to his sutes but to his trade, and incountred him by a thread bare courtesy, as if I had not knowne him, and asked him of what occupation

²⁵ [Tubal-Cain, son of Lamech and Zillah. Gen. iv. 22. Scripture mentions him as the first inventor of brass and iron instruments, and there is great reason to believe that he was the Vulcan of the heathens.]

²⁶ [Kent-street, in Surrey, is proverbial for the poverty of its inhabitants.]

²⁷ [*i. e.* with a head dressed like that of a courtier.] ²⁸ [Censor.]

²⁹ [Rash was the name of some kind of stuff, formerly in use.]

³⁰ [Points were metal hooks, fastened to the hose or breeches, and going into straps, or eyes fixed to the doublet, thereby keeping the hose from falling down. The same name was likewise used for laces, with metal tags to them; which seem to be here meant.]

³¹ [A *morris-pike* (says Dr. Johnson) was a pike used in a morris or a military dance, and with which great exploits were done; that is, great feats of dexterity were shown. Hence, perhaps, Greene calls a Spanish needle a tailor's *morice-pike*.]

he was? "A tailor," quoth he. "Marry then, my friend, (quoth I,) you are the more welcome, for heere is a great quarrell growne betwixt Velvet-Breeches and Cloth-Breeches for their prerogative in England: the matter is growne to an issue, there must a jury be empanelled, and I would desire and intreat you to be one of the quest."

"Not so, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) I chalenge him." "And why? (quoth I;) what reason have you, dooth he not make them both?" Yes, (quoth he,) but his gaine is not alike. Alas! by me he getteth small; onely he is paid for his workemanship, unlesse by misfortune his shieres slyppe awrye, and then his vailes is but a shred of home spunne cloth; wheras in making of velvet breeches, where there is required silke lace, cloth of golde, of silver, and such costly stuffe, to welt, guard, whip-stitch, edge, face, and draw out, that the vales of one velvet breech is more then twenty paire of mine. I hope there is no tailor so precise, but he can play the cooke and licke his owne fingers: though he look up to heaven, yet he can cast large shreads of such rich stuffe into hel, under his shoppe-board. Beside, he sets downe, like the clarke of the check, a large bill of reckonings, which, for he keepes long in his pocket, he so powders for stinking, that the yong upstart, that needes it, feeles it salt in his stomach a month after. Beside, sir, Velvet-Breeches hath advanced him: for, whereas, in my time, he was counted but Goodman Tailor; now he is grown, since Velvet-Breeches came in, to be called a Marchant or Gentleman-Marchant-Taylor, giving armes and the holy lambe in his creast, where before he had no other cognisance but a plaine Spanish needle with a Welsh cricket on the top. Sith then his gaine is so great, and his honor so advanst by Velvet-Breeches, I will not trust his conscience, nor shall he come upon my jury."

"Indeed, you have some reason, (quoth I); but perhaps the tailor doth this upon meer devotion to punish pride; and having no other authority nor meane, thinkes it best to pinch them by the pursse and make them pay wel, as to aske twice so much silke lace and other stuffe as would suffice, and yet to over-reach my yong maister with a bill of reckonings that will make him scratch where it itcheth not. Herein I hold the tailor for a necessarye member, to teach yong novices the way to weeping crosse; that when they have wasted what their fathers left them by pride, they may grow sparing and humble by inferred poverty. And, by this reason, the tailor plaies God's part; he exalteth the poor, and pulleth down the proud; for, of a wealthy esquire's son, he makes a thread-bare beggar; and of a scornefull tailor, he sets up an upstart scurvy gentleman. Yet, seeing you have made a reasonable chalenge to him, the tailor shall be none of the quest."

As I bade him stand by, there was comming alongst the valley towards us a square set fellow well fed, and as briskly apparellled, in a blacke taffata doublet and a spruce leather jerkin with cristall buttons; a cloke facst afore with velvet, and a Coventry cap of the finest wool; his face something ruby blush, cherry-cheeked, like a shred of scarlet or a little darker, like the lees of olde claret wine; a nose, *autem* nose, purpled pretiously with pearle and stone, like a counterfai worke; and, betweene the filthy reumicast of his blood-shotten snowt, there appeared smal holes, whereat wormes-heads peeped, as if they meant by their appearance to preach, and shew the antiquity and antientie of his house.

This fiery-facst churle had upon his fingers as many golde ringes as would furnish a goldsmith's shop, or beseeme a pandor of longe profession to weare. Wondring what companion this should be, I inquired, of what occupation? Marry, sir, (quoth he,) a broker; why do you aske, have you any pawnes at my house?" "No, (quoth I,) nor, by the help of God, never will have; but the reason is to have you upon a jurye." At this word, before I could enter my discourse unto him, Velvet-Breeches start up, and swore he should be none of the quest, for he woulde chalenge him. "And why, (quoth I,) what knowe you by him?" "This base churle is one of the moaths of the common-wealth; beside, he is the spoile of young gentlemen, a bloud-sucker of the poore, as thirsty as a horsleach, that will never leave drinking while he burst; a knave that hath interest in the leases of forty bawdy-houses, a receyver for lifts, and a dishonorable supporter for cutpursses: to conclude, he was gotten by an incubus a he-divell, and brought forth by an overworne refuse, that had spent hir yooth under the ruins of Bowbies barne."

"O monstrous invective! (quoth I;) what reason have ye to bee thus bitter against him?" "Oh, the villain (quoth he) is the devill's factor, sent from hel to torment young gentlemen upon earth: he hath fetcht me over in his time, only in pawnes, in ten thousand pound in gold. Suppose as gentlemen, through their liberall minds, may want that I need, money; let me come to him with a pawne worth ten pound, he will not lend upon it above three pound, and he will have a bill of sale, and twelve-pence in the pound for every month; so that it comes to sixteen-pence, sith the bill must monthly be renewed; and if you breake but your day set downe in the bill of sale, your pawn is loste, as full bought and sold, you turned out of your goodes, and he an unconscionable gainer. Suppose the best, you keep your day; yet payng sixteene-pence a month for twenty shillings, you pay as good for the loan as fourscore in the hundred: Is not this monstrous exacting upon gentlemen? Beside, the knave will be diligently attending and waiting at dicing-houses where we are at play, and there he is ready to lend the loaser money upon rings and chaines, apparell, or any other good pawne; but the poore gentleman paies so deere for the lavender it is laid up in, that if it lie long at a broker's house, he seems to buy his apparell twice. Nay, this worme-eaten wretch hath deeper pitfals yet to trap yooth in; for hee, beeing acquainted with a yong gentleman of faire living, in issue of good parents, or assured possibility, soothes him in his monstrous expenses, and saies he carries the minde of a gentleman; promising, if he want, he shall not lacke for a hundred pound or two, if the gentleman need. Then hath my broker an usurer at hand, as ill as himselfe, and he brings the mony, but they tie the poore soule in such Darbies bands, what with receiving ill commodities and forfeitures upon the band, that they dub him 'Sir John had Land,' before they leave him; and share, like wolves, the poore novice's welth betwixt them as a pray. He is, sir, (to bee breefe,) a bowsie bawdy miser, good for none but himselfe and his trugge³²; a carle, that hath a filthy carcasse without a conscience; a body of a man, wherein an infernal spirit in stead of a soule dooth inhabit; the scum of the seven deadly sinnes, an enimie to all good mindes, a devourer of yong gentlemen; and, to conclude, my mortal enemye; and therefore admit of my challenge, and let him be none of the jury."

Truly, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) and I am willing he should be discarded too; for, were there not bad brokers, (I will not condemn all,) there would be lesse filching and fewer theeves; for they receive all is brought them, and buye that for a crowne that is woorth twenty shillings; desire of gaine bindes their conscience, and they care not how it be come by, so they buy it cheape. Beside, they extorte upon the poore that are inforced, through extreame want, to pawne their cloathes and household stuff, their pewter and brasse; and if the poore soules, that labour hard, misse but a day, the base-minded broker takes the forfeit without remorse or pitie. It was not so *in diebus illis*; but thou proude upstart, Velvet-Breeches, hast learn'd all Englishmen their villany, and all to mayntaine thy bravery: yea, I have knowne of late, when a poore woman laid a silver thimble, that was sent hir from hir frends for a token, to pawne for six-pence, and the broker made hir pay a halfe peny a weeke for it; which comes to two shillings a yeere, for six-pence. Since, then, his conscience is so bad, let him be shuffled out amongst the knaves, for a discarded cardle."

"Content," quoth I; and bade the broker stand backe; when there were even at my heeles three in a cluster, pert yooths all, and neatly tired. I questioned them what they were? and the one said he was a barber, the other a surgion, and the third an apoticary.

"How like you of these? (quoth I;) shall they be of your jury?" "Of the jury! (quoth Cloth-Breeches:) never a one by my consent, for I challenge them all." "Your reason, (quoth I,) and then you shall have my verdict." "Marry, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) first, to the barber: he can not be but a partiall man on Velvet-Breeches' side; sith he gets more by one time dressing of him, than by ten times dressing of me. I come plaine to be polde, and to have my beard cut, and pay him two pence: Velvet-Breeches, he sits down in the

³² [Q. trull?]

chaire, wrapt in fine cloathes ; as though the barber were about to make him a footcloth for the vickar of saint Fooles ; then begins hee to take his sissars in his hand, and his comb, and so to snap with them, as if he meant to geve a warning to all the lice in his nitty locks for to prepare themselves, for the day of their destruction was at hande. Then comes he out with his fustian eloquence, and, making a low conge, saith, ' Sir, will you have your worship's hair cut after the Italian manner, short and round ; and then frounst with the curling-yrons, to make it looke like to a halfemoone in a mist ? or, like a Span-yard, long at the eares, and curled like to the two endes of an olde cast perriwig ? Or will you be Frenchefied, with a love-locke³³ downe to your shoulders, wherein you may weare your mistris' favour ? The English cut is base, and gentlemen scorne it ; novelty is dainty : speake the word, sir ; my sissars are ready to execute your worship's will.' His head being once drest, (which requires, in combing and rubbing, some two howres,) he comes to the bason ; then, being curiously washt with no woorse then a camphire-ball, he descends as low as his beard, and asketh, ' Whether he please to be shaven, or no ? Whether he will have his peak cut short and sharpe, amiable like an *inamorato* ; or broad pendant like a spade, to be terrible like a warrior and a soldado ? Whether he will have his crates cut lowe, like a juniper bush ; or his suberches taken away with a rasor ? If it be his pleasure to have his appendices primde, or his mouchaces fostred ; to turne about his eares like the branches of a vine ; or cut downe to the lip with the Italian lashe, to make him look like a halfe faced bauby in bras ?' These quaint tearms, barber, you greet maister Velvet-Breeches withal, and, at every word, a snap with your sissars, and a cring with your knee ; whereas, when you come to poore Cloth-Breeches, you either cutte his beard at your owne pleasure, or else, in disdaine, aske him, if he will be trim'd with Christ's cut, round, like the halfe of a Holland cheese ? mocking both Christ and us. For this your knavery, my will is, you shall be none of the jury."

" For you, maister surgion, the statutes of Englande exempts you from being of any quest ; and beside, alas ! I sildome fall into your hands, as being quiet, and making no brawls to have wounds, as swartrutting Velvet-Breeches dooth : neither doe I frequent whore-houses to catch the marbles, and so to grow your patient. I knowe you not, and therefore I appeale to the statute, you shall have nothing to doe with my matter. And, for you, maister apoticarie, alas ! I looke not once in seaven yeare into your shop ; without it be to buy a peniworth of wormeseed to give my child to drinke, or a little triacle to drive out the measels ; or, perhaps, some dregs and powders to make my sicke horsse a drench withal : but, for my selfe, if I be ill at ease, I take kitchyn physicke, I make my wife my doctor, and my garden my apotaries shop ; whereas quesiè maister Velvet-Breeches cannot have a fart awrye, but he must have his purgations, pils, and glisters, or evacuate by electuaries. He must, if the least spot of morphew come on his face, have his oyle of tartar, his *lac virginis*, his camphir dissolved in verjuice, to make the foole as faire, for sooth, as if he were to playe Maid-marian³⁴ in a May-game, or moris-daunce. Tush, he cannot digest his meat without conserves, nor end his meale without suckats, nor (shall I speake plainly ?) please the trug his mistres, without he goe to the apotaries for eringion, *oleum formicarum alatarum*, & *aqua mirabilis*, of ten pound a pint. If maister Velvet-Breeches, with drinking these drugs, hap to have a stinking breath ; then, forsooth, the apoticarie must play the perfumer to make it sweet. Nay, what is it about him, that he blameth not nature for framing, and formeth it a-new by art ? And, in all this, who, but mounsier the apoticarie ? Therefore, good sir, (quoth he,) seeing you have taken upon you to be trior for the challenges ; let those three, as partiall companions, be packing."

³³ [One of the most fantastical fashions of that time was the indulging a favourite lock of hair, which was brought before, and tied with ribbons, and called a *love-lock*. Against this fashion William Prynne wrote his treatise, called, 'The Unlovelyness of Love-locks.' See Reed's Shakspeare, vi. 162.]

³⁴ [The Lady of the May, in the ancient English morris-dance, was so called. Those who wish for more information on this subject, will be both amused and instructed by referring to Mr. Douce's third Dissertation, appended to the Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii.]

"Why, (quoth I,) seeing you have yielded such reason of refusall, let them stande by." Presentlie, loking about for more, comes stalking down an aged grave sir, in a blacke velvet coat, and a blacke cloth gowne welted and faced; and after him, as I suppose, foure servingmen; the moste ilfavoured knaves, me thought, that ever I saw. One of them had on a buffe leather jerken, all greasie before with the droppinges of beere, that fell from his beard; and, by his side, a skeine³⁵ like a bruer's bounge-knife; and muffled he was in a cloke turn'd over his nose³⁶, as though he had beene ashamed to shew his face. The second had a belly like a buckingtub, and a thredbare black coat unbutton'd before upon the brest, whereon the map of drunkennesse was drawne, with the bawdie and bowsie excrements that dropt from his filthy leaking mouth. The third was a long, leane, olde, slavinging slangrill, with a Brasill staffie in the one hand, and a whipcord in the other; so pourblinde, that he had like to have stumbled upon the company, before he sawe them. The fourth was a fat chuffe, with a sower looke, in a blacke cloke faced with taffata; and, by his side, a great side-pouch like a faulkner. For their faces, all foure seemed to be brethren; they were so bumbasted with the flocks of strong beere, and lined with the lees of olde sacke, that they lookt like foure blowne bladders painted over with redde oaker, or washt over with the suds of an olde stale die. All these, as well the maister, as the following mates, woulde have past away; but that I stept before them, and inquired first of the foremost, "What he was?" "Marry, (quoth he,) a lawyer." "Then, sir, (quoth I,) wee have a matter in controversie, that requireth counsaile, and you are the more welcome." "What is it?" quoth he. "Marry, (said I,) whether Cloth-Breeches, or Velvet-Breeches, are of more woorth; and which of them have the best title to be resident in Englande?" At this the lawyer smil'd; and Velvet-Breeches, stepping forth, tooke acquaintance of him, and, commending his honestie, said, there could not be a man of better indifferency of the jury. When Cloth-Breeches, stepping in, swore, he marvelled he was not, as well as the surgion, exempted by act of parliament, from being of any quest; sith, as the surgion was without pitty, so he was without conscience; and there-upon inferd his challenge, saying, "The lawyer was never frend to Cloth-Breeches. For, when lowlinesse, neighbourhood, and hospitalitie lived in Englande, Westminster Hall was a dining-chamber, not a den of controversies; when the king himselfe was content to keepe his S. George's day in a plaine paire of kersie hose; when the duke, earle, lord, knight, gentleman, and esquire, aimed at vertue, not pride, and wore such breeches as was spun in his house, then the lawyer was a simple man, and, in the highest degreé, was but a bare scrivener; except judges of the land, which tooke in hande serious matters, as treasons, murthers, felones, and such capitall offences; but sildome was there any pleas put in, before that upstart, Velvet-Breeches, for his maintaynance, invented strange controversies; and, since he began to dominier in Englande, he hath bus'd such a proud, busy, covetous, and incroching humor into every man's head, that lawyers are growne to be one of the cheefe lims of the commonwealth; for they doe, nowe adaies, *de laná capriná rixare*, goe to lawe, if a hen doe but scrape in his orchard: but, howsoever right be, might carries away the verdict. If a poore man sue a gentleman, why he shootes up to the skie, and the arrow fals on his owne head: howsoever the cause goe, the weakest is thrust to the wall. Lawyers are troubled with the heat of the liver, which makes the palms of their hands so hot, that they cannot be cool'd, unlesse they be rub'd with the oile of angels; but the poore man, that gives but his bare fee, or, perhaps, pleads *in formá pauperis*, he hunteth for hares with a taber, and gropeth in the darke to find a needle in a botle of hay. Tush, these lawyers have such delatory and forren pleas, such dormers³⁷, such quibs and quiddits; that, beggering their clients, they purchase to themselves whole lordships. It booteth not men to discourse their little conscience and great extortion; only suffice they be not so rich, as they be bad, and yet they be but too

³⁵ [A *skein* was either a knife or a short dagger. *Skein* is the Irish word for a knife.]

³⁶ [See a very curious article on *mufflers*, in the first volume of Mr. Douce's *Illustr. of Shaksp.* p. 75. The last figure on the wood-cuts annexed, is particularly adapted for the explanation of the serjeant's muffler.]

³⁷ [Qu. demurrers?]

welthy. I inveigh not against law, nor honest lawyers, (for there be some well qualified,) but against extorting ambodexters, that wringe the poore; and, bicause I know not whether this be such a one, or no, I challenge him not to be of my jury." "Why then, (quoth I) his worship may depart." And then I questioned, "What he in the buff jerkin was?" "Marry, (quoth he,) I am a serjeant." He had no sooner said so, but Velvet-Breeches leapt backe, and, drawing his rapyer, swore he did not only challenge him for his jurye, but protested, if he stir'd one foote toward him, he would make him eate a peece of his poinard. "And what is the reason, (quoth I,) that there is such mortal hatred betwixt you and the serjeant?" "Oh, sir, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) search him; and, I warrant you, the knave hath precept upon precept to arrest me; hath worn his mace smooth, with onely claping it upon my shoulder, he hath had me under *coram* so often. Oh! the reprobate is the usurer's executioner, to bring such gentlemen to *limbo*³⁸, as he hath overthrown with his base brocage³⁹ and bad commodities; and, as you see him a fat knave with a foggie face, wherein a cup of old sacke hath sett a seale, to marke the bowsie drunkard to die of the dropsie, so his conscience is consumed, and his hart rob'd of all remorse and pitye, that for money he will betray his owne father; for, will a cormorant but fee him to arrest a yong gentleman, the rakehell will be so eager to catch him, as a dogge to take a beare by the eares in Paris-Garden⁴⁰; and, when he hath laid hold upon him, he useth him as courteously, as a butcher's cur would doe an oxe cheeke when he is hungry: if he see the gentleman hath money in his pursse, then straight with a cap and knee he carries him to the taverne, and bids him send for some of his frends to bale him; but first he covenants to have some brase of angels⁴¹ for his paines, and, besides, he cals in for wine as greedily, as if the knave's mother had beene brocht against a hogshead when he was begotten: but suppose the gentleman wants pence, he will eyther have a pawne, or else drige⁴² him to the counter, without respect of manhood or honestye. I should spend the whole day with displayeng his villanies, therefore breefly let this suffice: he was never made by the consent of God, but his slovenly carkase was fram'd by the divell, of the rotten carian of a wolfe, and his soule of an usurer's damned ghost, turn'd out of hell into his body, to do monstrous wickednesse again upon the earth, so that he shall be none of my jurie, neither shall he come nearer me then the length of my rapyer will suffer him."

"Indeede, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) generally, serjeants be bad; but there be amongst them some honest men, that will doe their duties with lawful favour: for, to say truth, if serjeants were not, how should men come by their debts? Marry, they are so cruel in their office, that if they arrest a poore man, they will not suffer him, if he hath not money, to stay a quarter of an hour to talke with his creditor; although, perhaps, at the meeting, they might take composition; but only to the counter with him, unlesse he will lay his pewter, brasse, coverlets, sheets, or such housholdstuffe to them, for pawne of payment of some coine for their staieng: therefore let him depart out of the place, for his roome is better then his companye." "Well then, (quoth I,) what say you to these three?" And with that I questioned their names: the one said he was a sumner⁴³, the other a gaoler, and the third an infourmer. "Jesus blesse me! (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) what a ging⁴⁴ was heere gathered together: no doubt hell is broke loose, and the divell means to keepe holiday: I make challenge against them all, as against worse men then those that gave evidence against Christ! For the sumner, it boots me to say little more against him, then Chaucer did in his Canturbury Tales, who said, 'He was a knave, a briber, and a bawd.' But leaving that authoritie, although it be authentically,

³⁸ [Or confinement: from the *limbus patrum* of the schoolmen.]

³⁹ [Or brokerage. Urry's Gloss.]

⁴⁰ [This celebrated bear-garden, on the Bank-side, was so called from *Robert de Paris*, who had a house and garden there in the time of K. Richard II. Blount's Gloss.]

⁴¹ [The *angel* was a gold coin of ten shillings value.]

⁴² [Qu. drag?]

⁴³ [An officer summoning delinquents to appear in ecclesiastical courts; now called an Apparitor. Tyrwhitt's Gloss.]

⁴⁴ [Qu. gang?]

yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these drunken drosie sonns go a-tooting abroad (as they themselves tearm it), which is to heere if any man hath got his maid with child, or plaies the goodfellow with his neighbor's wife: if he finde a hole in any man's coate that is of welth, then he hath his peremptorie scitation ready to scite him unto the archdeacon's, or official's court; there to apeere and abid the shame and penaltie of the lawe. The man, perhaps, in good credit with his neighbors, loath to bring his name in question, greseth the sumner in the fist, and then he wipes him out of the booke, and suffers him to get twentie with child, so he keepe him warme in the hand: he hath a saieng to wanton wives, and they are his good dames, and as long as they feed him with cheese, bacon, capons, and such od reversions, they are honest; and, be they never so bad, he swears to the official, complaints are made upon envie, and the women of good behavior. Tushe, what bawdry is it he will not suffer, so he may have money and good chere; and, if he like the wench well, a snatch himselfe? for they knowe all the whores in a country, and are as lecherous companions as may be. To be breefe, the sumner lives upon sins of people, and, out of harlotry, gets he all his commoditie. As for the gaoler, although I have beene little troubled in prison to have experience of his knavery, yet have I heard the poore prisoners complaine how cruel they be to them; extorting, with extraordinary fees, selling a duple curtall, as they call it, with a duple juge of beere for 2 pence, which contains not above a pint and a halfe: let a poore man be arrested into one of the counters, though he but set his foot in them but halfe an hour, he shall be almost at an angel's charge; what with garnish, crossing and wiping out of the booke, turning the key, paieng the chamberline, feeing for his jurie, and twenty such extortions invented by themselves, and not allowed by any statute. God bles me, gaoler, from your henhouses, as I will keepe you from comming in my quest. And to you, M. infourmer, you that looke like a civile citizen, or some handsome petty-fogger of the law; although your crimson nose bewrayes you can supe of a coole cup of sacke without anye chewing, yet you have as much slye knavery in your side pouch there, as would breede the confusion of fortye honest men. It may be, sir, you marvell whye I exclayme against the infourmer, sith he is a most necessarie member in the commonwealth, and is highly to the prince's advauntage for the benifite of pennall statutes and other abuses, whereof he giveth special inteligence? To wipe out this doubt, I speake not against the office but the officer; against such as abuse lawe when they should use it; and such a one I gesse this fellowe to be, by the carnation tincture of his ruby nose: therefore let us search his bagge, and see what trash you shall finde in it."

With that, although the infourmer were very loathe, yet wee pluckt out the stuffing of his pouch, and in it was found a hundred and od writes, whereat I woudered; and Cloth-Breeches, smiling, bade me read the labels, and the parties names, and then examine the infourmer how many of them he knewe, and wherein they had offended. I followed his counsaile, and of all he knewe but three; neither could he tell what they doone amisse to be arrested, and brought in question.

Cloth-Breeches, seeing me stand in amase, began thus to resolve me in my doubt: "Perhaps, (quoth he) you marvell why the infourmer hath all these writtes, and knowes neither the parties, nor can objecte any offence to them? To this I answere, that, it being a long vacation, he learned in the rowle all those men's names, and that they were men of indifferent wealthe. Now means he to goe abroad, and search them out and arrest them; and though they know not wherein, or for what cause they should be troubled, yet, rather then they will come upp to London, and spend their money, they will bestow some odde angell upon maister infourmer, and so sit at home in quiet. But, suppose some be so stuborne as to stand to the triall, yet can this cunning knave declare a *tamquam* against them; so that though they be cleered, yet can they have no recompence at all, for that he doth it in the courte's behalfe. I will not unfold all his villanies; but he is an abuser of good lawes, and a very knave, and so let him be with his fellowes." I both woondred and laught, to heare Cloth-Breeches make this discourse; when I saw two in the vallye together by the eares, the one in leather, the other as blacke as the

devill. I stept to them to part the fraie, and questioned what they were, and wherefore they brawled? "Marry, (quoth he, that lookt like Lucifer,) though I am blacke, I am not the devill, but, indeed, a collyer⁴⁵ of Croyden; and one, sir, that have solde many a man a false sacke of coales, that booth wanted measure, and was halfe full of dust and drosse. Indeed, I have been lieger in my time in London, and have played many madde pranckes; for which cause, you may apparantly see I am made a curtall⁴⁶; for the pillory (in the sight of a great many good and sufficient witnesses) hath eaten off both my eares, and now, sir, this ropemaker hunteth me heere with his halters. I gesse him to be some evill spirite, that in the likenesse of a manne, would (since I have past the pillory) perswade me to hange my selfe for my olde offenses; and therefore, sith I cannot blesse me from him with *nomine Patris*, I lay *Spiritus Sanctus* about his shoulders with a good crabe-tree cudgell, that he may get out of my company." The ropemaker replied, "That, honestly journeying by the way, he acquainted himselfe with the collyer, and for no other cause pretended."—"Honest with the devill! (quoth the collyer;) how can he be honest, whose mother, I gesse, was a witch? For I have harde them say, that witches say their praiers backward, and so dooth the ropemaker⁴⁷ yearne his living by going backward, and the knave's cheefe living is by making fatall instrumentes, as halters and ropes, which divers desperate men hang themselves with."

"Well, (quoth I,) what say you to these, shall they be on the jurie?" Velvet-Breeches said nothing; but Cloth-Breeches said, "In the ropemaker he found no great falsehood in him, therefore he was willing he should be one; but, for the collyer, he thought it necessary, that as he came, so he should depart:" so then I bade the ropemaker stand by till more came, which was not longe, for there came three in a cluster. As soone as they drewe nye, I spied one, a fatt churle, with a side russet coate to his knee, and his handes all-to-tanned with shifting his ouse; yet would I not take notice what they were, but questioned with them of their severall occupations. "Marry, (quoth the first,) I am a tanner;" the second, "a shoemaker;" and the thirde, "a currier." Then, turninge to the plaintife and defendant, I asked them, if they would allowe of those parties? "No, by my faith, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) I make challenge unto them all; and I wil yeeld reasons of import against them: and first, to you, maister tanner; Are you a man woorthy to be of a jury, when your conscience cares not to wronge the whole commonwealth? You respecte not publike commodity, but private gaynes; not to benefite your neighbor, but for to make the proude princore⁴⁸, your son, an upstart gentleman; and bicause you would marry your daughter, at the least to an esquire, that shee may (if it be possible) be a gentlewoman, and how comes this to passe? By your tanne-fats, forsooth: for whereas, by the aunciente lawes and statutes of England, you shoulde let a hide lye in the ouse, at the least, nine months; you can make good leather of it before three months: you have your dooves-doong, your marle, your ashen barke, and a thousande thinges more, to bringe on your leather apace; that it is so badly tanned, that when it comes to the wearinge, then it flectes awaye like a peece of browne paper; and whereas, your backes, of all other, should be the best tanned, you bring them so full of horne to the market, that did you not grease the sealers of Leaden-

⁴⁵ [Collier was in our author's time, a term of the grossest reproach. So great were the impositions practised by the venders of coals, that Greene, at the conclusion of his 'Notable Discovery of Cozenage', 1592, published, what he calls, 'a Pleasant Discovery of the Cosenage of Colliers.' Reed's Shaksp. v. 362.]

⁴⁶ [*i. e.* Curtail. We are not to suppose (says Mr. Douce) that the word uniformly signifies an animal with its tail cut off. It is in fact derived from *tailleur-court*, and applied to any animals that are defective, man not excepted. Illustr. of Shaksp.]

⁴⁷ [It seems not a little extraordinary, that in this general sarcasm on professions and trades, the character of the *rope-maker*, which is one of those most leniently drawn, should have been conceived to point so 'spitefully and villanously' at Gabriel Harvey's father, a rope-maker at Saffron-Walden, as to call forth a posthumous philippic against Greene, from Harvey and his friends, under the title of 'Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets.' This was most sarcastically replied to by Thomas Nash, in his 'Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse,' and led to a personal pen-conflict that continued during the space of seven years, and occupied no small share of public curiosity.]

⁴⁸ [Qu. princor? See page 399, note.]

hall throughly in the fiste, they should never be sealed, but turned away, and made forfeit by the statute. I cannot, at large, lay open your subtil practises, to beguile the poore communalty with bad leather; but let this suffice; you leave no villanie unsought, to bring the blockhead, your sonne, to go afore the clowne his father, trimely trickt up in a paire of velvet breeches.

“Now, maister currier, to your coosenage; you cannot be content only to burne the leather you dresse for fault of liquor, because you would make the shoemaker pay wel, and you put in little stuffe; and beside, when as, in backes, you should onely put in tallow hard and good, you put in softe kitchen stuffe mixt, and so make the good and wel tanned leather, by your villanie, to fleet and waste away: but also you grow to be an extorting knave, and a forestaller of the market; for you will buy leather, sides, backes, and calve-skines, and sell them to the poore shoemakers at an unreasonable rate, by your false retaylinge, getting infinite goods by that excessive price; both undoing the poore shoemaker, and causing us, that we pay extreamly for shooes. For, if the currier bought not leather by the whole of the tanner, the shoemaker might have it at a more reasonable price; but the shoemaker, being poore, is not, perhaps, able to deale with a dicker of hides, nor, perhaps, with a cuple of backes, and the tanner will not trust him: then the extorting and coosening currier comes up with this, I will lend you for a day; and so pincheth him, that he is scarce able to finde his children bread. But well hath the prince and the honorable lords of the privie-counsaile provided by act of parliament, ‘That no currier shall buy leather, either backes or hides, of the tanner;’ so to bridle the extorting and forestalling coosenage: but craftilyer and subteller hath the knave currier crosbitten the statute, in that he deales thus with the tanner, he makes him hold his leather unreasonably to the shoemaker; and so, when he cannot sell it, he laies it up in the currier’s house, under a colour, whereas, indeed, he hath sold it him. Suppose this shifte be spied and prevented, then compoundeth he with some knave shoemaker, some base rakehell, without a conscience, (that neither respecteth God, the commonwealth, nor his company,) and, forsooth, he is halfe with the currier, who letteth him have some hundred marke, to laye out for leather, every month; whereas he spendes not in his shop a hundred markes worth in a yeare: so the shoemaker buies it to abuse the statute, for the currier; and the currier, by that means, undooeth the other shoemakers. Thus, two crafty knaves are met, and they neede no broker.

“Now to you, gentle craft, you masse shoemakers: you can put in the inner sole, of a thin calve’s-skin, when as the shoo is a neate’s-leather shoo, which you know is cleane contrarie both to conscience and the statute. Beside, you wil joyne a neate’s-leather vampey to a calve’s-leather heele: is not here good stuff, maister shoemaker? Well; for your knavery, you shall have those curses which belongs unto your craft: you shall be light footed to travel farre, light witted upon every small occasion to give your masters the bagge; you shall bee most of you unthriftes, and almost all perfect goodfellowes. Beside, I remember a mery jest, how Mercurye brought you to a dangerous disease, for he requested a boon for you, which fell out to your great disadvantage; and, to recreate us heere a little, gentle craft, what fell to your trade by that winged god? As it happened on a time that Jupiter and Mercurye traveling together upon earth, Mercurye was wondrously hungrye, and had no money in his pursse to buy him anye food; and at last, to his great comforte, he spied where a companye of tailors were at dinner with buttred pease, eating their pease with their needles points one by one. Mercurye came to them, and asked them his almes: they proudly bade him sit down and doo as hee saw they did, and with that delivered him a needle. The poore god, being passing hungry, could not content his mawe with eating one by one, but turned the eie of his needle and eate two or three together: which the tailors seeing, they start uppe and said, “What, fellow; a shovell and a spade, to buttred pease; hast thou no more manners? Get out of our companye:” and so they sent him packing with many strokes. Mercurye comming backe, Jupiter demanded of him, what newes? And he told him how churlishly he was used amongst the tailors. Well; wandering on further, Mercurye espied where a com-

pany of shoemakers were at dinner, with powdered beefe and brewesse: going to them, before he could aske them any almes, they said, 'Welcome, good fellow; what, is thy stomach uppe, wilt thou doe as we do, and taste of beefe?' Mercurye thanked them, and sat downe and eat his belly-full, and dranke well of double beer; and when hee had doone, went home to his maister. Assoone as hee came, Jupiter asked him, what newes? And he said, 'I have lighted amongst a crew of shoemakers, the beste fellows that ever I met withall; they have frankly fed me without grudging; and therefore grant mee a boone for them.' 'Aske what thou wilt, Mercurye, (quoth he,) and it shall be done.' 'Why then, (quoth he,) grant that, for this good turne they have done mee, they may ever spende a groat afore they can yearne two-pence.' 'It shall be granted;' quoth he. Mercurye, assoone as Jupiter had said the worde, he bethought himselfe, and said, 'Nay, but that they maye yearne a groat afore they spend two-pence; for my tongue slipt at the first.' 'Well, Mercurye, (quoth he,) it cannot be recal'd, the first wish must stand:' and heereof, by Mercurye's boone it grew, that all of the gentle-craft are such good-fellowes and spendthriftes. But howsoever, none of those three, neither shoemaker, tanner, nor currier, shall be accepted to be of the jury."

As they went away with fleas in their eares, beeing thus taunted by Cloth-Breeches, we might see where there came a troupe of antient gentlemen, with their serving-men attending upon them. The foremost was a great olde man, with a white beard, all in russet, and a fair black cloake on his backe, and attending on him he had some five men; their cognisance⁴⁹, as I remember, was a peacocke without a tayle: the other two, that accompanied him, seemed meaner then himselfe, but yet gentlemen of good worship. Whereupon, I went towards them and saluted them, and was so bould as to question what they were, and of their businesse.

The most antientest answered, "He was a knight, and those two his neighbors; the one an esquire, the other a gentleman; and that they have no urgent affaiers, but only to walke abroad to take the fresh aire." Then did I shew them both Cloth-Breeches, and Velvet-Breeches, and told them the controversie, and desired their aid to be upon the jury. They smiling answered, "They were content:" and so did Cloth-Breeches seeme to rejoyce, that such honest, antient, Englishe gentlemen, shoulde be tryers of his tittle. But Velvet-Breeches, storming, stept in and made challenge to them all. I demanded reason why he should refuse gentlemen of so good calling? And he made this aunswere: "Why, you may gesse the inward minde by the outward apparell, and see how he is adicted by the homely robes he is suted in. Why, this knight is mortal enemy to pride, and so to me; he regardeth hospitality, and aimeth at honor, with releiving the poore: you may see, although his lands and revenewes be great, and be able to maintaine himselfe in great bravery, yet he is content with homespun cloth, and scorneth the pride that is used now-adaies amongst yong upstarts; he houldeth not the worth of his gentry to be, and consist in velvet breeches, but valeweth true fame by the report of the common sorte, who praise him for his vertue, justice, liberality, housekeeping and almesdeeds. *Vox populi vox Dei*: his tennants and farmers woulde, if it might be possible, make him immortall with their praiers and praises. He raiseth not rent, racketh no landes, taketh no incumbs⁵⁰, imposeth no mercillesse fines, envies not an other, buyeth no house over his neighbor's head; but respecteth his country and the commodity thereof, as deere as his life. He regardeth more to have the needy fedd, to have his boorde garnished with full platters, then to famous himselfe with excessive furniture in apparell. Since then he scorneth pride, he must of force proclaime himselfe mine enemy, and therefore he shall be none of my jury; and such as himselfe I gesse the squire and the gentleman, and therefore I challenge them all."

"Why, (quoth I,) this is strange, that a man shoulde be drawne from a quest for his godlines. If men for vertue be challenged; whom shall we have upon the jury? Your objection helpes not, maister Velvet-Breeches: for, if he be a man of so godly a dispo-

⁴⁹ [*i. e.* A badge, worn on the left arm; which formerly constituted the distinguishing mark of a menial servant or retainer.]

⁵⁰ [Incomes.]

sition, he will neither speake for feare or favor; he will regard neither the riches of the one, nor the plaine poverty of the other: whereupon, sith you have made me tryer, I allowe them all three to be of the jury:" and so I requested them to sit downe till our jury was full, which they courteously did, although Velvet-Breeches froun'd at it; when I, looking for more, saw where there came a troupe of men in apparell, seeming poore honest citizens; in all they were eight. I demanded of them what they were, and whither they were going? One of them that seemed the welthiest, who was in a furred jacket, made answer, "That they were all frends going to the burial of a neighbor of theirs, that yester-night died; and, if it would doo mee any pleasure to heare their names, they were not so daintie but that they would tell them:" and so then he began to tell mee, that by his art he was a skinner, the second sayd he was a joyner, the third was a sadler, the fourth a waterman, the fife was a cutler, the sixt was a bellows-mender, the seventh a plaisterer, and the eight a printer." "In good time, (quoth I,) it is commendable when neighbors love so well together; but, if your speed bee not overmuch, I must request you to bee of a jury:" so I discourst unto them the controversie between Cloth-Breeches and Velvet-Breeches, and to what issue it must grow by a verdict: they seemed all content; and I turned to the plaintiffe and defendant, and asked if they would make challenge to any of these? "I scorn (quoth Velvet-Breeches) to make any great objection against them, sith they be mechanicall men; for I almost hold them indifferent: for this I know, they get as much and more by me than by him; the skinner I use for fures, whereas this base Cloth-Breeches hath scarce a gowne faced once in his life; the saddler for costly imbroidered saddels, the joyner for seeling⁵¹ my house, the cutler for gylt rapiers; the waterman I use continually, ten times for his once, and so likewise the plaisterer; for the bellows-mender, alas! poor snake, I know him not; for the printer, by our Lady, I thinke I am some tenne pounds in his debt for bookes; so that, for my part, let them all passe." "And for me, (quoth Cloth-Breeches;) but yet, a little to put them in remembrance of their follies, let me have a bout with them all: and first with you, maister skinner, to whom I can say little but only this, that, whereas you shoulde only put the backes of skinnes into facing, you taw⁵² the wombs and so deceive the buier: beside, if you have some fantastike skin brought you not woorth two-pence, with some straunge spots, though it be of a libbet⁵³, you will sweare 'tis a most pretious skin, and came from Musco, or the furthest part of Calabria. The saddler he stuffes his pannels with straw or hay, and overglaseth them with haire, and makes the leather of them of morts, or tan'd sheep's skins. The joyner, though an honest man, yet he maketh his joynts weake, and putteth in sappe in the mortises, which should be the hart of the tree, and all to make his stufte slender. And you, cutler, you are patron of ruffions and swash-bucklers⁵⁴, and will sell them a blade that may be thrust into a bushell; but, if a poore man, that cannot skill of it, you sell him a sword or rapier new overglased, and sweare the blade came either from Turkie or Toledo. Now, maister waterman, you will say there is no subtilty in you, for there is none so simple but that knows your fares, and what is due betweene Greenwich and London, and how you earn your money painfully with the sweate of your browes: all this is true; but let me whisper one thing in your eare, you will playe the goodfellowe too much, if you be well greased in the fist; for if a yong gentleman and a prety wench come to you and say, 'Waterman, my frend and I meane to go by water, and to be merry a night or two; I care not which way nor whether wee go, and therefore, where thou thinkest wee may have best lodging, thither carry us.' Then off goes your cap, and away they go to Brainford⁵⁵, or some other

⁵¹ [Ceiling.]

⁵² [The following unsatisfactory explanation of this word is given by Grose: 'To taw is to dress leather in a manner different from tanning.' Provincial Glossary.]

⁵³ [Qu. libbard, a male panther? which Chaucer spells *libart*; p. 17. edit. Urry.]

⁵⁴ [So called from swashing, or making a noise on bucklers. West-Smithfield, now the horse-market, was formerly called Ruffian's-hall; where such men met casually and otherwise, to try masteries with sword and buckler. Grose's Local Proverbs.]

⁵⁵ [Brentford was formerly so spelt. A bridge over the little river Brent, between Hampstead and Hendon, is still called *Braint-bridge*.]

place; and then you say, 'Hostess, I pray you use this gentleman and his wyfe well; they are come out of London to take the aire, and meane to be merry here a night or two, and to spend their mony frankly:' when, God wot, they are neither man nor wife; nor, perhaps, of any acquaintance before their matche made in some bawdy-tavern: but you know no such matter, and therefore, waterman, I pardon you. And for you, plaiserer and bellowsmender, I passe you over; and, so do I the printer too; only this I must needes say to him, that some of his trade will print lewd books, and bawdy pamphlets; but,

Auri sacra fames, quid non — ?

And therefore I am content they shal be all of the jury."

I was glad there were so many accepted of at once, and hoped that now quickly the jurie would be full. Looking about me, straight I might see one alone come running as fast as he could. I woondred what he should be, that he made such hast; and the skinner told me he was an honest man, and one of their company, by his occupation a bricklaier.

"Oh, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) a good honest simple man, he hath bin long in my worke, in building me a sumptuous house." "But, I challenge him, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) for he is a jugler." "How, (quoth I,) can it be? See he goeth very homely in leather, and hath his ruler in his hand, and his trowel at his side; and he seemeth not as one that were given to such qualities." "Yes, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) he hath this policy, when he maketh a stately place all glorious to the eye, and full of faire chambers and goodlye roomes, and about the house, perhaps, some three-score chimnies; yet he canne soe cunningly cast by hys art, that three of them shall not smoke in the twelvemonth, and so spoiles he much good mortar and bricke." "Why, (quoth I,) the fault is not in the workeman but the housekeeper; for now-adayes men builde for to please the eye, not to profit the poore; they use no rost, but for themselves and their houshold, nor no fire but a little court chimnie in their owne chamber. Howe can the poore bricklaier then be blamed, when the niggardnesse of the lord or maister is the cause no more chimnies doe smoke? For, would they use ancient hospitality as their forefathers did, and value as lightly of pride as their great-grandfathers, then should you see every chimney in the house smoke, and proove that the poore artificer had doone his part." "Why then, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) as you please, admit him on the quest." "But what be those, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) that come heere so soberly? I hope they be honest men, for they looke very demure." "I will inquire," said I: and with that, stepping to them, I demaunded their names, and very courtiously the one sayd he was a brewer, the other a butcher, the third a baker, and the fourth a vitler⁵⁶. Hearing what they were, I was glad; gheassing, sith they were so honest substantial men, that they would help to make up the jurie; when Velvet-Breeches, with a grime and sower countenance, gave them this challenge. "I hold it not necessary, (quoth he,) that these have any thing to deale in my cause, sith I am at oddes with them all at least in fortie pounds a peece; for this seven yeares I have been indebted unto them for bread, beefe, beere, and other victuals; then, sith they have credited me long, and I have had so little care to pay them, I doubt now they will revenge themselves, and passe against me in the verdict." "Nay, (quoth I,) the rather will they hold on your part; for, if they be honest wise men, as they seeme to be, they will be carefull of your prefermente; seeing, the more highlye you are advaunst, the more like are they to come by their owne. If therefore you can object no other poyntes of dishonesty against them, I see no reason why they shoulde be put by." "If you do not, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) then heare mee, and I will proove them unfit to have anye dealinges heere; and first for the butcher. I praye you, goodman kilcalfe, what havocke playe you with puffing up of meate, and blowing with your pricker, as you flea it? Have you not your artificiall knaveries to set out your meate with prickes⁵⁷, and then sweare he hath more for mony than ever you bought; to sell a peece of an olde cow for a chop of a yong oxe; to wash your old meat, that hath hung weltring in the

⁵⁶ [Or victualler.]

⁵⁷ [i. e. Skewers.]

shop, with new bloud; to trusse away an old eaw instead of a yong weather; and although you know it is hurtful and forbidden by the statute to flee your hides, skins, backes, with cuts and slashes, to the impoverishing of the poore shoemaker when he buies it; yet, I pray you, how many slaughters do you make in a poore calve's-skin? Oh butcher, a long Lent be your punishment; for you make no conscience in deceiving the poore. And you, maister brewer, that growe to be woorth forty-thousand pounds by selling of soden water, what subtilty have you, in making your beere, to spare the malt, and put in the more of the hoppe to make your drinke, be barly never so cheape, not a whit the stronger, and yet never sell a whit the more measure for money? You can, when you have taken all the harte of the malt away, then clape on store of water, 'tis cheape inough; and mashe out a tunning of smalle beare, that it scoures a man's maw like Rhenish wine. In your conscience, how many barrels draw you out of a quarter of malt? Fie, fie, I conceale your falshood, least I should be too broad in settinge downe your faults.

"And for you, goodman baker, you that love to be seene in the open market-place upon the pyllory; the world cries out of your wilnesse; you crave but one deere yeare to make your daughter a gentlewoman; you buy your corne at the best hand, and yet will not be content to make your bread weight by many ounces; you put in yeast and salt to make it heavie, and yet all your policie cannot make it, but you fine for the pylory; the poore crie out, the rich find fault, and the lord maior and the sherifs, like honorable and worshipfull majestrates, everie daie walke abroad and weigh your bread, and yet all will not serve to make you honest men; but, were extremitie used, and the statute put in the highest degree in practise, you would have as few eares on your heades as the collyer.

"Last to you, Tom Tapster, that tap your small cannes of beere to the poore, and yet fill them half full of froth; that carde⁵⁸ your beere, if you see your guests begin to be drunke, halfe small and halfe strong: you cannot be content to pinch with your small pottes and your ostrie faggots, but have your trugges to draw men on to villanie, and to bring customers to your house, where you sell a joint of meat for xii pence, that cost you scarce six; and if any chance to go on the skore, you skore him when he is asleepe, and set up a grot a daie more then he hath, to find you drinking pots with your companions. To be short, thou art a knave, and I like not any of the rest; the way lies before you, and therefore you may be gon, for you shall be none of the quest."

I smil'd to see Cloth-Breeches so peremptory; when I saw five fat fellowes, all in damaske cotes and gowned, weltd with velvet⁵⁹ verie brave, and in great consultation, as if they were to determine of some weightie matter: drawing neare, I sawe they were wealthie citizens; so I went and reverently saluted them, and told them, how we needed their aid about the appeasing of a controversie; shewing them where the knight, esquier, and other staid, till we might finde men to fill up the jurie. They were contented; but Velvet-Breeches excepted against fower of them, and said, "they were none of his frendes:" that was the marchant, goldsmith, mercer, and draper. His allegations were these, that they were all fethered of one winge, to fetch in yong gentlemen by commodities, under the colour of lending of monie. For the marchant he delivered the yron, tin, lead, hops, sugars, spices, oiles, browne paper, or whatsoever else, from six months to six months; which, when the poor gentleman came to sell againe, he could not make threescore and ten in the hundred, beside the usurie⁶⁰. The mercer he followeth the yong upstart gen-

⁵⁸ [*Carding* is used by writers of this period for *mixing*.]

⁵⁹ [It appears that the higher rank of citizens wore gowns *guarded* and *weltd*, i. e. adorned with shreds of velvet. See Fynes Morison's *Itin.* P. iii. p. 179.]

⁶⁰ ['The nefarious practice of lending young men money in the shape of goods, which are afterwards sold at a great loss, appears to have been more prevalent in the reign of Elizabeth than even at present. It is very strongly marked in Lodge's *Looking-glasse for England*, 1598, (in which our author had a hand,) where a usurer being very urgent for the repayment of his debt, is thus answered: "I pray you, sir, consider that my losse was great by the commoditie I took up. You know, sir, I borrowed of you forty pounds, whereof I had ten pounds in money, and thirtie pounds in *lute-strings*; which when I came to sell againe, I could get but five pounds for them: so had I, sir, but fiftene pounds for my fortie: in consideration of this ill bargain, I pray you, sir, give me a month longer." Douce's *Illustr. of Shaksp.* i. 40.]

tleman that hath no government of himselfe, and he feedeth his humor to go brave; he shall not want silks, sattins, velvets, to pranke abroad in his pomp; but with this provision, that he must bind over his land in a statute marchant or staple, and so at last forfeit all unto the mercilesse mercer, and leave himself never a foot of ground in Englande; which is the reason that, for a few remnaunts of velvets and silks, the mercer creepeth into whole lordships. The goldsmith is not behinde; for most of them deale with usurie, and let yong gentlemen have commodities of plate for ten in the hundred; but they must loose the fashion in selling it again, which cuts them sore: beside, they are most of them skil'd in alcumie, and can temper mettals shrewdly, with no little profit to themselves, and disadvantage to the buier; beside puffle-ringes, and quaint conceits, which I omit. And so for you, draper, hee fetcheth them off for liverie cloth, and cloth for six months and six; and yet hath hee more knacks in his budget, for hee hath so darke a shop that no man can well choose a peece of cloth: it so shadowes the die and the threed, a man shall be deceived in the wooll and the nappe, they cause the clothworker so to presse them; beside, hee imposeth this charge to the clothworker, that he drawe his cloth, and pull it passing hard when he sets it upon the tenters, that he may have it full breadth and length till thread and all tear and rent a-peece. What care they for that; have they not a drawer to serve their turne, to drawe and seame up the holes so cunningly, that it shall never be espied? Myselfe have seene, in one broad cloth, eightene score holes, torne, rackt, and pul'd by the clothworker; only to please the draper, and deceive the commonwealth. To be short, the clothworker, what with rowing⁶¹ and setting in a fine nap; with powdering it, and pressing it; with shering the wooll to the prooffe of the threed; deale so cunningly, that they prove themselves the draper's minister to execute his subtilties: therefore, if he chance to come, let him be remembred.

"Now, sir, for the vintner: he is an honest substantial man, a frend to all goodfellowes, and truly, my frend for my money, and woorthy to be of the jury." "Why no, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) I am of another mind; for I hold him as deceitful as any of the rest. What, the vintner! Why, he is a kinde of negromancer: for, at midnight, when all men are in bed, then he, forsooth, fals to his charmes and spels, so that he tumbles one hog's-head into another, and can make a cup of claret, that hath lost his colour, look high with a dash of red wine at his pleasure. If he hath a strong Gascoigne wine; for feare it should make his guests too soone drunke, he can allay it with a small Rochel wine; he can cherish up white wine with sacke; and, perhaps, if you bid him wash the pot cleane, when he goes to draw you a quart of wine, he will leave a little water in the bottome, and then draw it full of wine. And what, and if he do? 'Tis no harm: wine and water is good against the heat of the liver. It were infinit to reherse the jugling of vintners, the disorder of their houses, especially of the persons that frequent them; and therefore, sith Velvet-Breeches hath put by the marchant, goldsmith, mercer, and draper, the vintner shal goe with them for company."

As these were going away in a snuffe⁶², for being thus plainly taunted; we might see a mad merry crue come leping over the field, as frolickly as if they ought⁶³ not all the world two pence; and, drawing nearer, we might perceive, that either botle-ale, or beere, had made a fraie with them: for the lifting of their feet shewed the lightnesse of their heads. The formost was a plaine country Sir John⁶⁴, or vickar, that proclaimed, by the

⁶¹ [Or rolling.]

⁶² [*i. e.* Going away in anger.]

⁶³ [Owed.]

⁶⁴ [*Sir John* had been a ludicrous appellation for a priest even so early as in Chaucer's time:—

'Than spake our hoste with rude speche and bold,

'And sayd unto the Nonnes Preest anon,

'Come nere thou preest, come hither thou *Sire John*,

'Telle us swich thing as may our hertes glade.'

Nonnes Preestes Prol. ver. 14816.

About the time of the Reformation this nickname became more general. Thus it is used by the famous Henry Stephens, or his translator:—'Verily, it is not for want of examples, as well of other monks as of simple *Sir Johns*.'—'I will alleadge some rare examples of simple *Sir Johns*; that is, of such as are not monks, but 'single soled priests.' *World of Wonders*, p. 179.]

rednes of his nose, he did oftner goe into the ale-house than the pulpit ; and him I asked, “ What they were, and whether they were going ? ” “ What are you ? (quoth the priest,) that stand by the high-way to examine me and my frendes ; here’s none in my company, but are able to answeere for themselves.” I, seeinge they were all set on a merrye pinne, told the cause ; and howe the controversie grewe betwixt Cloth-Breeches and Velvet-Breeches, and that we needed them to be of the quest. “ Marry, (quoth Sir John,) a good motion : know, these all are my parishioners, and we have beene drinking with a poore man, and spending our money with him, a neighbor of ours, that hath lost a cow. Now for our names and our trades : This is a smith, the second a weaver, the third a miller, the fourth a cooke, the fifth a carpenter, the sixt a glover, the seventh a pedlar, the eight a tinker, the ninth a waterberer, the tenth a husbandman, the eleventh a diar, and the twelfth a sailor, and I their vickar ; How could you, sir, have a fitter jury, than me and my parishioners ? ” “ You are a little too breefe, (quoth Cloth-Breeches ;) are you not some puritan, maister parson ? or some fellow that raiseth up new scisemes and heresies amongst your people ? ” “ A plague on them all, (quoth I,) sir⁶⁵ ; for the world was never in quiet. Devotion, neighbourhood, nor hospitality, never flourished in this land, since such upstart boies and shittle⁶⁶ witted fools became of the ministry. I cannot tel, they preach faith, faith, and say, that doing of almes is papistry : but they have taught so long *Fides solùm justificat*, that they have preached good workes quite out of our parish : a poore man shall as soone breake his necke as his fast, at a rich man’s dore. For me, frend, I am, indeed, none of the best scholers ; yet I can read an Homely every Sondag and holyday, and I keepe companie with my neighbors, and goe to the ale-house with them, and if they be fallen out, spende my money to make them frendes ; and on Sondag, sometime, if goodfellowship call me away, I say both morning and evening prayer at once, and so let them have a whole afternoone to plaie in. This is my life : I spende my living with my parishioners, I seeke to do all good, and I offer no man harm.”

“ Well, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) I warrant thou art an honest vickar ; and therefore stand by, thou shalt be one of the quest. And, for you, smith, I see no great fault in you : you yerne your living with the sweat of your browes, and there can be no great knavery in you ; only I would have you mend your life for drinking, sith you are never at quiet, unles the pot be still at your nose. But you, weaver, the proverbe puts you downe for a crafty knave ; you canne filch and steale almost as ill as the tailor ; your woofe and warpe is so cunningly drawn out, that you plague the poore country huswives for their yarne, and dawbe on so much dreggs, that you make it seeme both well wrought, and be neare waight, when it is slenderly woven, and you have stolne a quarter of it from the poore wife. Away, be packing, for you shalbe cashiered. What, miller, shake handes with your brother the weaver for knavery ; you canne take toll twise, and have false hoppers to convey away the poore man’s meale : be gone, I love not your dusty lookes ; and, for companie, goodman cooke, go you with them ; for you coosen the poore men and countrie tearmers with your filthy meat ; you will buy of the worst and cheapest, when it is bad inough for dogs, and yet so powder it and parboile it, that you will sell it to some honest poore men, and that unreasonably to. If you leave any meate over night, you make a shift to heat it againe the nexte daie : nay, if on the Thursday at night there be any left, you make pies of it on Sondag mornings, and almost, with your slovenly knaverie, poison the poore people. To be short, I brooke you not, and therefore be walking. For the carpenter, glover, and waterbearer, the husbandman, diar, and sailor, sith your trades have but pettie slights, stand you with maister vickar, you are like to help to give in the verdict : but, for the pedlar and the tinker, they are two notable knaves, both of a haire, and both cosen-germaines to the devill. For the tinker, why, he is a drowsie, bawdy, drunken companion, that walkes uppe and downe with a trug after him, and, in stopping one hole, makes three ; and if in convenient place he meets with one alone, perhaps rifles him or

⁶⁵ [Qu. Ought not this portion of the dialogue to be put into the mouth of the ‘ vicar ? ’]

⁶⁶ [*i. e.* Puny.]

hir of all that ever they have ; a base knave, without fear of God, or love to anye one, but to his whore and to himselfe. The pedlar, as bad, or rather worse, walketh the countrey with his docksey⁶⁷ at the least, if he have not two, his *mortes dels* and *autem mortis*⁶⁸ : he passeth commonly through every paire of stocks, either for his drunkennesse, or his lecherie. And, beside, it is reported, you can lift, or nip a bounge, like a Guire Cove, if you want pence, and that you carrie your pack but for a coulour to shadow your other villanies. Well, howsoever, you are both knaves, and so be jogging." "Well, (quoth I,) I suppose the jurie is almost full ; I beleve we want not above three or four persons ; looke you where they come to make up the number ; and they should be men of good disposition, for they seeme to be all of the countrey."

Assoone as they came to us, I met them, and told them the matter, and they were content. The one said he was a grasier, the other a farmer, the other a shephard to them both. "What thinke you of these three?" quoth I. "Marry, (saith Velvet-Breeches,) two of them are honest men, but the other is a base knave : but 'tis no matter, shuffle him in amongst the rest." "Nay, by your leave, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) I will shuffle out these two ; for they are the verie cormorants of the countrey, and devoure the poore people with their monstrous exactions. And, first, I alledge against the grasier, that he forestalleth pastures and medow grounds for the feeding of his cattell, and wringeth leases of them out of poore men's handes ; and, in his buieng of cattell, he committeth great usury ; for, if it prove a wet yeare, then he maketh havocke, and selleth deere ; if it be a drie yeare, then he buyeth cheape, and yet, having pasture, keepes them till he may come to his owne prise. He knoweth, as well as the butcher, by the feed of a bullocke, how much tallow he will yield ; what his quarters will amount unto, what the tanner will give for the hide ; nay, what the sowse⁶⁹ wives are able to make of the inwards ; so that he sels it so deere to the butcher, that he can scarse live of it ; and therefore what subtiltie the butcher useth cometh from the grasier ; so that I exempt him from the quest, as a bad member, and an ill friend to Cloth-Breeches. And, for you, maister farmer, you know how, through you, covetous landelords raise their rents ; for, if a poore man have but a plough-land, if you see his pastures bear good grasse, and his earable ground good corne, and that he prospereth, and goeth forward on it, and provideth and maintaineth his wife and servants honestly ; then

Invidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis,

Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.

Then straight envie pricks the farmer forward, and he bids the landelord farre more then the poore man paies yearely for it : so that, if he be a tenant at will, he puts him out to begge in the street ; or, when his lease comes out, he over loades him in the fines ; and thus bloodsucketh he the poore for his owne private profite. Besides, the base chuffe, if he sees a forward yeare, and that corne is like to be plenty, then he murmureth against God, and swereth and protesteth he shall be undone ; respecting more the filling of his owne coffers by a dearth, than the profite of his countrey by a general plenty. Besides, sir, may it please you ; when new corne comes into the market, who brings in to relieve the state ? Not your maistership, but the poore husbandman, that wants pence ; for you keepe it till the backe ende of the yeare : nay, you have your garners, which have corne two or three yeare olde, uppon hope still of a deere yeare, rather letting the weasels eate it, then the poore should have it at any reasonable price. So that, I conclude, you are a cormorant of the commonwealth, and a wretch that lives of the spoile of the needy ; and so I leave you to jet with the grasier. Marry, for the shephard, (unlesse it be, that he killeth a lambe now and then, and saies the fox stole him,) I know little craft in his budget ; therefore let him be among the honest men of the jury."

"Well, Cloth-Breeches, (quoth I,) you are very peremptory in your challenges ; what say you, here comes three or four citizens, will anye of these serve turn ?" "I cannot tell, (quoth he,) till I know their names and conditions." With that, I stept afore the

⁶⁷ [Doxy.]

⁶⁸ [See the Canting Dictionary.]

⁶⁹ [Qu. howse ?]

company, and inquired what they were? The eldest of them, being a grave citizen, sayde he was a grocer; the rest his good and honest neighbors, a chandler, a haberdasher, a clothworker, and two strangers, one a Walloon, the other a Dutchman. "How like you of these?" (quoth I, to Velvet-Breeches). "Well inough, (quoth he,) for I am little acquainted with them; yet I knowe they favour me, bicause I have on a Sunday seene them all in their silkes." "I⁷⁰ marry, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) but they never get that bravery with honesty; for the clothworker his faultes were laide open before, when we had the draper in question, and therefore let him bee packing. For you, chandler, I like not of yqur tricks; you are too conversant with the kitchen-stuffe wives; you, after your weeke or snaft is stiffened, you dip it in filthy drosse, and after give him a coat of good tallowe, which makes the candles drop and wast away, to the great hindrance of the poore workemen that watcheth in the night. Beside, you pinch in your waights, and have false measures, and many other knaveries that I omit; but this be sure, you shall not meddle in my matter. Neither the haberdasher, for he trims up olde feltes, and makes them very fayre to the eie, and faceth and edgeth them neatly, and then hee turnes them away to such a simple man as I am; and so abuseth us with his coosenage. Beside, you buy gum'd tafata, wherewith you line hats that will straight assunder, as soone as it comes to the heate of a man's head. To be breefe; I am not well skil'd in your knaveries, but indeed you are too subtile for poor Cloth-Breeches, and therefore you shall be none of the jurie. Marrie, the grocer seemes an honest man, and I am content to admit of him: only take this as a caveat by the way, that you buy, of the garbellers of spices, the refuse that they sifte from the marchant, and that you mix againe and sell it to your customers. Besides, in your beaten spices, as in pepper, you put in bay berries, and such drosse, and so wring the poore; but these are sleight causes; and so I overpasse them, and vouchsafe you to be of the quest. But I pray you, what be those two honest men?" Quoth the grocer, "The one a Dutchman and a shoemaker, the other a Frenchman and a millainer⁷¹ in S. Martins, and sels shirts, bands, bracelets, jewells, and such prety toies for gentlewomen."

"Oh they be of Velvet-Breeches' acquaintance, upstarts as well as he, that have brought with them pride and abuses into Englande: and first to the millainer. What toyes deviseth he to feed the humor of the upstart gentleman withall, and of fond gentlewomen? Such fannes, such ouches⁷², such brooches, such bracelets, such graundcies⁷³, such periwigs, such paintings, such ruffles and cuffes, as hath almost made Englande as full of proud foppries as Tyre and Sydon were. There is no seamster can make a bande or a shirt soe well as his wife: and why, forsooth? Bicause the filthy queane wears a craunce⁷⁴, and is a Frenchwoman, forsooth; where as our English women of the Exchange are both better workwomen, and will affoord a better peniworth. And so for the drunken Dutchman, this shoemaker, he and such as he is, abuseth the commonwealth, and the poore mechanickall men and handicrafts men of London: for our new upstart fooles, of Velvet-Breeches' fraternity, liketh nothing but that the outlandish asse maketh. They like no shoo so well as Dutchman maketh, when our Englishe men passe them farre. And so for chandlers, and all other occupations, they are wronged by the Dutch and French. And therefore, sith the commons hates them, they cannot be my frendes, and therefore let them be launching to Flushing, for they shall be no triers of my controversie." "Well, (quoth I,) now I suppose the jury is full, and we see no more comming, let us call them and see howe manye we have." So they appeared to their names, as followeth:

⁷⁰ [The affirmative particle *aye*, was usually written *I*, in Greene's time.]

⁷¹ [Millaner or Millainer was the original orthography of Milliner. Thus in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601, 4to. 'As a *Millaner's* wife does her wrought stomacher.'—And this (says Mr. Waldron) points out the etymology of the word; for persons exercising the trade of a *Millaner*, came originally from *Milan*. Literary Museum.]

⁷² ['*Owche*, a collar or carcanet to hang about a gentlewoman's neck.' Barret's Dict. 1580.]

⁷³ [Qu. Craunces? See the next note.]

⁷⁴ [A chaplet, or garland.

'Thair heids wer garnisht gallandlie

'With costly *crauncis* made of gold.'

Watson's Coll. ii. 10.]

The Names of the Jury to be empanelled.

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Knight. | 7. Skinner. | 13. Cutler. | 19. Husbandman. |
| 2. Esquire. | 8. Diar. | 14. Plaisterer. | 20. Shephard. |
| 3. Gentleman. | 9. Pewterer. | 15. Saylor. | 21. Waterman. |
| 4. Priest. | 10. Saddler. | 16. Ropemaker. | 22. Waterbearer. |
| 5. Printer. | 11. Joyner. | 17. Smith. | 23. Bellowsmender. |
| 6. Grocer. | 12. Bricklaier. | 18. Glover. | |

"What, is it not possible (quoth I) to have one more, to make up the four-and-twenty?" As I was thus speaking, I espied, a-far off, a certain kind of an overworne gentleman, attired in velvet and sattyn, but it was somewhat dropped and greasie; and bootes on his legges, whose soles waxed thin, seemed to complaine of their maister, which, treadinge thrift under his feet, had brought them unto that consumption. He walked not as other men in the common beaten waye, but came compassing *circum circa*, as if we had beene devills, and he would draw a circle about us; and at every third steppe he looked backe, as if he were afrayde of a bayly or serjeant.

After him followed two pert applesquires; the one had a murrey⁷⁵ cloth gowne on, faced downe before with gray conny, and laid thicke on the sleeves with lace, which he quaintly bare up, to shew his white taffata hose and blacke silke stockings; a huge ruffe about his necke wrapt in his great head like a wicker cage; a little hat with brimes like the wings of a doublet, wherein he wore a jewell of glasse, as broad as the chancery seale. After him followed two boies in cloakes like butter-flies, carrieng one of them his cutting sword of choller, the other his daunsing rapyer of delight⁷⁶. His camerard⁷⁷, that bare him company, was a jollie light timbered jacke-a-napes, in a sute of watchet taffata cut to the skinne, with a cloake all-to bedawbed with colour'd lace. Both he and my gowned brother seemed, by their pase, as if they had some sutes to mounsieur Boots. At length comming neer, I might discerne the first to be a poet, the second a player, the third a musition, *aliàs* the usher of a daunsing scoole. "Well met, maister poet, (quoth I,) and welcome, you frendes also, though not so perticularly knowne. So it is; though none of you three be commonwealthsmen, yet upon urgent necessitye wee must be forced to employ you. We have a jury to bee empanelled immediatly, which one of you three must help to make up; even he which approves himselfe the honestest man." "They are all honest men and goodfellowes, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) therefore, it is no great matter whether of them we choose."

"The doctors doubt of that, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) for I am of a different opinion. This first, whome by his carelesse slovenlie gate at first sight I imagined to be a poet, is a wast-good and an unthrift; that he is borne to make the tavernes richt, and himselfe a begger: if he have forty pounds in his purse together, he puts it not to usurie, neyther buies land nor marchandize with it, but a monthes commoditie of wenches and capons. Tenne pound a supper, why tis nothing, if his plough goes and his inkhorne be cleere. Take one of them worth twentie thousande pound, and hang him. He is a king of his pleasure, and counts all other boores and pesants, that, though they have money at command, yet know not, like him, how to domaneere with it to any purpose as they should. But, to speake plainely, I think him an honest man, if he would but live within his compasse; and, generally, no man's foe but his owne. Therefore I hold him a man fit to be of my jurie." "Nay, (quoth Velvet-Breeches,) I have more minde to these two; for this poet is a proud fellow, that, bicause he hath a little wit in his budget, will contemne and mistake us that are the common sort of gentlemen, and thinke we are beholding to him, if he doe but bestow a faire looke upon us. The player, and the usher of the dauncing-schoole are plaine, honest, humble men, that play for a penny, or an olde cast suit of apparell." "Indeed, (quoth Cloth-Breeches,) yousaye troth; they are but too humble, for

⁷⁵ [Blackish, or dun colour. Minshew.]

⁷⁶ [It was the custom (says Mr. Douce) in queen Elizabeth's time, for servants to carry their masters' rapiers. Thus, in Markham's Health to the gentlemanly Profession of a Serving-man, 'Yf a man can place a dysh, fyll a boule, and carrie his maister's rapier, what more is or can be required at his handes?' Illustr. of Shaksp. vol. i. p. 59.]

⁷⁷ [Comrade.]

they be so lowly, that they be base minded: I meane not in their lookes nor apparell, for so they be peacockes and painted asses, but in their course of life, for they care not how they get crowns, I meane how basely, so they have them; and yet, of the two, I hold the player to be the better Christian, although he is, in his owne imagination, too full of self liking and self love, and is unfit to be of the jurie; though I hide and concele his faults and fopperies, in that I have bene merrie at his sports: only this I must say, that such a plaine cuntry fellow as my selfe, they bring in as clownes and fooles to laugh at in their plaie; whereas they get by us, and of our almes the proudest of them all doth live. Well, to be breefe; let him trot to the stage, for he shall be none of the jurie. And for you, maister usher of the dauncing-schoole, you are a leader into all misrule; you instruct gentlemen to order their feet, when you drive them to disorder their manners; you are a bad fellowe, that stand upon your tricks and capers, til you make yong gentlemen caper without their lands: why, sir, to be flat with you, you live by your legges as a jugler by his hands, you are given over to the pumps and vanities of the world; and, to be short, you are a keeper of misrule, and a lewd fellow, and you shall be none of the quest."

"Why then, (quoth I,) you are both agreed that the poet is he that must make up the twenty-four." They answered both, "He, and none but he." Then I, calling them all together, bade them laye their hands on the booke; and first I cal'd the knight, and after, the rest as they followed in order; then I gave them their charge thus:

"Worshipfull sir, with the rest of the jury, whome we have solicited of choice honest menne, whose consciences will deale uprightlye in this controversie; you and the rest of your company are heere upon your oath and oathes, to inquire whether Cloth-Breeches have done desseison unto Velvet-Breeches; yea, or no, in or about London, in putting him out of franke tenement, wronging him of his right, and imbellishing his credit: if you finde that Cloth-Breeches hath done Velvet-Breeches wrong, then let him be set in his former estate, and allowe him reasonable dammages." Upon this, they laid their handes on the booke and were sworne, and departed to scrutine of the matter, by inquirie amongst themselves; not stirring out of our sight, nor staieng long; but straight returned, and the knight for them all, as the formost, said thus: "So it is, that we have with equity and confidence considered of this controversy betweene Velvet-Breeches and Cloth-Breeches, as touching the prerogative of them both, which are most woorthy to be rightly resedent and have seison in frank tenement heere in Englande; and we do find that Cloth-Breeches is by many hundred years more antient, ever since Brute, an inhabitant in this Iland, one that hath beene *in diebus illis* a companion to kings, an equall with the nobility, a frend to gentlemen and yeomen, and a patron of the poore; a true subject; a good house-keeper, and generally as honest as he is antient. Whereas Velvet-Breeches is an upstart, come out of Italy, begot of pride, nursed up by self-love, and brought into this cuntry by his companion Newfanglesse; that he is but of late time a raiser of rents, and an enimie in the commonwealth, and one that is not any way to be preferd in equitie before Cloth-Breeches: therefore, by general verdict wee adjudge Cloth-Breeches to have done him no wrong; but that he hath lawfully claimed his title of frank tenement, and in that we appoint him for ever to be resedent." At this verdict, pronounst by the knight, all the standers-by clapt their hands, and gave a mighty shout; whereat I started and awaked: for I was in a dreame and in my bed, and so rose upp, and writ in a merrie vaine what you have heard.

The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament; or, a Collection of the Acts, Orders, Votes, and Resolves, that have passed in the House. By Samuel Butler, Author of *Hudibras*¹.

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[Octavo; containing sixteen pages.]

An Advertisement to the Reader.

Reader,

THOU art desired to take notice of the last order of parliament in this book mentioned, whereby I am enjoined, upon my oath, to discover only things tolerable, and agreeable to the practice formerly of the Long Parliament: now the lands be sold, offices disposed of, and their own turns satisfied, and they turned out, I shall acquaint you further. For it is a maxim here, that if I swear to be faithful to another, if that other hath the worse of it, I am not bound by this oath: and this is the opinion of all Reformed divines; and, to my knowledge, hath been put in practice for these eighteen years. So that, being now discharged of that oath, I shall hereafter discharge a good conscience, and set forth a history of rare things. These are not an ace to them I have in my budget. Farewell.

J. CANNE.

N. B. This Canne was a noted man amongst the saints in those times; therefore, the author made use of his name in order to conceal himself.

May the 9th, 1659.

THIS day their small Assembly was resolved into a Grand Committee, to debate what the House should be called in ordinary proceedings.

Lenthall. It shall be called, 'The New Exchange.'

Vane. It shall be called, 'The House of Prayer.'

Hasilrigg. It shall be called, 'A Gaol;' for I see Martin and other gaol-birds here.

Lowry. It shall be called, 'Haberden.'

Skippon. It shall be called, 'A Den of Thieves.'

Atkins. It shall be called, 'A House of Office.'

Scot. It shall be called, 'The Free-State Cross.'

Saloway. That is a superstitious name. Let it be called, 'The Armies Ware-house.'

Martin. Let it be called, 'A Church;' for we are all saints.

St. John. I am of opinion, that, by the ancient known laws of England, this is the legallest parliament that ever was; and that the men, that met here by Oliver's and Richard's writs, made but illegal assemblies; therefore let it be called, 'The Parliament-House.'

Baron Hill. } We are of the same opinion strongly.
Baron Nichols. }

Withrington. I shall declare no opinion as to the point, but shall consider thereof.

¹ [This does not appear in the Posthumous Works of Butler, 1719, nor in Thyer's edition of his Genuine Remains, 1759; nor is it mentioned in any list of his writings.]

Prynne this day got in, and he would have it called 'Bedlam;' for here is frantic Mr. St. John, hair-brained Hasilrigg, senseless Lowry and Atkins, possessed Vane, distracted Nichols, and a multitude more of mad-men, besides fools; therefore, he thought it fit that the chains and fetters might be removed from Newgate hither, to be keepers of the liberties. Thereupon, the House ordered it to be referred to a committee, and adjourned till the afternoon; and that Mr. Prynne should come no more there, for he was too wise and too honest to be in that place. In the afternoon they met, and, upon debate, these things were resolved on. First,

Resolved, That the family of the Cromwells are not born Protectors. Secondly,

Resolved, That it is more convenient we should have the government; we having already the crown-lands. So they adjourned till the next morning.

May 10th.

This day it was referred to a committee, to consider of the Self-denying Ordinance; and they are to take notice, that there are several king's lands yet to be sold; therefore, they are to report, whether it be convenient that that ordinance be in force or no.

May 11th.

This day this committee, whereof St. John was chairman, reported to the House, That by law that ordinance was of no force, for the intent of the makers of laws must be observed; and it cannot be intended, that the makers thereof would so far prejudice their own interests, as to have that ordinance to be in force when lands are to be sold, and places to be disposed of.

May 12th.

Ordered, That this day, usually called 'Ascension-day,' be no more called so; but henceforth May 7th be called by that name, in commemoration of our ascent to the old shop on that day. And this was the great work of that day.

From May 13th to May 20th.

The House took into their consideration the titles of honour and dignity conferred by squire Oliver and his son Richard; and, also other titles to be given. And thereupon it was enacted as follows:

The Contents of the Act for Names, Titles and Dignities, &c.

First enacted, That our fellow-member, alderman Atkins, be no more called Alderman Tom, Alderman Shitbreech, Sir Tom, Sir Alderman, Tom Thumb; but in all ordinary proceedings he be called and stiled, Tom Fool; and, in exigents, let him be named, Tom Turd.

Secondly, That Harry Nevill be no more called, 'Religious Harry Nevill;' that the people may take notice he is one of the council of state.

Thirdly, That the eldest son of Oliver Protector have the same addition of title and dignity, that the Long Parliament conferred upon the eldest son of the late king to all intents and purposes.

Fourthly, That all other titles of honour whatsoever be sequestered, and the profits arising thence to go to the payment of the late Protector's debts. Provided that this act, nor any thing herein, shall be construed to take away or null those apt and reasonable titles that are given to the several members and council of state, and recorded in the excellent book of 'England's Confusion.'

From May 20th to June 1.

This day the regulation of the law was taken into consideration: and,

Resolved, That the ablest lawyers be prohibited to judge or practise; that the law may flourish, and justice be done.

Ordered, That old colonel Walton grow young again before three weeks, or the dissolution of this parliament; and by that time become as frolic as he was with the barber's wife, that his young wife may no longer be forced to get a snap abroad, at the great charge of the publick. And that, in the interim, he sit close in the house; and that she hath allowed to her an universal toleration during that time and no longer.

Yesterday the colt, formerly drowned at Huntingdon, and taken up at the great charge and pains of the mayor and recorder, was voted a sturgeon, *nemine contradicente*: and, it was ordered, that serjeant Bernard have the next sturgeon to his own use; any grant or prescription to others, notwithstanding.

Resolved, That Paul's steeple is the cross that stood formerly in Cheapside; and, therefore, to be pulled down forthwith.

Reported from a Committee of Safety as follows:

That the best way to settle this nation in peace, is to sell the residue of the lands, &c. and dispose of them amongst the parliament-men that were not liberally provided for before 1653. Yet we conceive that sir Arthur Hasilrigg remembered himself pretty well before that time: however, if the Parliament adjudged £30,000 *per annum* not sufficient for him, let him have more. This report was taken into consideration accordingly, being of great import. Thereupon the House resolved into a grand committee, to debate the proportioning of the said lands, to the particular members, according to their wants.

Lenthall. Gentlemen, can you think that I, that I your Speaker, your everlasting Speaker, who am resolved to live and die with you at £5 *per diem*, can live to maintain myself and family at that great rate I now live at; and support the grandeur that should attend the Speaker to so noble persons, with £13,000 *per annum*, and not above £80,000 in personal estate?

Skippon. I have enough of £1,000 *per annum*, and desire no more to live as well as Mr. Speaker.

Hasilrigg. You say well, but £100,000 *per annum* is better; and, upon my credit, I want Daniel Collingwood's estate to make me up £30,000 *per annum*; I pray consider it.

Scot. Gentlemen, my father-in-law, Plush-Bacon, is dead, and hath cheated me of £5,000; besides, it will take £10,000 *per annum* to make me honest.

Martin. If I have not enough to pay my debts at present, and to maintain as many whores as the earl of Middlesex, lord Monson, (my fellow-boarder in Southwark,) or the late earl of Warwick; I'll leave the House, and go to prison again. What! do you think I'll help to cheat the people for nothing?

Vane. Come, gentlemen, if you will be a little religious, you may make shift with £15,000 *per annum* as I do.

Darby. My eldest son wishes me hanged, that I served so long in this trade, and am like to leave him no better estate. Pray think on it.

St. John. I have built me a little house lately, and want some ground to lay to it. If you'll grant me a forest, I'll remove my house thither; for the law is as clear as it was in the earl of Strafford's case: that I may remove it by *Habeas corpus*.

Weavour. Come, gentlemen, you are a little too busy; take heed the Army prevent not the design; I am a good willer to the mathematicks myself; but let's make them sure, for upon my credit Lambert is no fool. Thereupon, the House adjourned till June the first.

From June the 1st to the 4th.

This day the House took into consideration that seasonable motion of Mr. Weavour, and have ordered as follows:

Ordered, That the Army-officers be fooled out of their old commissions, by virtue of which they were our masters; and that they take new ones from us, by virtue of which we are their masters.

Ordered likewise, That we juggle with some of the stoutest and soberest colonels in the Army, to go snips with us underhand; that they may curb the rest, and keep them in awe.

Ordered, That Hacker and Okey be two of them; and that there be but two besides listed into this confederacy, lest it be discovered, or lest we give too much from ourselves.

Ordered lastly, That this present Parliament sit till May next, (if Lambert be not too cunning for them before that time); and that, in the interim, parliament-men be valued at a penny a-piece; and that the former value of twelve a penny, set upon them in 1653, be made void.

June the 4th.

This day the House took into consideration the business between Harry Nevill and Stroud, sheriffs in Berkshire; which is referred to a committee to report, If it be not all the reason in the world, that one of the council of state should have fifteen-hundred pounds, whether it belongs to him, or no? And that Stroud should pay it, for not returning him to that parliament, which Nevill had a hundred times sworn to be no parliament?

Ordered by the House, That Mr. St. John be assistant to that committee, to inform how the same stands; and whether *Magna Charta* doth not warrant that, as well as the dark lanthorn.

Monday, June the 6th.

This day came an express from Ireland, That the noble and valiant deputy will, before long, learn Fleetwood more wit, and Lambert more honesty; and that he will turn these jugglers out of their box, as his father did.

Ordered thereupon, That he forthwith repair to England, if he be such a fool; and that we catch him in our clutches, if we can, lest he obstruct our religious designs.

June the 7th.

This day the House considered of Mr. Harrington's proposals concerning a free state; and thereupon

Resolved, That he is a fool to busy his noddle about that which the House never thinks on; for, when they have made all even, they will break up school.

June the 8th.

Ordered, That Mr. Harrington be forthwith dispatched to Jamaica, that famous island, and form his commonwealth there; and that he hath all the golden mines for his pains.

June the 9th.

Resolved, That all Papists and Jesuits be tolerated in England; and that Anabaptists and Quakers be inserted into the Army; that by that time the Parliament have gotten into their hands the residue of what is left, the Army may make mutinies among themselves, and discharge us, and set the people against them, and we go scot-free.

June the 10th.

The House, this day, upon consideration that the high and mighty prince Vane is to marry with the illustrious infant of Wimbleton-house, ordered, That Richard Cromwell depart from thence forthwith, to make way for their Highnesses; and that the Banqueting-house be prepared with a pair of bagpipes and a North-country jig, to entertain the nobles, that shall attend the solemnization of those nuptials.

June the 11th, to June the 18th.

Ordered, That Hacker and Okey have a strict eye of Lambert, when he goes to Whitehall, lest he steps into the chair.

The House called Mr. Canne in, and ordered him to publish only what was agreeable to their former proceedings; and, if it fell out, at any time, that they should do otherwise than the people expect, that he should conceal the same: whereto Canne, their news-maker, agreed, and was sworn.

A farther¹ brief and true Narration of the late Wars risen in New-England; occasioned by the quarrelsome Disposition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous and savage Indian Natives there: with an Account of the Fight, the 19th of December last, 1675. London, February 17th, 1675-6. Licensed, Henry Oldenburgh.

London, printed by J. D. for M. K. and are to be sold by the Booksellers, 1676.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

SIR,

Boston, December 28th, 1675.

THIS verily believed with us, that all generous minds in both Englands, which concern themselves to enquire after our affairs in these parts of the world, and wish us well, have a longing desire the Indian wars might be ended; and we presumed ere this, that the powers of persuasion or force would have made a happy change, by altering the minds, or restraining the malice of our heathen foes.

But so it is, the rod of God's anger is still upon us; for the Pocanaket Sachem Metacôm, *aliàs* Philip, still lives! he lives to be vexation to us in all places where he comes. Yea, he lives, and by his subtlety proves a more forcible and perilous enemy to us than ever we could have imagined. He hath drawn into his confederacy all the Indians, from Cape Sables eastward to the Mohawks, which is about three-hundred miles, or upwards: and our fears are, (which would to God they were but fears!) that some traders of Europe, for love of gain, have from time to time supplied them with ammunition.

At the eastward, the Indians have ruined Falmouth Black Point, and Saco, and slain in those towns thirty persons. Some they took alive, and sat them upright in the ground, using this sarcasm: 'You English, since you came into this country, have grown exceedingly above ground; let us now see how you will grow when planted into the ground.' At Ketterey, they have slain fourteen persons, and burnt sundry houses: at Dover they also have killed some, and fired two or three houses. Our enemies proudly exult over us, and blaspheme the name of our Blessed God, saying, 'Where is your O God?' taunting at the poor wretches, which, to make themselves sport with, they cruelly torture to death. But our affiance is in the God that made heaven and earth, who, when he arises, will scatter our enemies.

¹ [This was preceded by "A brief and true Narrative of the late Wars risen in New-England; occasioned by the quarrelsome Disposition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous, savage, and heathenish Natives there." London, printed for J. S. 1675. 4to. The tract consists only of one sheet, and will be found in the supplemental portion of this Work.]

It hath been the great care of our council to distinguish between friends and enemies; for most of our mischiefs have flowed from pretended friends, who have demeaned themselves exceeding fairly with us, till they have had the opportunity secretly and suddenly to endamage us, and then they fly to our avowed adversaries. Many of our commonalty would have all Indians (*quatenus* such) declared enemies: but our soberest sort justly fear to condemn the innocent with the guilty; knowing that *justitia est firmitas regni*; nor would they draw on themselves the guilt of blotting out the interest of the Gospel amongst the Indians, remembering New-England was originally a plantation more famous for religion than trade; and to this day the Massachusets, in the impress of their public seal, have an Indian engraven with these words, 'Come over and help us;' alluding to Acts xvi. 9. Much intestine heart-burnings and complainings, not to say mutinies, have been about these matters; to quiet which, eleven of the most notorious (with whom some English plunder was found) were arraigned; six whereof, being evidently found guilty, were soon after executed; and, at the desire of the honestest of them, all the professing Indians are placed and provided for on certain islands, where they are out of harm's way; and by an act of the general court, which is our parliament here, 'tis death for any of them to come off thence without licence from the magistrate. Our people, since the loss of captain Lathrop of Beverly, (with about sixty men, by surprise,) and the burning of Springfield, are grown not less valorous, but more cautious. Experience is the mother of prudence, and little good comes of despising an enemy. Yet let not the world censure too much captain Lathrop. He, in the Pequot wars, had done exploits; nor in this would have been behind-hand, if the narrow passage or causey, where his unexpected enemies set on him, would have given him leave to have drawn up his men. But, however, this may be said, to use the words of a wise man; 'There was never censor that judged, senator that ordered, general that commanded, council that executed, orator that persuaded, nor any other mortal man, but sometimes he committed errors.' Let such, as are too apt to censure the conduct of some affairs here, remember this.

On the 19th of October, Philip assaulted Hartsfield, a town on Connecticut-River, with about eight-hundred men. But there were two-hundred of ours then in the town, which in two hours space, with the loss of one man only, put the Indians to a total flight, and killed about an hundred of them; sixty of whose dead bodies the Indians carried with them on horses, &c. (for they had several horses amongst them). After which, Philip and the Nipnet Indians fled to the Narragansits; which caused the council of the Massachusets to publish in print this manifesto:

To our Brethren and Friends the Inhabitants of the Colony of the
Massachusets.

ALTHOUGH you cannot be ignorant how studious this government hath been to preserve peace in this colony, and have taken up and compromised divers quarrels that have risen between ourselves, our neighbours, and the Indians; and thereby at several times prevented those calamities wherewith we are now pressed: yet, to satisfy you that the same mind and the same endeavours are continued in the present government, we have thought it necessary to let you understand the rise and progress of our present troubles, with our endeavours to have prevented the same.

In June last, we were certified by our friends and confederates of Plymouth, that Philip, the sachem of Mount-Hope, was in arms, and had solicited all the Indians to join with him against the English; and, withal, they desired our assistance to suppress him: which we, by the articles of confederation, could not deny, and therefore applied ourselves to raise some force for their assistance, but were still desirous to prevent a war with the Indians; and therefore, upon a former experience of a good effect wrought upon the said Philip, we resolved to use the same means, *viz.* sending messengers from hence to Philip to treat with him, hoping of the like issue, which, upon the like case

about four years since, we, by God's good hand, obtained. But our messengers arriving at Swanzy, in their way towards Philip, found divers English murdered on the road; and were informed by the English there, of divers hostilities of the Indians, which rendered our design and their negotiation hopeless; upon which they returned, and informed us as abovesaid. Whereupon, our forces began their march, in aid of our friends at Plymouth; and having driven Philip from his country, we being informed that the Narragansets harboured his women, and aided him with men, we ordered our soldiers to march to Narraganset, in order to keep them quiet, and prevent their succouring or harbouring the enemy: where, after some delay, they were drawn to consent to our demands; promising neither to entertain nor assist our enemies, which they since confirmed in a treaty with the commissioners of the colonies; further engaging, that they would deliver all those of Philip's party, that upon his route near Scatoneck, or since, were fled to them; but have failed in every particular.

You may also take notice, that, before any of our soldiers marched to Mount-Hope, we were very careful to understand the state of the Nipnet Indians, to prevent Philip's design, and secure those Indians; and, therefore, dispatched two messengers well known to them, to certify them of Philip's motion, and of our desire to keep amity and friendship with them, according to the covenants made with them long since, no-ways violated on our part. And, by the said messengers, received fair returns from the most of them, being in ten or twelve plantations. Some of them pretending fear of us; for their further satisfaction, when our forces were sent out against Philip, we, to satisfy and secure them, sent them, by Ephraim Curtice, a declaration under the public seal, that we had no design, or intent, to disturb them, or any other Indians, that would remain in their plantations peaceably; which message and messenger was evilly treated by many of them then assembled, and the messenger much endangered by the younger men, and not with any satisfaction by their sachems, as the event shewed; though at that present more moderately received.

Soon after this dispatch, and before Philip's flying from Pocasset, and march up towards the Nipnet country, some of the said Nipnet Indians assaulted and slew divers of our people at Mendam; whereupon, captain Hutchinson, with a small guard, was sent up to the said Nipnet Indians, if possible, to keep them quiet; who arriving at Quabaog, whereabouts was a rendezvous of the Indians; and having sent to them, they promised to meet him in a certain place, whither he at the time repairing, found not the Indians; and being encouraged by the English of Quabaog, that the Indians were peaceable, &c. he advanced forward towards the place of the Indians' rendezvous to treat them: but, in the way, was, by ambuscade, treacherously way-laid; by which himself, with several others, were wounded and slain, the English of Quabaog immediately assaulted, and the town, except one house, totally destroyed; at which time, as we understand, Philip also, with his broken party, came up to the said Indians, and upon the first, or immediately before the arrival of the forces, we sent up for the relief of those of Quabaog; Philip and his whole crew retreated, as we then feared, and afterwards were informed, towards Connecticut river; from whence, recruiting himself with ammunition from Albany, and with men, partly from the treacherous Indians about Hadly and Springfield, he hath prosecuted his first design to ruin and destroy the English. And, notwithstanding all the opposition of our forces, hath done much mischief and spoil; and, since the repulse he received at Hatsfield, withdrew into the Nipnet country; and since that, as we understand, towards the Narragansets, who, we do conclude, have favoured, abetted, and assisted him therein; and, by entertaining and harbouring our enemies, have dealt falsely and perfidiously with us: whereby, we find ourselves necessarily engaged, with the consent, advice, and assistance of the rest of the colonies, in a war with them, as well as with Philip; unless they prevent the same by a timely compliance, and performance, and security for the future. For the managing and carrying on whereof, we hope for, and expect (as we have hitherto had) the assistance of all his Majesty's subjects of this

colony, in their respective capacities, in the just defence of the glory of God, the honour, defence, and safety of our king, country, and ourselves, from the subtlety, rage, and treacherous attempts of our barbarous enemies.

Dated at Boston, the 7th of December, *anno Christi*, 1675; *annoque domini Caroli Secundi, regis Angl. Scot. Fran. & Hibern. defensoris fidei*, &c. 27^o.

By the Council,

EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.

Providence Displayed: or a very surprising Account of one Mr. Alexander Selkirk¹, Master of a Merchant-Man called ‘The Cinque-Ports;’ who dreaming that the Ship would soon after be lost, he desired to be left on a desolate Island in the South-Seas, where he lived Four Years and Four Months without seeing the Face of Man; the Ship being afterwards cast away as he dreamed: as also how he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal Place, by two Bristol Privateers, called ‘The Duke and Dutchess;’ that took the rich Aquapulco Ship, worth one-hundred Ton of Gold, and brought it to England. To which is added, an Account of his Birth and Education; his Description of the Island where he was cast; how he subsisted; the several strange Things he saw; and how he used to spend his Time. With some pious Ejaculations that he used, composed during his melancholy Residence there. Written by his own Hand, and attested by most of the eminent Merchants upon the Royal-Exchange.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

IN the Voyage of the Duke and Dutchess privateers, belonging to Bristol, that took the rich Aquapulco ship, they came to an island called Juan Fernandez; where sending their pinnace on shore, she returned, after some time, bringing with her a man clothed in goat-skins, who seemed as wild as the goats themselves.

¹ [This tract is printed nearly *verbatim* from the narrative given by Captain Woodes Rogers, in his ‘Cruizing Voyage round the World,’ 1712. Captain Edward Cooke, who went the same voyage, and published a journal of it, gives the following short account of Selkirk: ‘The Duke’s boat went a-shore and found one Alexander Selkirk, who had been formerly master of the ‘Cinque-Ports’ galley, an English privateer in those parts; and having some difference with the captain of the said ship, and she being leaky, he left the said captain Stradling, going a-shore on this island, where he continued four years and four months, living on goats, and cabbages that grew on trees; parsnips, &c. He told us, a Spanish ship or two, which touched there, had like to have taken him, and fired some shot at him. He was clothed in a goat’s skin jacket,

Being brought on-board the *Duke*, he said, he had been on the island four years and four months, having been left there by captain Stradling, in a ship called the *Cinque-Ports*, about the year 1705, of which ship he was master; and captain Dampier, who was then with him, and now on-board the *Duke*, told captain Rogers, he was the best man then on-board the *Cinque-Ports*, who immediately agreed with him to be a mate on-board the *Duke*. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, and the manner of his being found there, was by his making a fire the night before, when he saw the two privateers aforesaid, judging them to be English, by which, judging it to be an habitable island, they had sent their boat to see; and so he came miraculously to be redeemed from that solitary and tedious confinement, who otherwise, in all probability, must have miserably ended his life there.

He said, that during his stay there, he had seen several ships pass by, but only two of them came in to anchor, which he judged to be Spaniards, and retired from them, upon which they fired at him: had they been French, he said he would have submitted himself, but chose rather to hazard dying on the island, than to fall into the hands of the Spaniards in those parts; because he believed they would either murder him or make him a slave in their mines. The Spaniards landed so near him, before he knew where they were, that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him into the woods, where he climbed up to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they made water, and killed several goats just by, but went off without discovering him.

He told them, that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left on this melancholy island, was a difference betwixt him and his captain; which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay there than go along with him at first; and when he was at last willing to go, the captain would not receive him.

He had been, he said, on the island, to wood and water, when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months till the ship returned, being chased thence by two French South-Sea ships. He had with him his clothes and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco; a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but, for the first eight months, he had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two huts, with piemento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound; and that being near spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of piemento-wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals, and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying; so that he said he was a better Christian while in this solitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

At first he never eat any thing till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt; nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer; the piemento-wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for firing and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but could not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness; except craw-fish, which are there as large as our lobsters, and very good. These he sometimes boiled, and at other times

‘ breeches, and cap, sewed together with thongs of the same. He tamed some wild goats and cats, whereof ‘ there are great numbers.’ *Voyage, &c.* p. 34. 1712.

Sir Richard Steele likewise gave some account of Selkirk, in the 26th number of the *Englishman*, published Dec. 3, 1713, from which Sir R. appears to have had frequent conversations with him. But that work being in so many hands, it is needless to transcribe from it here.

De Foe has been charged with surreptitiously appropriating the papers of Selkirk to the formation of his celebrated work, intitled ‘ *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*;’ but the charge, though repeatedly and confidently brought, appears to be destitute of foundation: De Foe may probably have taken some general hints from Selkirk’s story, which he, or any other man, had a right to do. See *Chalmers’s Life of De Foe*, and *Biog. Brit.*]

broiled, as he did his goats-flesh, of which he made very good broth, for they are not so rank as ours: he kept an account of five-hundred that he killed, while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let go. When his powder failed, he took them by speed of foot; for his way of living, and continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours, so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull-dog, which we sent with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back.

He told us, that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life: he pursued it with so much eagerness, that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes having hid it from him; so that he fell with the goat down the precipice a great height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life; and when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days. He came at last to relish his meat well enough without salt or bread; and, in the season, had plenty of good turneps, which had been sowed there by captain Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage-trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento-trees, which is the same as the Jamaica-pepper, and smells deliciously. He found there also a black-pepper, called Malagita, which was very good to expel wind, and against griping of the guts. He soon wore out all his shoes and clothes by running through the woods; and, at last, being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran every where without annoyance; and it was some time before he could wear shoes, after we found him; for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled, when he came first to wear them again.

After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes by cutting his name on the trees, and the time of his being left and continuance there. He was at first pestered with cats and rats, that had bred in great numbers from some of each species, which had got a-shore from the ships that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes, while asleep; which obliged him to cherish the cats with his goats-flesh; by which many of them became so tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids; and, to divert himself, would now and then sing and dance with his cats; so that by the care of Providence, and vigour of his youth, being now but about thirty years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniencies of his solitude, and to be very easy. When his clothes wore out, he made himself a coat and cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail; and when his knife was wore to the back, he made others, as well as he could, of some iron hoops that were left a-shore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linen cloth by him, he sewed himself shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him in the island. At his first coming on-board us, he had so much forgot his language for want of use, that we could scarce understand him; for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our victuals.

He could give us an account of no other product of the island than what we have mentioned, except small black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at; the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. Pimento-trees are plenty here, and we saw some sixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton-trees higher, and near four fathom round in the stock. The climate is so good, that the trees and grass are verdant all the year. The winter lasts no longer than June or July, and is not

then severe; there being only a small frost and a little hail, but sometimes great rains. The heat of the summer is equally moderate, and there is not much thunder or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any other sort of beast but goats, &c. as above-mentioned; the first of which had been put a-shore here on purpose for a breed by Juan Fernando, a Spaniard, who settled there with some families for a time, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards; which being more profitable, tempted them to quit this island, which is capable of maintaining a good number of people, and of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged.

Ringrose, in his account of Capt. Sharp's voyage and other buccaneers, mentions one who had escaped a-shore here, out of a ship which was cast away with all the rest of his company, and says, he lived five years alone, before he had the opportunity of another ship to carry him off. Capt. Dampier talks of a Moskito Indian, that belonged to Capt. Watling; who, being hunting in the woods, when the captain left the island, lived there three years alone, and shifted much in the same manner as Mr. Selkirk did, till Capt. Dampier came hither, in 1684, and carried him off. The first that went a-shore was one of his country-men, and they saluted one another, first by prostrating themselves by turns on the ground, and then by embracing. But, whatever there is in these stories, this of Mr. Selkirk I know to be true: and his behaviour afterwards gives me reason to believe the account he gave me, how he spent his time, and bore up under such an affliction, in which nothing but the Divine Providence could have supported any man. By this one may see, that solitude, and retirement from the world, is not such an unsufferable state of life, as most men imagine, especially when people are fairly thrown into it unavoidably, as this man was; who, in all probability, must otherwise have perished in the seas; the ship, which left him, being cast away not long after, and few of the company escaped.

We may perceive, by this story, the truth of the maxim, that 'Necessity is the mother of invention;' since he found means to supply his wants in a very natural manner, so as to maintain his life; though not so conveniently, yet as effectually as we are able to do with the help of all our arts and society. It may likewise instruct us, how much a plain and temperate way of living conduces to the health of the body, and the vigour of the mind; both which we are apt to destroy by excess and plenty, especially of strong liquor, and the variety, as well as the nature, of our meat and drink; for this man, when he came to our ordinary method of diet and life, though he was sober enough, lost much of his strength and agility.

An Account of the Island of Juan Fernandez.

THE Island of Juan Fernandez is nearest of a triangular form, about twelve leagues round, and has a small island, near a mile long, lying near it, with several rocks close under it; near which there are very good fish of several sorts. It abounds with cabbage-trees, which grow for three miles together, and are extraordinary good; also turnips, which grow wild here. The soil is a loose black earth, and there are often great drifts of snow and ice in July; but, in the spring, which is in September, October, and November, it is very pleasant.

Mr. Selkirk says, that, in November, the seals come a-shore to whelp and ingender; when the shore is so full of them, that it is impossible to pass through them; and they are so surly, that they will not move out of the way, but like an angry dog, run at a man, though he have a good stick to beat them: so that at this, and their whelping-seasons, it is dangerous to come near them, but at other times, they will make way for a man; and if they did not, it would be impossible to get from the water-side: they lined the shore very thick, for above half a mile of ground, all round the bay. When we came in, they kept a continual noise day and night; some bleating like lambs, some howling like dogs

or wolves, others making hideous noises of various sorts; so that we heard them a-board, though a mile from the shore. Their fur is the finest that ever I saw of the kind, and exceeds that of our otters.

Another strange creature here is the sea-lion: the governor tells me, he has seen of them above twenty feet long, and more in compass, which could not weigh less than two tons weight. I saw several of these vast creatures, but none of the abovementioned size; several of them were upwards of sixteen feet long, and more in bulk, so that they could not weigh less than a ton weight. The shape of their body differs little from the sea-dogs, or seals; but they have another sort of skin, a head much bigger in proportion, and very large mouths, monstrous big eyes, and a face like that of a lion, with very large whiskers, the hair of which is stiff enough to make tooth-pickers. These creatures come a-shore to ingender, the latter end of June, and stay till the end of September; during which time they lie on the land, and are never observed to go to the water, but lie in the same place above a musquet-shot from the water-side, and have no manner of sustenance all that time, that he could observe. I took notice of some, that lay a week without once offering to move out of the place, whilst I was there, till they were disturbed by us; but we saw few, in comparison of what, he informed us, he did, and that the shore was all crowded full of them, a musquet-shot into the land. I admire how these monsters come to yield such a quantity of oil: their hair is short and coarse, and their skin thicker, than the thickest ox-hide I ever saw. We found no land-bird on the island, but a sort of black-bird with a red breast, not unlike our English black-bird, and the humming-bird of various colours, and no bigger than a large humble-bee. Here is a small tide, which flows uncertain, and the spring-tide flows about seven feet.

This is the account given by himself to the captain of the ship, as will be attested by several merchants and captains upon the Exchange, who have conversed with him. In which relation, the Divine Providence of God may be visibly seen; first, in throwing him upon the desolate island; and next, in supporting him under such an affliction, whilst the ship, which he left, soon after perished in the sea, and few of the company escaped. All which singular acts of Providence, that conspired in his preservation, he wholly and piously ascribes to the infinite goodness and mercy of God; to whom all honour and glory be given, now and evermore!

Sir Robert Sherley¹, sent Ambassadour, in the Name of the King of Persia, to Sigismond the Third, King of Poland and Swecia, and to other Princes of Europe. His Royall Entertainement into Cracovia, the chiefe Citie of Poland; with his pretended Comming into England. Also, the honorable Praises of the same Sir Robert Sherley, given unto him in that Kingdom, are here likewise inserted.

London: Printed by I. Windet, for John Budge; and are to be sold at his Shop, at the great South Doore of Pauls, 1609.

[In Black-letter. Quarto; containing twenty-two pages.]

To the worthie and noble affected Gentleman, Sir Thomas Sherley; Father to that illustrious Sparke of Honour and Vertue, Sir Robert Sherley.

SIR;

NOT long since, it was my happinesse to meete with a little poem in Latine, as full fraughted with the prayses of your worthie renowned sonne, as is his brest with vertues; which no sooner mine eie had visited, but the generall fame of his noblenesse invited me to make his prayses as generall; and because it had beene a great injurie to his worthinesse, that but one tongue should sound forth his encomiums, who in so many tongues hath purchased glory; thought it a part of humanitie, and the office of a native countriman, since his honors were so spacious and generall, to make his prayses speake more tongues then one; and, amongst all, especially, I chose the voice of his owne countrey, as the fittest trumpet of his fame, for whose honor he hath chiefly adventured his life and fortunes. To you therefore, the happie father of so worthy a son, I dedicate both my love and labour, knowing the universall taste of his noblenesse cannot come to the deere thirst of his countrey more pleasing, then to your soule joyfull.

To the Reader.

READER,

THIS Persian robe, so richly woven with the prayses onely of Sir Robert Sherley, thy countriman, comes to thee at a lowe price; though it cost him deere that weares it, to purchase so much fame as hath made it so excellent. It is now his for ever; thine, so long as it is his: for every good man, as I hope thou art, doth participate in the renowne of those that are good and vertuous.

¹ [Sir Robert Shirley was the youngest of three sons of Sir Thomas Shirley, of a very ancient and respectable family in Sussex. He was by his elder brother Anthony, a great traveller, introduced to the Persian court; and being promoted in the army, performed great services against the Turks, and added to his military wreaths the honours of humanity. He was envied by the lords, and beloved by the ladies; and at length, after some opposition, married a reputed relation of the great Sophy, who accompanied him to England. He made himself singular by affecting constantly to appear in his Persian habits. To this affectation it is probable he added a considerable share of pride, as he engaged in a quarrel with the Persian ambassador, to whom he is said to have given a box on the ear. The king (James I.) who hated quarrels, sent them to Persia, to prefer their mutual complaints to the Sophy: but they both died in the passage. The exploits of Sir Robert and his two brothers, Sir Anthony and Sir Thomas, were the subject of a dramatic piece; and Fuller compares them to the Horatii. See Adolphus's British Cabinet.]

He hath beene a traveller a long time, give him now a welcome home: the armes of his owne country embracing him, will bee more joyfull to him, then all those of so many forraine kingdomes, with which he hath so often beene honored.

If a man, that hath ventured through the world, may deserve thy love, thou canst not choose, but bestow as much of it upon him, as upon any. Looke upon him truely, and thou shalt find a large generall chronicle of time writ in a little volume. He comes laden with the trophyes of warre, and the honors of peace. The Turke hath felt the sharpnesse of his sword; and against the Turke is he now whetting the swords of Christian princes. Much more could I speake of him, but that I should doe wrong to the common lawes of civilitie, by taking away that reverence from strangers, whome, from countreyes afarre of, you shall presently heare giving ample testimonies of his noblenesse.

Vale.

ALBEIT, that man can receive his birth but from one place, yet is he borne a free-man of all the cities of the world. The whole earth is his country, and he that dwelleth fardest off, is, by the lawes of nature, as neer to him in love, as his kindred and acquaintance. This general charter being given, by the king of this universall crowne, to all nations; hath caused men, from time to time, by the vertue of that priviledge, to forsake the places of their first being, and to travell into other countreyes. The benefits that kingdomes have gotten by this meanes, cannot, in so small a volume as this in hand, be comprehended. Travell is the golden mine that enricheth the poorest country, and filleth the barrenest with abundant plenty. It is the chaine that at first tyed kingdomes together, and the musickall string that still maintaines them in concord, in leagues, and in unity. The Portugalls have hereby crowned themselves, and their posterity, with garlands of never-dying honor. The Spaniards have their names, for this, so deeply engraven in the chronicles of fame, that they can never be forgotten. The French likewise, and the Dutch, have raised their glories to a nobler height, onely by these adventures. In imitation of all whose labors, (or rather, in emulation of all their fames,) our Englishmen have not onely stept as farre as any of them all, but gone beyond the most, and the best of them. And not to reckon those men of worth, in this kinde, of our owne nation, whose voyages and travells, by sea and land, to set down, were able to fill whole volumes; I will onely, at this time, (not with a loud and shrill trumpet, as they deserve; but, as it were, uppon an instrument, tuned and directed by another,) give onely a soft touch at the praises of this worthy gentleman, Sir Robert Sherley; of whose adventures, dangers, and various fortunes, both good and bad, to draw a true picture in the right and lively colors, would as easily feed men's eies with gazing admiration, as the large pictured tables of others have filled them with wonder.

Being therefore contented, at this time, to swim but in a shallow streame of his fame, sithence greater sayles are likely heereafter, and that very shortly, to swell with the true report of his actions: you shall understand, that Sir Robert Sherley, after a long, a chargeable, and a dangerous progresse through most, if not all the kingdomes in Europe, receiving entertainment from the princes of those dominions, fitting to such a ghuest, desire of glorie still more and more burning within him; at the length, he left Europe, and travelled into Asia, receiving noble entertainment at the hands of the king of Persia, in whose court he so well and so wisely bore himselfe in all his actions, that the Persian, with much of his love, of which he tasted most plenteously, heaped on his head many honorable favours.

That common enemy of Christ and Christians, the Turke, lifting up his sword continually, for the most part, not onely against the Polack, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and other princes of Christendome, but also thirsting after the rich empire of Persia, and shewing a mortall hatred to that kingdome by being ever up in armes against it; it was thought fit, that (the Persian himselfe confessing and worshipping Christ) ayde should be required at the hands of Christian princes in the Persian's behalfe, against so barbarous,

so ambitious, and so generall an enemy. Heerupon, the honor of such an ambassy was conferred, by the king of Persia, upon Sir Robert Sherley; as a man worthy and apt to treat with Christian princes, in so weighty a businesse: he himselfe being a Christian born, and a gentleman that had travelled, and, by experience, knew the conditions, state, and pollicies of most of their kingdomes.

First, therefore, was he imployed into Poland, where, by Sigismond, the king of Poland and of Suecia, he was received with great magnificence and applause, both of the Polack himselfe, and of his people.

And because it is not fit, that every common and popular eare should stand listning to the private businesse of princes, in a deseignement that concerns the universall state of Christendome; we will not therefore, at this time, be interpreters of the Persian's ambassy, but rather waite his expected comming, who hath in charge to deliver it up by word of mouth himselfe.

In the meane time, notwithstanding, forbearing to reckon up the rich presents given by the Poland king to Sir Robert, the honors done to him by the Polish lords, and the favors throwne upon him by the common people, you shall be witnesses onely to those, not unworthy praises of him, by which his fame, amongst schollers by those of the better sort, was lifted up, at the time of his staying in Poland.

A Fourefold Anagram upon Sir Robert Sherley's Name.

ROBERTUS SHERLÆIUS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Heus labor, tueris res.</i> | 3. <i>Libertas, ero servus.</i> |
| 2. <i>Servus, ast hero liber.</i> | 4. <i>Virtus, labores sere.</i> |

Encomions, or Praises, as well upon the Name, as the Negotiation of Sir Robert Sherley, an English Knight, sent Ambassadour from the King of the Persians, to the Princes of Europe.

MERCURIUS, seeing the Ambassadour ready to take his journey, resigneth unto him his office, as beeing messenger or herald to the gods, according to the fiction of poets; and with that office bestoweth the gift of eloquence upon him, because he may have power to perswade the princes to whom he is sent; and, withal, addes a wish, that those Christian kings, whom he is to sollicite, may not be cold in joyning their forces together, but that they may enter into an honorable, a pious, and inviolable league against that common enemy, the Turke.

Mercurie's Speech.

THOU, O Sherley, beeing borne an Englishman, art sent from the Persian empire, to the kingdomes that lye in Europe; thy place is full of honor, thy message of waight; discharge thou therefore boldly those thinges, which the greate lord of Persia commands thee to doe. It is not chance that throwes this high office upon thee, but a full synode, or parliament, of all the gods, doe appoint thee to be their messenger to the great kinges of the earth. For this cause, I, that am heaven's winged messenger, seeing thee ready to depart, present my selfe thus before thee; and uttering only so much, as in the letters of thy name lyes mystically hidden, and that is this,

*Heus labor, — tu res hoc ore tueris
Persarum. —*

O exceeding labor! Yet thou art the man, that must defend the state of the Persians, even by the force of my eloquence. Go on, therefore, be thou Mercurius in the courts of kinges: I give thee my place; I give it to thee, that art more worthy of it then my selfe. O that the princes of Europe would knit an indissoluble league together, with thy

master, the Persian monarch; and tye all their sinewes to one arme, that a noble warre may be begotten. Let Bellona, the goddess of battailes, breath courage into the breasts of souldiers; and let no countrey be dishonored by bearing men, that have no hearts to come into the fielde. O let not that covetous dragon, which once watched the golden firmament, sleepe in the bosomes of kings; and, with his poison, infect them with that covetous disease of hoording up gold. Cast off, O you princes, your sensuall pleasures; and let it be your ambition to weare garlands of oake, which are the crownes of conquerors. Prefer immortall fame before all those dangers, over which you must of necessity passe, be they never so invincible in the shew of undertaking; and aspire onley to that life which shall remaine, when your bodyes lye dead. Heaven, in your doing so, shall smile upon your enterprises. Hell shall be conquered, and that hell-hownde broode of Mahomet be utterly confounded. Universall peace shall crown the world; and the barbarous Turks, feeble the sinewes and puissant arms of Europe.

To the Nations (unto whome the Ambassadour is sent, on great and serious Affaires, as rightly may be conjectured) a Desire and Wish is made, that all Kinges in Christendome may entertaine this holy Warre, with the same Courage, Constancie, and Zeale, that the Persian doeth.

HEARKEN, O you Polanders, Italians, French, and you Germaines; enrich your chronicles, with an act of a wonder never heard of in the world before: for, beholde, a Brittaines is sent on a royall message, from the king of the Persians. A Brittaines is sent, but who is it? Such a one he is, as by his name, being before anagramatizde, he may apparantly be deciphered,

Ast liber, servus hero.

‘Free-borne, and a servant onely unto his soveraigne.’

He, even he, is sent to you, O you nations of Europe! from the confines of the Persians, bringing along with him the name of his lord; and, with that name, the sound of an approaching warre.

The destinies begin to promise some great matter: the god of battailes, heereupon, speakes cheerefully. God himselfe prepares the armour: muster yourselves together therefore, O you kinges, and with a religious defence, draw your swordes against the Turkes.

A congratatorie compendious Speech to Sir Robert Sherley; commending both his Vertue, and present Fortune.

OSHERLEY! thou that art an honor to the Persians, aswell as to the Brittaines, within whose head dwelleth experience and wisdom, and upon whose tongue eloquence writeth her charmes. Whatsoever he was, that at first durst say, ‘That fortune was blind, and that she bestowed extraordinary benefits upon undeserving men;’ let him know, that all this while he hath bin in an error; for fortune had more eyes then Argus, when she crowned this Englishman with so many Persian honors and offices. That monarch, O thou renowned Brittaines! whose sword is dreadfull to the Thracian tyrant, makes thee a partner in the cares and burdens of his empyre; for he hath seene, yea he hath ever seene, and found thee constant in execution of all his just and royall commandes.

The Empire of the Persian is here commended. The Kinges and Princes of Europe being called to give Witnesse, how much Glory the Dexteritie of Sir Robert Sherley hath added to the Persian Monarchie: upon which, he appeares to the Persians a Gentleman of such Merit, as that England may very justly accuse Persia of Wrong, for detaining him from her.

THE fame of the Persian empyre doth not grow up onely in a meane souldier, for their cities are full of renowned and worthy captains. From the ancient discipline and stratagems of warre, are the glories of the Persians sprung up and continue famous. But, O thou honoured Englishman! she derived her first principles from thy practise and knowledge. Farre be my words from the base servitude of flattery; for, within a short time, kings shall rise up as witnesses of what I speake. Let thine owne countrey envy the kingdome of Persia for enjoying this honor, which by thee is given her; yet, let her challenge thee to be delivered backe againe as her owne; yet let her clayme be made in such manner, that England and Persia may not grow into quarrell about thee, but rather thus let them both share thee. Let rich Persia enjoy thy presence, and reckon thee in the number of her citizens, and be proud in the possession of a man, so worthy. Let England glorie, that she alone is happy in thy birth, and that she beares the honor of giving thee thy name. But howsoever, O thou, the dignitie and luster of two renowned kingdomes, goe thou on, in thine intended ambassage, and performe these heasts², which the great Persian, thy lord, hath imposed upon thy integrity.

A short Speech, uttered (as it were) by the whole Body of the Polish Court, to Robert Sherley, Ambassadour from the invincible King of the Persians.

IT is not thy rich garments, embroydered so thicke with gold, and woven by Grecian workemen, that drawes our eyes into admiration by beholding thee. It is not thy sparkling jewels, nor those costly pretious stones that adorne thy robe, which dazle our sight. It is not thy comely ryding, nor skilfull managing of that Thracian courser, upon whose back thou sittest, whilst the proud beast it selfe champs on the glistening bit, in disdain to be so curbed; that makes us to looke after thee. It is not that victorious semyter³ of thine, wherewith thou hast made the earth drunke so often with so much bloud of those, that are enemies to the Persians, that causeth us to stand gazing at thy presence. No; it is the beauty of thy minde wherewith our eyes are enchanted. It is the excellent musicke of thy tongue, that so ties our eares to thy charmes; thou being able to speake and to answere so many severall nations, in their owne proper languages.

England's Complaint to Persia, for her Sherley.

O PERSIA! thou glorious kingdome, thou chiefe of empires; the palace sometimes where wisdom onely kept her court; the land that was governed by none but by wise men. Yet must I tell thee, and with grieve dost thou inforce me to tell thee, that against all law of nations, thou robbest me of my subject. Why should the right of another bee thine? It is justice for every one to keepe their owne; but thou makest up thy gaine by my losse. Is this equitie? Is this tollerable? Cease to doe it; and send home, O Persia, that sonne of mine to me that am his mother, for to me onely is he due. But, aye me, the honors of his owne countrey, and the palaces of my kingdome, are by him, belike, neglected; and seeme not worth the looking on. And though, to the eye of the world, I may, perhaps, appeare beautifull and great; yet, in his eye, I shew no bigger then a small corner of the worlde. I doe envy thee therefore, O Persia! onely for him. Yet, sithence I can-

² [Behests.]

³ [Scymitar.]

not enjoy him, fare thou well, O thou my darling; and with that farewell, beare along with thee the praises which I give thee. I rob Persia; Persia robs not me: my losse is to me more honour: for the Persian empire borrowes her brightnes from the beames of one of the sonnes of England.

Sherley to his native Countrey.

O THOU, my countrey, if I should pay back into thy hands so much as by bond is due unto thee from me, I should then lay downe my life at thy feete. But my thoughts ayme at greater matters; it is not breath I would pay thee, but fame. Take thou from me so much honor, as may make me live for ever. Liberty is the goale to which I run; but such a liberty it is, as may free me from the common basenesse of the multitude, and make me worthy to be respected by the eye of a king.

Servus hero, I am a servant to that greates maister, to whose feete all the Persians bow and doe reverence. I am his servant, that I may bee his messenger; and beare the treatyes of such a king, to other kings in Christendome. I am destin'de out, to deliver his minde in their owne languages, to forraine princes, and to the monarches of the earth. Let them therefore come together, and quicklie shall the Turkish fury be calmed; and being weakened in her owne strengths, shall be glad to kneele to the power and mercy of others. And thou, O my native country, if thou wouldest be pleased to knit thy forces in this just and universall warre, to what dignities mayst thou advance thy selfe? Whatsoever is dishonorable, hath a base descention, and sincks beneath hell: but whatsoever is good and honest, lifts up an unblemished brow on high, and makes it levell with the front of heaven.

The Author's Wish and Request to Vertue, that she would give unto Sherley such a fruitfull Harvest of his Labours, that having conquered the Hardnesse of them, his Name may aspire to the full Height of his Desert.

O VERTUE! the noblest and boldest guide, thou that givest to men the due crowne of praises, prosper thou the honored enterprises of Sherley: but, touching those paths which must leade him to titles of fame and honour, make them even and certaine before him. He hath no desire to have his name eaten out by the rust of idlenesse; no, he will never unworthily sinck beneath his owne proposed fortune.

Another of the same Author, touching Sir Robert Sherley being called (as it were) by Fate, to manage the Affaires of Forraine Princes.

WHAT is the cause that Sherley hath not all this while lived in the same country, that first lent him breath? This is the reason: a spirit so greates was not to be contained within so small a circle, as his country. Besides,

He is the child of Fate, and highly sings
Of kingly ambassies to none but kings.

Crownde with these prayses, as you heare in Poland, and leaving the fame of his memorable actions behind him; bending his course to other princes of Christendome with the same royall ambassage of honorable, and Christian confederacie against Mahomet, and his adherents; it shall not be amisse here to speake of the kingdome of Persia, where Sir Robert received such honorable entertainment, sutable to his noble actions, and the vertues of his minde, as also the maners, fashions, rites, and customes, that are and have beene observed by the Persians. And first, for their religion which they have observed of old, doing worship and reverence in their upright zeale to the sunne, moone, Venus, fire, earth, water, and winds; erecting neyther altars nor statues, but in open fields offering their sacrifices; which sacrifices were superstitious, and full of idle ceremonies, too tedious

to be here rehersed. For their kinges, the golden line of them is drawne out of one family; that custome amongst the Persians never as yet suffred change or alteration: and so severe their lawes are in effect, to the punishing of all rebellious, treasonable and disobedient people, that whosoever hee be that is found repugnant in the least demeanor to the will and affection of the king, hee is ceazde upon by the tormentors, his head and armes chopt off, and with his detested body, throwne into some common field, without eyther grave or covering. And for their palaces and royall mansions, this hath ever beene the continued custome amongst them, that every king hath had his seate royall erected on some high hill or mountaine, the bowels of which hee makes his safe treasure-house, where all his riches, jewels, and tribute-moneyes are, with exceeding carefulnesse, kepte hid and secret. And so much they do detest sterility and barrennesse, that from the highest to the lowest they take many wives in mariage, counting the fruitfull propagation of the empire the onely happinesse they can rayse to it; and so much they thirst after humane fruitfulnessse, that the kings themselves propound great gifts and rewards, to those that in one yeare bring forth the greatest harvest of mankinde. From five yeare olde to foure-and-twenty, the male children practise to ride great horses, to throw the vulnerable and inevitable darte, to shoote in arbalists or long steele-bowes, and all such manly exercises; which shames many other Christian countries, and may justly upbraide them of effeminarie and lazynesse.

Their victuals, for the most part, by which the common sort of people are fed and do live by, are acorns and hedge-peares; their breade course and hard; their drinke the running springs. For their apparrell, the princes, and those that live in greatest respect amongst them, adorne their bodies with a riple robe, and another garment in the fashion of a cloake hanging downe to their knees; the inward linings all of white silks, and the outward facing like poudred ermins; in somer, for the most part, they walke in purple; the winter refuses no color: about their temples they weare a great tyara, being a stately ornament high and round, with a cone at the top, from which descends a rich faire pendant of some costly embrodered stuffe, as tissue, &c. Attir'd in some of which ordinary Persian habits, his agent, master Moore, is lately arrived in England; bringing happy tidings of this famous English Persian, as also of his comming to England, (to the exceeding great joy of his native country,) laden with honours through every kingdome, as the deserving ornaments of his vertue and labour. And thus, ingenuous reader, have I set down (by true and most credible information) a briefe epitome of Sir Robert Sherley's entertainment into Cracovia, the chiefe cittye of Poland; together with all those severall speeches delivered to him by the schollers of that countrey; which, although they may seeme to the nice ear of our times, not altogether so pure and polished as the refined labours of many English wits, yet therein they strived to express both their fashion and affection to the worthy vertues of Sir Robert. For a tast of their stile and manner of writing, it shall not be amiss, if you cast your eye upon these verses following, composed by a scholler worthily reputed in that country, one Andræas Locæchius; and those are they which of his I borrow, to shut up the honorable praises of our famous English traveller.

Ad illustrissimum & maximi tum ingenii tum animi virum, Dom. Robertum Sherleum, Equitem Anglum, Regis Persarum nomine ad Europæ PP. legatum.

*ÆMULE honos animo proavis, lux alta, Britannæ
 Quæ gentis pessus non sinis ire decus;
 Non uni dat cuncta polis, sed carmina Apollo,
 Mars vires, Arcas nuncius ingenium.
 Hæc cuncta unus habes, est vis, sunt ora diserta,
 Numina avara aliis, prodiga facta tibi;
 Persia se jactat gemino in te munere, Martis
 Pectore belligeri; Palladis ingenio,*

*Tantus honore licet, te Scoti haud subtrahe vena,
At venam excedit pondere vatis amor.
Immo censendum satis est cecinisse poetam,
Quod tibi se fassus carmine & ore rudem;
Parva loquor, ne te venturis subtrahe sæclis:
At fidei, ut famæ, suesce parare modum.*

The Speech of the Lord Digby,¹ in the High Court of Parliament, concerning Grievances.²

Printed for Thomas Walkely, 1641.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

‘MR. SPEAKER,

YOU have received now a solemn account from most of the shires of England, of the several grievances and oppressions they sustain; and nothing as yet from Dorsetshire. Sir, I would not have you think that I serve for a land of Goshen; that we live there in sun-shine, whilst darkness and plagues overspread the rest of the land. As little would I have you think, that being under the same sharp measure as the rest, we are either insensible and benumbed; or that that shire wanteth a servant to represent its sufferings boldly.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, the county of Dorset hath not digested its complaints into that formal way of petition, which others, I see, have done; but have intrusted them to my partner's and my delivery of them, by word of mouth, unto this honourable House. And there was given unto us, in the county-court, the day of our election, a short memorial of the heads of them, which was read in the hearing of the freeholders there present; who all unanimously, with one voice, signified upon each particular, that it

¹ [A copious article has been allotted to this nobleman by Dr. Kippis, in Biog. Brit. vol. v. which makes it unnecessary to repeat the circumstances of his life; but as the following passage has immediate reference to his Speeches, it is here transcribed.]

‘When the famous Long Parliament met on the third of November, 1640, Lord Digby took his seat in it, as the second time a representative for the county of Dorset, to which honour he had been elected as unanimously as before: and it was soon discerned that he meant to make himself of as much consequence as he possibly could. If any thing was spoken too bluntly and rudely against the government, he resumed the argument and polished it, rendered the edge more sharp to wound, and dressed the general charge with such lively instances, as added to the sensibility of the enormity described. All this united with the most pleasing manner of delivery and speaking, and a person uncommonly beautiful and graceful, wonderfully reconciled him to his auditors. When any grievances in Religion were touched upon, and the government of the Church assaulted or reproached, he improved the discourse with more bitterness and animosity; treating of the things he would be thought to value gravely and, as it seemed, with piety and devotion. With regard to the persons against whom he found it acceptable to inveigh, he exposed them wittily, pleasantly, and scornfully; so that the members of the House who took the lead in opposition to the Hierarchy, believed that they had gotten a champion to their own desire, who would be equal to the stoutest adversaries, and even to the Bishops themselves. That this character of Lord Digby's eloquence is, in general, true, is evident from such of his speeches as are still preserved, and which have a perspicuity and elegance of composition beyond the common standard of the time.’]

² [Spoken November the ninth, 1640, when the Parliament resumed the affair of grievances. This Speech is printed in Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 119, and in Biog. Brit. vol. v. p. 212. Another Speech of Lord Digby will be found in the next volume of this Work.]

was their desire that we should represent them to the Parliament; which, with your leave, I shall do; and these they are:

First; The great and intolerable burthen of ship-money; touching the legality whereof they are unsatisfied.

Secondly; The many great abuses in pressing of soldiers, and raising moneys, concerning the same.

Thirdly; The multitude of monopolies.

Fourthly; The new canons, and the oath to be taken by lawyers, divines, &c.

Fifthly; The oath required to be taken by church-officers, to present according to articles new and unusual.

Besides this, there was likewise presented to us, by a very considerable part of the clergy of that county, a note of remembrance, containing these two particulars:

First, The imposition of the new oath required to be taken by all ministers and others, which they conceive to be illegal, and such as they cannot take with a good conscience.

Secondly, The requiring of a pretended benevolence, but, in effect, a subsidy; under the penalty of suspension, excommunication, and deprivation; all benefit of appeal excluded.

This is all we had particularly in charge, but, that I may not appear a remiss servant of my country, and of this House, give me leave to add somewhat of my own sense.

Truly, Mr. Speaker, the injurious sufferings of some worthy members of this House, since the dissolution of the two last parliaments, are so fresh in my memory, that I was resolved not to open my mouth, in any business wherein freedom and plain dealing were requisite, until such time as the breach of our privileges were vindicated, and the safety of speech settled. But since such excellent members of our House thought fit, the other day, to lay aside that caution, and to discharge their souls so freely in the way of zeal to his Majesty's service, and their country's good; I shall interpret that confidence of theirs for a lucky omen to this Parliament; and, with your permission, license my thoughts too a little.

Mr. Speaker; under those heads which I proposed to you, as the grievances of Dorsetshire, I suppose are comprised the greatest part of the mischiefs which have, of late years, laid battery either to our estates or consciences. Sir, I do not conceive this the fit season to search and ventilate particulars; yet, I profess, I cannot forbear to add somewhat to what was said, the last day, by a learned gentleman of the long-robe, concerning the acts of that reverend new synod, made of an old convocation. Doth not every parliament-man's heart rise, to see the prelates thus usurp to themselves the grand pre-eminence of Parliament? The granting of subsidies, and that under so preposterous a name as of a benevolence, for that which is a malevolence indeed; a malevolence, I am confident, in those that granted it, against parliaments; and a malevolence surely in those that refuse it, against those that granted it: (for how can it incite less, when they see wrested from them what they are not willing to part with, under no less a penalty than the loss both of heaven and earth; of heaven, by excommunication; and of the earth, by deprivation; and this without redemption by appeal?) what good Christian can think with patience on such an ensnaring oath, as that which is by the new canons, enjoined to be taken by all ministers, lawyers, physicians, and graduates in the Universities? Where, besides the swearing such an impertinence, as that things necessary to salvation are contained in discipline; besides the swearing those to be of Divine right, which, amongst the learned, never pretended to it; as the arch-things in our hierarchy; besides, the swearing not to consent to the change of that, which the state may, upon great reason, think fit to alter; besides the bottomless perjury of an *Et-cetera*. Besides all this, Mr. Speaker, men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily what they are compelled unto; and, lastly, that they swear that oath in the literal sense, whereof no two of the makers themselves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the understanding.

In a word, Mr. Speaker, to tell you my opinion of this oath; it is a covenant against the king, for bishops and the hierarchy, as the Scottish covenant is against them; only

so much worse than the Scottish, as they admit not of the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and we are sworn unto it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, for those particular heads of grievances whereby our estates and properties are so radically invaded; I suppose, as I said before, that it is no season now to enter into a strict discussion of them: only thus much I shall say of them, with application to the county for which I serve, That none can more justly complain; since none can more justly challenge exemption from such burthens than Dorsetshire; whether you consider it as a country subsisting much by trade, or as none of the most populous; or as exposed as much as any to foreign invasion. But, alas! Mr. Speaker, particular lamentations are hardly distinguishable in universal groans.

Mr. Speaker; it hath been a metaphor frequent in parliament, and (if my memory fail me not) was made use of in the lord-keeper's speech at the opening of the last, 'That what money kings raised from their subjects, they were but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers.' The comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom, too unluckily. What hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions, hath been formed, it is true, into clouds; but how? to darken the sun's own lustre; and hath fallen again upon the land, only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, and to blast and wither our affections; had not the latter of these been still kept alive by our king's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of ill counsellors, a sacred object both of our admiration and loves.

Mr. Speaker; it hath been often said in this House, and, I think, can never be too often repeated, 'That the kings of England can do no wrong.' But, though they could, Mr. Speaker, yet princes have no part in the ill of those actions which their judges assure them to be just, their counsellors, that they are prudent, and their divines, that they are conscientious. This consideration, Mr. Speaker, leadeth me to that which is more necessary far, at this season, than any farther laying open of our miseries; that is, the way to the remedy, by seeking to remove from our sovereign such unjust judges, such pernicious counsellors, and such disconscientious divines, as have, of late years, by their wicked practices, provoked aspersions upon the government of the graciousest and best of kings.

Mr. Speaker, let me not be misunderstood; I level at no man with a forelaid design: let the faults, and those well proved, lead us to the men. It is the only true parliamentary method, and the only fit one to incline our sovereign: for it can no more consist with a gracious and righteous prince, to expose his servants upon irregular prejudices, than with a wise prince to withhold malefactors, how great soever, from the course of orderly justice.

Let me acquaint you, Mr. Speaker, with an aphorism in Hippocrates, no less authentic, I think, in the body-politick, than in the natural. This is it, Mr. Speaker; Bodies, to be thoroughly and effectually purged, must have their humours first made fluid and moveable. The humours, that I understand to have caused all the desperate maladies of this nation, are the ill ministers. To purge them away clearly, they must be first loosened, unsettled, and extenuated; which can no way be effected with a gracious master, but by truly representing them unworthy of his protection. And this leadeth me to my motion, which is, That a select committee may be appointed to draw out all that hath been here represented; such a remonstrance as may be a faithful and lively representation unto his Majesty of the deplorable estate of this his kingdom, and such as may happily point out unto his clear and excellent judgment the pernicious authors of it: and that this remonstrance being drawn, we may, with all speed, repair to the Lords, and desire them to join with us in it. And this is my humble motion.'

The Levellers : a Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony ; proposing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing Single Persons ; with the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament.

London ; Printed and Sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot-Court, in Grace-church-street, 1703.

[Quarto ; containing thirty-two pages.]

An Epistle to a Member of Parliament.

Honoured Sir,

OUR fore-fathers, if not now in being, have passed an act, prohibiting the importation of foreign, and for the encouragement of the breed of English cattle, which, I am told, has much raised the price of land in England. With submission to your better judgment, I think an act for increasing the breed of Englishmen, would be far more advantageous to the realm. Some say, that our ships are the walls of our island ; but I say, our men are the walls, the bulwarks, and fortresses of our country. You can have no navies, nor armies, without men ; and, like prudent farmers, we ought always to keep our land well stocked. England never prospered by the importation of foreigners ; nor have we any need of them, when we can raise a breed of our own.

What you have here presented, is a discourse of two young ladies, who, you find, are very willing to comply with such an act, and are ready to go to work for the good of their country, as soon as they shall have a legal authority ; of which, if you are the happy instrument, you will have the blessing of ten-thousand damsels, and the thanks of

Your humble Servant.

POLITICA and Sophia, two young ladies of great beauty and wit ; having taken lodgings together, this summer, in the country ; diverted themselves in the evenings by walking to a certain shadow, which they might justly call their own, being frequented by none but themselves and the harmonious society of the wood. Here they consumed the happy minutes, not in idle chat peculiar to the ladies of the court and city ; they did not dispute the manner of dressing, the beauties and foil of the commode and top-knot, nor the laws and administration of the attiring-room. They talked of nobler subjects, of the beauty and wonderful creation of Almighty God, and of the nature of man, the lord of the universe, and of the whole dominions of nature. Pity it is we cannot procure all that these ladies have so privately, as they thought, discoursed ; but we are very happy in having what follows, which came to our knowledge by a mere accident. A gentleman, lodging in the neighbourhood, one evening, taking a walk for his recreation, haply laid himself down behind a hedge, near the very shadow frequented by these ladies : he had not lain long, before these angels appeared at a distance, and he, peeping through the boughs (which served as a telescope to bring the divine objects nearer his view), was extremely ravished with their beauty : but, alas ! what was the beauty of their faces to that of their minds, discovered to this happy man by the soft and charming eloquence of their tongues ? And no man in the world was better qualified to give an account of this noble dialogue, than this person ; he being an accurate short-hand writer, and had been

pupil to Mr. Blainey in that science, and very happily had, at that time, pen, ink, and paper about him. He heard with amazement their discourse on common affairs; but, when the charming Sophia had fixed on a subject, he began to write as follows.

Sophia. My dear sister, how happy are we in this blessed retirement, free from the hurry of the noisy town! Here we can contemplate on the wonders of nature, and on the wisdom of the great Founder of the universe. Do you see how the leaves of this thicket are grown, since we first retired to its shadow? It now affords us a sufficient shelter from the heat of the sun, from storms, and rain. See yonder shrub, what abundance of cyons sprout from its root. See yonder ewes, with their pretty lambs skipping and dancing by their sides. How careful is nature to propagate every part of the handy-work of The Almighty! But you and I, my Politica, are useless creatures, not answering the end of our creation in the propagation of our species; for which, next the service of our Creator, we came into the world. This is our sin, and we ought to be transgressors no longer.

Politica. Every creature desires to propagate its species, and nature dictates to every part of the Creation the manner of doing it. The brute-beasts are subservient to this law, and wholly answer the end of their creation. Now there is the same desire in mankind; but we, who are endowed with noble faculties, and who have countenances erected to behold the wonders of God in the firmament of heaven, look so far into the earth, that we sink beneath the dignity of beasts. In being averse to generation, we offer violence to the laws of God and nature imprinted on our minds. What *she* can say, that nature does not prompt her to the propagation of her species? Which, indeed, is one argument of the immortality of the soul: for the rational faculties concur with the dictates of nature in this point. We are, as it were, immortal upon earth, in our surviving children. It is a sort of hyperbole, but it is as near truth as possibly can be. We are all of us desirous of life; and since, being mortal, we cannot for ever inhabit this glorious world, we are willing to leave our children in possession. I cannot agree with you, madam, that it is our fault we do not propagate our species, at least, I am sure, it is none of mine. I am young and healthy, and beautiful enough, and nature daily tells me what work I ought to do; the laws of God circumscribe the doing of it; and yet, notwithstanding my conformity to both, you know, my circumstances will not admit of marriage.

Sophia. The impulse of nature in me, in that respect, is as great as it can be in you; but still under the regulations of the strictest rules of virtue. The end of our creation might be better answered, were not the matrimonial knot to be tied only by the purse-string. I can say, I am young and beautiful, and that without any vanity. This, Mr. H— knows well enough; he loves me entirely, and, I am sure, had rather live all his life-time with me in a garret, on the scrag-end of a neck of mutton, than with the lady his father proposes; but the old curmudgeon will not let his son have the least thoughts of me, because the muck, my father has left me, will not fill so many dung-carts, as he can fill for his son: it is even true, what the parson said, ‘Matrimony is become a matter of money’. This is the reason, that you and I stick on hand so long; as the tradesmen at London say, when they cannot put off their daughters.

Politica. Matrimony is, indeed, become a mere trade: they carry their daughters to Smithfield, as they do horses, and sell to the highest bidder. Formerly, I have heard, nothing went current in the matrimonial territories, but birth and blood: but, alas! this was in the antiquated times, when virtue and honour was a commodity in England; and when the nobility and gentry were in possession of large estates, and were content to live upon them, and keep courts of their own in the country: but since they abandoned the state and grandeur of their fore-fathers, and became courtiers and extravagantly wasted their substance in polluted amours in the city; they have no way to repair the cracks in the estates, but by marrying of fortunes; and, if the woman be a fortune, it is no matter how she is descended. Gold is the quarry they fly at. I remember some old verses to this purpose:

- ‘ Gold marriages makes, ’tis the centre of love ;
- ‘ It sets up the man, and it helps up the woman :
- ‘ By the golden rule all mortals do move,
- ‘ For gold makes lords bow to the brat of a broom-man’.

These verses are older than either you, or I ; and yet they are true in our time.

Sophia. Aye, madam, too true ; I find it so. But, methinks, it is a mere way of selling children for money ; when, poor creatures, they often purchase what will be a plague to them all their life-time ; a cursed ill-natured shrew, or a beastly, ill-conditioned husband. Let me live a maid to the last minute of my life, rather than thus to lose my content, my peace of mind, and domestic quiet ; and all this for the inconsiderable trifle of a large bag of money for my portion. Let the old curmudgeons keep the golden coxcombs, their sons, for the best market. Heaven send me a spouse, that has sense enough to despise a bargain in petticoats, with abundance of money and no brains ! Methinks, a Smithfield match is so very ridiculous, that it might nauseate a half-witted courtier. How ridiculous is it for an old miser to shew the portion first, and his daughter afterwards ! And, when both parties are agreed upon the price, then miss goes off ; coarse or handsome, good or ill-natured, it is no matter. I fancy, an old miser, exposing his daughter to sale, looks like a country-farmer selling his white-faced calf in the market ; or like a grazier enhancing the price of a ragged, scrubby ox, from the consideration of abundance of tallow he will turn out. Even just such a thing is a Smithfield match ; and, as soon as the miser has struck the bargain for his daughter, away he goes to the parson’s toll-book, and there is an end of the matter.

Politica. It is even so : but it is a cursed wicked way of wedding ; it is perfect kidnapping children into the marriage-plantations. This practice is contrary to the laws of nature and God. Those pretty birds, you now hear singing over our heads, last Valentine’s day, chose every one his mate, without the direction, or approbation of their parents. The Scripture says, (I think it is in the sixth of Genesis, and the second verse,) that ‘ the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair ; and they took them ‘ wives of all which they chose.’ Do but mind this text of Scripture, it is very much to our purpose : it is not there said, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they had abundance of money, but they were *fair*, i. e. they were such as were beautiful and lovely : this was the attractive of courtship. It is not here said, that the old misers, as now, carried their sons and daughters to Marriage-Fair, and swopped one for the other, with so much money and the vantage ; but here the sons are left to choose themselves wives, and they chose such as were fair, even just such as my beautiful Sophia. And let me make this farther remark, that for choosing such wives, they are called ‘ the sons of God.’ Hence it naturally follows, that whosoever do choose wives after any other manner, are the sons of the devil ; and thus the young sold couple are the son and daughter of the devil, and the old miser, that sold them, is the devil’s brother-in-law ; and so they are matched into a very fine family.

Sophia. Truly, sister, I am apt to think, God Almighty has nothing to do with such matches ; though we have a common proverb in England, ‘ That matches are made in ‘ heaven ;’ I can truly say, as the country-wench did, ‘ They are a long time in coming down.’ I have waited for one a great while to no purpose ; my money will not grow to the height of a husband, though I water it with tears, and air it with sighs : but, prithee, sister, let us contrive some way or other how to remove this great evil, this grievance of celibacy, under which the nation groaneth. I can take it to be nothing less than a national judgment, when our men, the strength of our kingdom, are daily consumed and wasted away by the wars, and there is no care taken of a supply. Our ships and armies, in a short time, will want soldiers : but this is none of our fault ; you and I would endeavour at a race of heroes for the service of our country, if we could come honestly at the instruments which make them.

Politica. It is very true : but the remedy. In the first place, sister, let us consider the

causes of the evil, and then the remedy. Begin, madam, let me hear your opinion of the cause of this evil?

Sophia. None fitter than your judicious self to lead the way in this argument. But, however, madam, I will obey your command: and I think it is want of virtue both in young men and women, that is the chief cause of this destructive evil.

Out of civility to the Man, I will begin first with our own sex. I am ashamed, and blush to speak it, how many lewd creatures there are of our sex both in the town and country: were there not so many whores, there would be more wives. The vicious sort of men are by them kept from marrying; for it is mere virtue must confine a man to a married state, where he has an uninterrupted converse with womankind as seldom and as often as he pleases, without confinement to any particular person or temper. This made a nobleman say, that 'Two things could never be wanted in London, a wife and a watch; because one may have a whore, and see what it is o'clock, at the end of every street.' The numerous company of strumpets and harlots, in London, makes the lewd sort of men out of love with matrimony. Nay, I have heard them say, 'There is no woman honest after the age of fifteen.' I know they are liars: but, I am sorry to say it, they have too much reason to be out of love with our sex. Sometimes, I myself am almost of their opinion; especially when I consider how shamefully some lewd women prostitute themselves to every rascally porter and boy. And I think it more abominable in the women than the men, for nature has given us more modesty; and did not the whores ply in the streets, the leacher could never stumble over them.

The men, they are grown full as effeminate as the women: we are rivalled by them even in the fooleries peculiar to our sex. They dress like anticks and stage-players, and are as ridiculous as monkeys. They sit in monstrous long perukies, like so many owls in ivy-bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the reputation of being a beau, than on the substantial qualifications of honour, courage, learning, and judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a gossiping at Dover, or that you heard the learned confabulation of the boys in the piazzas of Christ's-Hospital. Did you ever see a creature more ridiculous than that stake of human nature which dined the other day at our house, with his great long wig to cover his head and face; which was no bigger than an *Hackney-turnep*, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me, how it looked! just like a great platter of French soup, with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beau tiff of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat? Did you not take notice how he replenished his snout with snuff, and what pains he took to let us know that it was *Vigo*? Did you not wonder at his learned discourse of the women's accoutrements, from the top-knot to the laced shoe; and what lectures he read on the fan, mask, and gloves? He understood ribbons and silk as well as a milliner and mercer, and was a perfect chymist in beauty-washes and essences. In short, madam, did you ever see a more accomplished coxcomb in all your life? Now, my dear, though I must acknowledge our sex to be extraordinary vicious, we will not knock under-board to the men: we have yet more virtue left among us than they can match. For though, to our great shame, we are degenerated in one respect, to our commendation we are improved in another. We never had, in any age, women of better parts, of greater virtue, and more knowledge. Learning and wit seem to have forsaken the masculine dominions, and to have taken up their abode in the feminine territories: and, indeed, the men are so wickedly degenerated, that learning, virtue, courage, and conduct, seem to be unnecessary accomplishments; for they signify nothing as to their preferment, but they make their fortunes as they make their wives, by money. And truly, madam, we have no great occasion to boast that we have supplanted the men of their virtue; for we have got that from them which did them no service, and which we must conceal, or else be laughed at for shewing it. However, madam, let us admire virtue; which gives that inward contentment, which all the riches of the world cannot purchase.

Politica. I think, my dear Sophia, the parents are as much the cause of celibacy as

the children, by breeding them above their quality and estates. I give myself for an example. You know my father was a tradesman, and lived very well by his traffick; and I being beautiful, he thought nature had already given me part of my portion, and therefore he would add a liberal education, that I might be a complete gentlewoman: away he sent me to the boarding-school; there I learned to dance and sing, to play on the bass-viol, virginals, spinet, and guitar. I learned to make wax-work, japan, paint upon glass, to raise paste, make sweet-meats, sauces, and every thing that was genteel and fashionable. My father died, and left me accomplished, as you find me, with three-hundred pounds portion; and, with all this, I am not able to buy an husband. A man, that has an estate answerable to my breeding, wants a portion answerable to his estate; an honest tradesman, that wants a portion of three-hundred pounds, has more occasion of a wife that understands cookery and housewifery, than one that understands dancing, and singing, and making of sweet-meats. The portion, which nature gave me, proves now my detriment; my beauty is an obstacle to my marriage: an honest shop-keeper cannot keep a wife to look upon. ‘Beauty (say they) is like a tavern-bush, it is hung out in the face to shew what commodity is to be sold:’ it is but like an honey-pot, which will fill a house with bees and wasps; and the poor tradesman, that has such a wife, will dream of nothing but horns, as long as he has her: so that, madam, I conclude, our parents are great causes of this evil, in educating their children beyond their estates.

Sophia. But how would you order the matter with one in my circumstances? My father, when I was born, was a gentleman of a plentiful estate, and gave me education according to the portion he designed me; but he, being a true Englishman, joined with the duke of Monmouth in the recovery of our rights, which, he then thought, were in danger; and, in that enterprise, he lost his life and estate, and so I lost my portion; and have nothing to subsist on, but the charity of my good aunt. I can marry nothing but a gentleman, and very few, if any of them, are inclined to marry the poor remains of an honourable and virtuous family. What can I do?

Politica. Truly, my dear, our cases are both desperate; we cannot *come up* to good estates, and gentlemen of good estates will not *come down* to us. I have often wondered, that there are no compulsive laws enforcing matrimony, but that, instead thereof, there are laws discouraging of marriage, as is the Act for Births and Burials, especially to the poorer sort of people, who are generally the greatest breeders; for, by this act, when there is a certain charge to a family, there is a certain duty to the queen. Now, if there was a law enforcing of matrimony, it would more effectually answer the end of her Majesty’s pious proclamations for the encouragement of virtue, and for the suppressing of all manner of immorality and profaneness. For such a law would put a stop to abundance of whoring; it would make the women virtuous, on purpose to get good husbands, and the men thrifty and diligent in their callings, in order to maintain their families. The ruin both of body, soul, and estate, proceeds from this omission in our laws. I am sure, a law of this nature would not only be acceptable in the sight of God, but it would be very advantageous to the kingdom.

Sophia. I am very well satisfied in the truth of what you say; but, at the same time, I do not think a law compulsive of marriage reasonable in all respects: there are a sort of monsters of men, called *women-haters*; these brutes would be destroyed by this act. Nature also has excluded, by its deficiencies, some men from the state of matrimony; others are of such monstrous ill humours, that they can match no where, but in the nunnery of Billingsgate: therefore, madam, if you get this act passed, it must contain many provisos and exceptions.

Politica. Not in the least; I would have it a general compulsive act, after this manner: Every bachelor, at the age of twenty-four years, should pay such a tax to the queen; suppose it twenty shillings *per annum* for the meanest rank of men, and what the parliament thinks fit for those of higher degree. Every widower, which has been so upwards of one year, and is under the age of fifty years, to pay the same sum. Now, according to computation, we have seven millions of men in England; and, suppose two millions of

the seven be bachelors and widowers, qualified as before, according to their several ranks and qualities taxed by act of parliament, they will pay into the queen's exchequer, yearly, the sum of two millions five-hundred-thousand pounds sterling; which will be almost enough to defray the charge of the war by land and sea. The reasonableness of the act is plain; for that unmarried people are, as it were, useless to the state: they are, like drones in a hive, reaping the advantage of other people's labours: they have their liberties and freedoms secured by the loss of other men's lives, and do not, from their own loins, repair the native strength of the kingdom: they are not so good as the spider, which hangs in the loom drawn from her own bowels. On the other hand, it is reasonable to ease such in taxes, as have numerous families to the advantage of the commonwealth; for these are at daily charge in breeding up their issue, for the defence and safety of the kingdom.

Sophia. Your notions are very good and proper; but how will you be able to put them into practice? I hope you will not solicit this bill yourself at the House of Commons: you ought to have some way or other to communicate it to some particular member, that he may bring it in, as his own; and get a good reward for his pains from the court. Do not you remember, Mrs. Murray told us, the other day, how her husband was served about his project of exchequer-bills? They got it to themselves, and did not give the honest gentleman one groat for his invention. Now, madam, if you could make yourself a portion by their making an act, you would do very well; you would serve yourself and your country: but if this act passeth, I do not find that you and I shall be the better for it; for the men are still left to the liberty of choosing, and they will choose for the best portions: we are no nearer the marriage-bed than before. Pray think of some compulsive act, that may enforce them to marry me and you.

Politica. It will be very difficult to get a particular clause in our favour; it will cost us, at least, our maidenheads; and then, you know, we need not much trouble our heads about matrimony: we need not shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen. Pray, madam, let me know how you would have it for your own advantage? It is now your turn to propose.

Sophia. Nature has made all things on a level. Our first father made no jointure in marriage, nor had our first mother any portion. Adam was lord, and Eve was mistress of the universe; and we ought to tread in the steps of our lady-mother, and bring our husband no more than what nature hath given us. Settlements and portions never came into custom, till such time as murder and rapine had entered the world; and dowries were first brought into fashion by the posterity of Cain. The hellish miser, which the other day made so many scruples about my portion; did you not observe the mark of Cain in his forehead? The match-brokers look just like the wandering Jews in England, followed by the curse of God into all countries where they come. Now, it is an easy matter for the parliament of England to bring marriages on the same level, as was designed at first by nature. I will propose how: Suppose every gentleman of one-thousand pounds *per annum*, was obliged to marry gentlewomen of such quality and portion with ourselves; and, if he would not marry at all, his estate should become forfeited to the use of the publick.

Politica. That would be hard, to take away all a man has in the world, because he will not marry.

Sophia. We will then find a medium. Suppose we build and endow them an almshouse with their own money, where every one of them shall have a convenient apartment, with a bed, and two pair of sheets, one chair, one candlestick, a chamber-pot, and fire-place, and some other cheap necessities. We will allow them one coat a year, with a yellow badge on the arm, as the mark of a bachelor; and every ten of them shall have one old woman to wait upon them. They shall be chiefly fed with water-gruel, and barley-broth; and instead of meat, they shall eat potatoes, Jerusalem-artichokes, turneps, carrots, and parsnips: for you know they come into that hospital, because they do not love flesh.

Politica. Oh! fye, madam, fye upon you! that would use brisk young gentlemen at such a cruel rate. This is downright tyranny.

Sophia. I am sorry to see you so tender of those who are so cruel to our sex. But here is no cruelty at all in the case: consider the thing rightly, madam, and you will find it otherwise. We esteem it the highest charity to provide alms-houses for the antient superannuated poor, who are past their labour: now a man that is not come to his labour of generation, at twenty-five years of age, is certainly past it; and we ought to reckon him as superannuated, and grown an old boy, and not fit to be trusted with what he has, as not knowing the use and benefit of riches. What I say, in this respect, is the common practice of mankind in things of another nature. The husbandman, if he has got a tree in his orchard, that has grown a long time, and has borne no fruit, he cuts him down for fuel, and plants another in his room. Why may we not do the same by the human bachelor-trees; especially since they are grafted on so good stocks, and are so well watered and pruned? That is a very ill sort of seed that will fructify in no soil. It is the same thing in government: a bachelor is a useless thing in the state, does but cumber the ground, and takes up the room of a generous plant, which would be of great advantage to the commonwealth. I tell you, madam, according to the laws of nature and reason, a bachelor is a minor, and ought to be under the government of the parish in which he lives; for, though he be a housekeeper, and for himself, as they call it; yet, having no family, he cannot be reckoned a good commonwealth's-man; and, if he is not a good one, he is a bad one, which ought not to be suffered: nay, he is not a perfect man till such time as he is married, for it is the woman is the perfection of the man.

Politica. Madam, I know you are endowed with true English principles; pray consider, whether the law you mention be not destructive of *Magna Charta*; since, without cause or offence, it deprives a man of his property, and takes from him the estate which legally descended to him from his ancestors.

Sophia. Madam, I find you hold me to hard meat; I must give reasons for the passing of my bill. I argue thus: A person who has broken and forfeited his right to the *magna charta* of nature, ought to have no protection by the *Magna Charta* of Englishmen. I prove my proposition thus; A bachelor of age, as such, has broken the laws of nature: 'Increase and multiply,' is the command of nature, and of the God thereof: now, having broken the laws of nature, he ought not to have any protection from the laws of England; because such, as have protection by those laws, do contribute to the support of those laws, which an adult bachelor does not do according to the constitution of *Magna Charta*. Our forefathers purchased the liberties of *Magna Charta*, with the hazard of life and limb; they sealed that writing with the blood of themselves and their children; and after the same manner those privileges were procured, must they be supported and maintained: now a bachelor contributes little or nothing to the support of our freedoms; the money he pays in taxes is inconsiderable to the supplies given by others in children, which are an addition to the native strength of the kingdom. Money is like the soft and easy showers, which only cool and moisten the surface of the earth; children are like the soaking rain, which goes to the root, and makes trees and vegetables fructify for the use of man. Indeed, my dear, a bachelor can, in no sense, be esteemed a good Englishman.

From the reasons aforesaid, I cannot think the bachelors are injured by my bill. Acts of parliament ought not to respect private interests; they are made for the good of the community, for the advantage of the whole people of England, and you shall seldom find any act passed, but what is to the detriment of some particular persons. We thought it no injustice to prohibit the importation of East-India silks, notwithstanding the detriment thereby accrued to that company; and perhaps put all the ladies in court and city into the murligrubs. These things the good parliament never considered, but passed the bill in favour of the multitude of weavers in this kingdom, who get abundance of children for the support of the nation; and which must have starved, if foreign commodities had been imported to the destruction of the weaving trade. The bachelors, that would come under

this statute, are but an inconsiderable number, compared with the aggregate sum of the whole kingdom.

Politica. Suppose, madam, your reasons should weigh with the House of Commons: there is another sort of bachelors, that answer the end of their creation, and yet are not married; I mean such as multiply their species on misses and concubines, which, in plain English, are whores. Nay, they can content themselves to do it with their female servants, who serve under them for that purpose: these will find a way to creep out, if you do not bind your act very close.

Sophia. That is well thought on, upon my virginity! It is true, these are a dangerous sort of creatures: concubinage and whoring are grievous sins, both in the sight of God and man; and the Divine laws, as also the laws of England, are very strict against such offenders, and yet you see they do find holes to creep through and escape punishment: but the law I propose will tie them fast. For, do but observe it, madam, those laws are best executed, that bring money into the Exchequer; every one would be a fisherman, if the fishes came like St. Peter's, with money in their mouths. I dare engage, I will sooner get a warrant to search for prohibited uncustomed goods, or to seize a brewer's copper for non-payment of excise, than I can prepare a warrant to search a bawdy-house. Do but once make it appear, that 'godliness is gain;' and I will warrant you a thorough reformation of manners. Now my act does this thing to a T; I make men honest and virtuous; and, by doing so, I make the government rich, and ease the subjects in the burthen of taxes. And I dare engage, if ever you see my bill passed the royal assent, you will find it well executed.

Politica. That is according to the honesty and virtue of the commissioners and assessors, appointed for that purpose: if they are not virtuous and honest, they may lessen your tax, and cause a deficiency. This has been the effect of letting landed-men assess landed-men, and tradesmen assess stock; when if a tradesman had assessed land, and a landed-man had assessed trade, (being so very different in interest,) they would have raised the fund to the height. Therefore, my dear sister, be cautious in this point, take my advice, I am your senior; let no old fornicator be an assessor, commissioner, or collector of your duty: he, that has in his time loved a bit of old hat, will be tender in punishing the sin of his youth: with him exclude all such as were bachelors before the passing of the act; they will suffer, nay, contrive a deficiency, that the act may be repealed. In short, let none be concerned in the assessing or collecting of this duty, but such as have many years lived with their wives in conjugal chastity, and by them have a very numerous issue; these, I will warrant you, will take care to bring the utmost penny into the Exchequer.—But, pray, how do you design to punish such of this sort of bachelors, that will not comply with your act? I hope you will allow them a separate maintenance: you will build them an alms-house also, will you not?

Sophia. As the others are used like fools and superannuated persons, so we will use these like madmen. We will build them a convenient bedlam, wherein every one of them shall be chained about the middle to a post, like a monkey; we will feed them with low diet, as the others, and once a month they shall be blooded and shaved. To aggravate their crime, we will make every one of them a Tantalus, by bringing every day handsome ladies before them, who shall laugh and jeer at them, and then turn their backs upon them.

Politica. I protest, madam, you are very cruel. Would you be willing to be served so yourself?

Sophia. Yes, sister, when I refuse matrimony upon good and equal terms. Pray, do they not do the same by us? Are not we daily presented with the sight of bachelors of good estates, who come to us under pretence of lawful courtship, to prosecute an unlawful amour? They come to us like butterflies to flowers, to spit maggots on us, and then leave us to be devoured by infamy and scandal. There is no punishment bad enough for these monsters of men. I would fain have my will upon them one way or other; either by marrying them all out of hand, or by punishing them for living single.

Politica. I do indeed think a levelling of marriages is the most reasonable thing in the world. Mankind is on a level in all things but this: one man has wit and wants money; another has money and wants wit; a third has strength, and wants both money and wit; one is poor and contented with his condition; another has no peace of mind, nor satisfaction, amidst all his riches, but is, amongst his bags of money, as a person in Little-Ease or Bridewell: so that nature seems to have designed a level; only we raise mountains and hills on purpose to deface the works of nature. But, sister, here's one thing yet to be considered, that there are several young gentlemen born to good fortunes, who would marry me or you; but they are kept from it by the advice of their parents. Now, though I would have such punished as are unmarried with good estates in their own possession; yet would I have some respect to those who would and cannot. There is Mr. —; he often gives me visits, he loves my company, his eyes talk of love, which is more than his tongue durst so much as mention; for he tells me, the beldam his mother, and the old curmudgeon his father, have made a resolution, that he shall never marry but with a woman of five-thousand pounds fortune. "But, (says he,) if they die, I'll marry where I please." They may live a long time; and, if I should stay for him, by that time, beauty may have lost its charms; and some younger Phillis, or other, may interpose and get the prize from me: for love, madam, is the most fickle and changeable thing in the world. My wit will last as long as my virtue, and both these are not lessened but improved by age. But did you ever know a man that loved a woman for virtue and wit? No; there are other attractives which make so great a sound in the world, that they drown the low voice of virtue and wit.

Sophia. I would have these old folks, that hinder their children from matrimony, as severely punished as the old bachelors. The fabulous punishment of leading apes in hell is not enough: I would have them punished even in this life. I pray God send them some such distemper as the p-x; which, in this life, is the punishment of adulterers and whore-mongers. Nay, sometimes they are caught and pay dear enough for their trifling with the years of youth, and not entering the bounds of matrimony, till the time of their doatage. I will tell you a very pretty and true story: A certain doctor of divinity of the university, aged about sixty years, from the profits of a good benefice, and other comfortable church-emoluments, together with a thrifty life, had acquired an estate of five-hundred pounds *per annum*; but the pious churchman, being still desirous of a larger share of the good things of this life, thought of ways and means of aggrandizing his fortune. No better way could he think on than marriage: for he, having lived a bachelor, and by his industry procured such an estate, he thought his spiritual and temporal endowments deserved a considerable fortune. After he had made many enquiries among his friends and acquaintance for a suitable help-mate, called a wife, with a sufficient quantity of money; he pitched upon a justice of the peace's daughter, about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The young gentlewoman was about sixteen years of age, and had ten-thousand pounds portion. Her money made an atonement for her want of years; for the bags and the girl were just old enough for the doctor. As soon as the doctor had intelligence of this young lady, he pursues the notion with all the vehemence imaginable; and hereupon one day at dinner he breaks bulk to his man John, and tells him of his design of wedding, and orders him to get his horse ready the next morning early, and likewise another for himself, to accompany him part of the way, which he accordingly did; and, after John had travelled with him about half way, he was dismissed by the doctor, who travelled on by himself till within a mile of the justice's house, where seeing an old hedger in the way, he asked him, "If he knew esquire —?" He told him, "Yes; he had reason so to do, for he had been his servant above thirty years; and that he had married his wife out of the family, who was also an old servant of the squire's." "Well then, (says the doctor,) you must needs know his daughter, Mrs. Anne." "Yes, I think I do, (says the hedger,) she's a fine young gentlewoman, and my master can give her a power of money. I will tell you what, doctor, I understand trap; I fancy you have a mind to Mrs. Anne." "Why, (replies the doctor,) what if I have; what then?" "Why then, (says the hedger,) my

master being a huggy rich man, and my mistress a young woman, he may think you both too old, and not rich enough: and therefore, doctor, if I might advise you, I would first have you see how you like the girl; it is good to look before you leap." "Which way can I do that?" (quoth the doctor.) "Oh, (quoth the old man,) let me alone, I can contrive that well enough." Hereupon, the doctor gives him a broad-piece; telling him, he found he could do him a kindness; and that, if he did it, he should never want, for he had five-hundred pounds a year, besides spiritual preferments. "Aye, (says the old man,) I have often heard of you. I do not question but we shall bring the matter about. My master has a great respect for the church. Pray, sir, go a little farther to my house, and I will give you a cup of the best, and some good bread and cheese, and there we will consider farther of the matter: I will warrant we will contrive the business well enough." "With all my heart;" says the doctor. Away goes the doctor more freely than to church, and the hedger as if he were going to the wedding. When they were come to the house, and eating the best it afforded; says the countryman, "Master doctor, if I could get mistress Anne to my house, would not that do well?" "Rarely well, (quoth the doctor,) if you can but compass it. But does she ever come hither?" "Very often, (says the old man,) to see her old servants." "But how will you contrive it?" says the doctor. "Leave that to me;" quoth the hedger. Away goes the old fellow, and enters into discourse with his wife: says he to her, "I am minded to put a trick upon the doctor." The good-wife in a passion replies, "You S——, you old fool, you put a trick on a great man of the church!" Hold your tongue, goody simpleton, (says the old man;) I find the great doctors bred at the 'versity have no more wit than we country folk. Get you gone immediately to the 'squire's, and take my daughter Joan along with you, and pray Mrs. Anne to dress her in her best clothes, for there is a gentleman at our house desires to see her in such a habit." Now you must understand their daughter Joan was about the same age and stature with Mrs. Anne, and had a great deal of beauty, obscured by homely country-weeds; and she had by nature a pretty stock of the mother-wit of the knave her father: away trudges the old woman with Joan her daughter. Her request was no sooner asked but granted; and Joan was presently turned into a little angel, by the help of Mrs. Anne's accoutrements. The doctor, you may be sure, waited with much impatience all this while; sometimes in hopes, and other times in despair. But the hedger, standing with his face towards the way, at length espies his wife and Mrs. Anne (for that must be the name of Joan at present) coming towards the house: the old man begs leave of the doctor to go and meet Mrs. Anne, and conduct her to the house, which he did presently, by running across a field. He made abundance of scrapes and cringes to madam Anne, with his hat in his hand, and then, stepping behind her like a footman, he followed her home all the way; instructing her how to manage herself in this weighty concern.

When they came to the house, the doctor receives her with abundance of ceremony; the countryman also made some rustic bows and compliments, and tells her, it was a great favour in her ladyship to come in a visit to her poor old servants, and humbly entreats the favour of her to sit down; "for, though the gentleman present was a stranger to her ladyship, he was a person of quality, a learned and rich doctor of the church, who, in humility, peculiar to the clergy, had vouchsafed to give so poor a man as he a visit." With much coyness madam Anne sits down, and having made a bow from her seat to the doctor, she asked her old servants, how they did. The doctor being smitten with the visible part of Mrs. Anne's portion, and ruminating on the invisible; the old man thought it was time to retire; which he did, by leaving a scrape or two on the earthen floor with his foot. The doctor had now what he came for, and to work he goes; he had forgot Thomas Aquinas, Duncie Scotus, and other unintelligible cramp authors. Philosophy signifies nothing in an amour, and logick of itself is enough to curdle a virgin's milk; therefore the doctor accosted her with all the soft expressions he could remember in Ovid, *de Arte Amandi*, which, the learned say, is the only way to know how to resolve the difficult questions in Aristotle's problems; and, the girl having heat of beauty enough at that age to warm a stoic, by the vehement attraction thereof the doctor joined countenances: but

never did a poor young lady receive kisses after a more modest and coy manner; and well might she blush at such an exercise; for the poor creature never smelt man before, and it was the first time that ever she saw the doctor.

After the doctor and Mrs. Anne had been above an hour together, in steps the old man: the girl she modestly retires, as well for instruction as to give an account how things went. In the mean time, the old man asks the doctor how he liked the lady, and what encouragement she gave him? The doctor, being ravished with the visible and invisible qualifications of Mrs. Anne, expressed abundance of satisfaction, and how happy a man he should be if he could obtain his prize. Says the old man, "At her again, Mr. doctor; she is a brave good-humoured lady, and I told her sufficiently what you are." Says the doctor, "Prithee canst not thou get us something good to eat and drink? here's money, if thou canst." Away goes the old man, but first got Mrs. Anne into the room with the doctor; which was done with many entreaties, and performed with a wonderful modesty.

We will leave the doctor and Mrs. Anne hard at work on the anvil of courtship, whilst the old woman and her husband are getting supper ready; which they were so long about, that it grew late, and Mrs. Anne was just going. The doctor, you may be sure, entreated her to stay, and the old man and woman solicited very hard on the same account; telling the lady, that they had nothing worthy of her acceptance; but the honour she would do them, now they had a great doctor of the church at their house, would be very great. In short, they argued so much, that Mrs. Anne was at length prevailed upon to stay: the old man whispers the doctor, that he had kept supper back on purpose that he might have the more of the young lady's company, and therefore advised him to make the best use of his time. Certainly, never any young lady made her lover so happy at the first interview: to work goes the doctor, he courts like a dragon; with an irresistible fury he lets fly whole volleys of bombast rhetoric at her head, enough to beat a poor country-girl's brains out: no stone did he leave unturned; but persists in his courtship, till interrupted by the old man's bringing in the supper, which, we may imagine, could not be less than a couple of cocks with bacon, and it is well, if the fowls did not come out of the 'squire's coop, as well as the clothes out of his daughter's wardrobe.

Down sits the doctor, having first placed Mrs. Anne at the upper end of the table; and, having said a short grace, he desired the old couple to sit down, as did also Mrs. Anne: but they refused it, saying, "They should not be so impudent as to sit at table, chink by chowle, with a great doctor of the church, and their Mrs. Anne;" who agreed with the doctor to make them both sit down, which at last they did, in conformity to the church and their mistress: and so they all fell heartily to pecking till they had consumed the whole provision. Supper being over, the old man asks his wife in the next room, what time of night it was? The old woman replied, it was past eight of the clock: at which, the old man fell into a violent passion, and scolded horribly at his wife, for not taking notice how the time went away. The doctor, hearing this combustion, comes to know the meaning of it. The old man tells him, he is undone for ever; he has kept Mrs. Anne here so late that she is locked out of doors, her family being always in bed by eight of the clock, and that, on this account, the 'squire will turn him out of his service, by which he got his livelihood. The doctor pacifies him, by telling him, that since this thing must happen on his account, he nor his wife should never want as long as he lived. "Well, (says the old man,) Mr. doctor, since you are such a charitable man, I will put you in a way to do your business at once: if you should apply yourself to the 'squire, he will hardly be brought to terms; for, though you have a good estate, yet I know the 'squire will marry my mistress to a young man; and seeing you have now a fair opportunity, having the night before you, try to get her consent, and take her away with you by three or four in the morning to some parson of your acquaintance, and marry her: my master will be soon reconciled, for he has no other child to inherit his estate." "A good thought, (says the doctor,) and I will try what can be done in the case."

You may be sure, madam, now the doctor attacks the lady with all the fury imaginable; the silence of the night and want of sleep (as I have heard those skilled in love-affairs

say) are great advantages to an invading lover : these are the best times in which to storm a lady's fortress. This, I suppose, the doctor well enough knew, and therefore carried on the siege with vigour, and before three in the morning, the young lady had capitulated, and surrendered upon articles ; which the doctor tells the old man of with abundance of pleasure ; who, you may be sure, bids the doctor joy. The doctor desires the old man to get him a pillion, which, indeed, the old man had before provided ; and away goes the doctor and his lady, and were that day married. The doctor did not stay long at the place of marriage, but privately returns to his own house, where he acquainted some of his friends of his enterprise, who highly applauded his ingenuity : but he enjoined them all to secrecy for some time. The doctor daily expected a hue and cry after Mrs. Anne ; but hearing nothing of it, he concluded the servants had some how or other concealed the story from her father : but his friends advised him by all means to go to the justice, and acquaint him with what he had done with his daughter, and beg his pardon for so doing, as a means of reconciliation.

The doctor understanding the justices of the peace were to meet that day about some particular business in the town ; he went to enquire for the justice, whom he only knew by sight, and the justice had no other knowledge of the doctor. The doctor, in his best *pontificalibus's*, comes to the place of meeting, which was an inn ; and asks the drawer, " Whether esquire — was there ? " Who answered, " He was." He bids him shew him a room, and go tell the esquire, that " Doctor — desired to speak with him." The esquire desires the doctor to come to him, and the rest of the gentlemen ; they having at that juncture no business before them : but the doctor sends word again that his business was private, and he heartily entreated the esquire to come to him ; upon which the esquire comes. The doctor he falls on his knees, and begs his pardon : the esquire was surprized, as knowing nothing of the matter, and being unwilling to be homaged by the church, he desires the doctor to rise, or otherwise he would talk no farther with him : the doctor refused to do it till such time as he had his pardon. The esquire, knowing of no offence, freely gave him a pardon ; which done, the doctor arises, telling him, he was sorry that one in his coat should be guilty of such a crime. The esquire, being still in the dark, replied, " He knew no crime he was guilty of." " Sir, (says the doctor,) I have married your daughter." " Married my daughter ? (says the esquire;) you are certainly mistaken, doctor." " It is certainly true," says the doctor. Says the esquire in a great passion, " How long have you been married to my daughter ? " " I have lain with her these three nights," says the doctor. Says the esquire, " You are strangely mistaken, doctor ; for I left my daughter at home this morning." Says the doctor, " You are strangely imposed upon by your servants ; therefore be so kind as to go to my house and see your daughter, who is there at this present." The esquire, in an odd sort of confusion, goes along with him to the house, and being conducted into the parlour where madam sat in state on her couch, the esquire burst out into a fit of laughter ; and, going to the lady, salutes her, and wishes her much joy ; and then told the doctor the mistake ; " For (says he) this lady is my servant — the hedger's daughter Joan, dressed in my daughter's clothes." The doctor, being astonished for some time, recovers himself, comes up to her, takes her in his arms, and, kissing her, says, " If thou art Joan, I will love thee as well as if thou hadst been Mrs. Anne." And, for aught I know, she made him as good a wife : for though she perfectly kidnapped the old child, yet they lived very comfortably together.

Politica. I can nick your story with one of a clergyman, that was as indifferent about a portion, as your's was curious. Mr. G——, a minister in Suffolk, and of a considerable estate, lived without thoughts of marriage, till the age of fifty years ; at which time one of his parishioners put him in thoughts of matrimony. He said he had been so intent on his studies, that he never thought of a wife ; but that now, if he could find out a good one, he would marry. The gentleman told him, such a person about twelve miles off had three daughters, either of which would make him a good wife, but their fortunes were but small : the parson said, " He knew the gentleman very well, but did not know he had

any daughters; and, as for money, that was a thing he did not value. The parson in a short time gives the gentleman a visit, who made him very welcome, not knowing the design of his coming: but the parson told him, that he heard he had three daughters; and one of them would make him a good wife. The gentleman replied, "He had three daughters, and that he hoped they would prove to the satisfaction of any person who should marry them, and told him either of them was at his service." The parson said, they were all alike to him; but since it was usual to marry the eldest first, he would take her: the gentleman replied, "With all his heart." Upon which the eldest daughter was called in. The parson, sitting in his chair, and smoking his pipe, told her, "He had heard she would make him a good wife." The young lady, surprized, told him, "She did not know that, but did believe she should be a good wife to any one that should marry her." The parson put the grand question, "Whether she would have him?" She told him, "Matrimony was a thing of that moment, as required a great deal of consideration, and not to be so speedily determined." He told her, "His studies would not allow him a long courtship;" and pulling out his watch, laid it on the table, and told her, "He would give her an hour's time to consider of it." Away goes the girl; but, believing it to be a banter, she thought very little on that subject: the parson having looked on his watch, and finding the hour was gone, he desired the young lady might be again called in. When she came, the parson shewed her the watch, telling her the hour was past, and that he hoped she had considered of what he had spoke to her about; she told him, "That, it being a matter of such great consequence, it required a much longer time than he had set for that purpose." The parson hereupon began to fret, and told her further, "He found she would not have him; and therefore he desired his horse to be brought out, for he would be going homewards." The gentleman pressed him to continue longer; withal, telling him, though the eldest required so much time for consideration, perhaps the second might not.

The parson was hereby prevailed upon to smoke another pipe, and the second daughter was called in; to whom he carried himself as to the former, and also allowed her an hour's time to consider of it. You may be sure, during this time, the father and mother worked the girl to say, "Yes;" as plain as if she had been in the church. The time being elapsed, the parson was impatient to go home, wife or no wife, he was so indifferent. The girl was now called in, and the parson asked her, "Whether she had considered of the matter?" She answered, "Yes." "Then will you have me?" She answers, "Yes." "Very well then, (says the parson to the father,) all is done but matrimony; and when shall that be?" "When you please;" says the father. "Then (says the parson) let it be on Tuesday next." "But (says the father) who shall get the licence?" "I will take care of that;" says the parson: and so, taking leave of the father, away he goes. When he had gone about three or four miles, and thinking of the licence, he remembered he had not taken his wife's Christian-name, and so he rode back again as hard as he could drive; and, riding up to the house, he found the eldest daughter standing at the door, so he asked her "What was her Christian-name?" She told him: he bids her a good-night, and away he goes.

The day being come, and the licence being got ready, the parson comes to fetch his wife: away goes the father with him, and his three daughters, and two or three other relations, to the church; where the parson and clerk were ready to make matrimonial execution. The parson asked the father and parson G——, which of the daughters was to be married? they answered, the second daughter: but the parson told them the first daughter's name was in the licence, and therefore he could not marry them till they had got another licence. Parson G—— told them, he could not defer it any longer, and therefore he would be dispatched somehow or other, and told them it was all one to him which of them he had; and so he goes to the eldest, and asks her, whether she would have him? And she, having better considered of the point, answered, Yes; and so they were married.

From church they went home to her father's house, where, having dined, he tells his wife she must put up such things as she designed to carry home with her, for he would quickly be going homewards. The relations begged of him to stay all night, and bed his

wife at her father's house ; it being the usual custom so to do : he told them, he would lie no-where but at his own house, and that he would be going presently. The relations finding no arguments would prevail upon him to tarry, they got mistress bride ready ; and the parson, coming to the door, espied several horses ready saddled and bridled : he asked, what the meaning of those horses was ? They told him, for some of his wife's relations, to accompany him home ; he said, nobody should go along with him but his wife : and so they were forced to stable their horses, and let the married couple go home by themselves.

When they came home, he conducted her into the house, and saluted her, which was the first time ; and after he had bid her welcome, and they had sat about half an hour, the parson calls the old maid, and bids her bring the spinning-wheel, and told his wife, he did not doubt but she was a good housewife, and knew how to make use of that instrument : she told him, Yes. Then he tells her, he did expect she would work while he was at work, and no longer. So away goes he to his study, and mistress bride to working with the whirling-engine. About an hour after he comes down, and tells her, now she must leave work, and bids the old maid get supper ready. After they had supped, he goes into his study, and she to her spinning-wheel ; when he returns again from his study, he tells her, now she must leave work : after a short discourse, he went to prayers with the family, and then orders the old maid to light her mistress up stairs, and put her to bed.

Away goes madam bride to bed, without any ceremony of eating sack-posset, or throwing the stocking ; and as soon as she was in bed, in comes the parson, and to bed goes he : but, sitting up in it, he bids the maid bring him the little table, a great candle, and such a book from the study, which she did, and the parson went to his reading ; upon which, the bride calls to the maid : the parson asked her, " What she wanted ? " She told him, " Something." The maid coming, he bid her speak to her mistress, who bids her bring up the spinning-wheel, and a great candle in the long candlestick ; which the maid having done, mistress bride went to whirling it about as hard as ever she could drive ; at which the parson could hardly forbear bursting out into laughter, and finding that spinning and reading did not agree well together, he put out his candle, and laid him down in bed like a good husband. The next morning he told her, that he found her a wife of a suitable temper to himself, and that, for the future, she might work or play when she pleased ; that he left all his temporal concerns to her management ; and they lived a very happy couple together, till death parted them.

This, madam, is indeed a very comical story : however, the young woman got a good husband by the bargain. Humours are indeed very uneasy companions, but the whole course of human life is attended with mixtures of pleasure and pain ; and it is but common prudence for us to overlook a few impertinences, rather than lose the most necessary comforts of life. We have all of us our whims and humours in relation to matrimony : sometimes they abound in the parents, and sometimes in the children ; sometimes in the husband, sometimes in the wife ; for my part I do not know who is clear of them. We are now fallen into the humour of telling stories under this green bower, as if we were in a chimney-corner at Christmas, which is a sort of impertinence, pardonable in those who have nothing to do but pass away their time in tattle, and reading of books ; however, it is more commendable than to gossip, as the London-ladies do, over sack and walnuts, cool tankards, and cold tea, and all the time rail at their husbands for being at the tavern : I will propagate the humour we are fallen into, by telling you a true story of a miserly old humourist.

A certain country-gentleman, of about one-thousand pounds *per annum*, having buried his wife and all his children, took a brother's son into the house, as his heir, and gave him the best education that country would afford : the boy being a youth of clean parts, and good ingenuity, he improved to an extraordinary degree in so barren a soil, and so very dutiful withal, that the old man perfectly doated on him, and was uneasy when he was out of his company. When he came to years of maturity, was grown ripe, and ready to

be shaken into the matrimonial bed, the old gentleman asked him, "Whether he was inclined to marry?" The young man, with an unwilling modesty, told him, "What he pleased; he wholly referred that, and every thing else relating to himself, to his care, thinking himself always happy and safe under his conduct." Says the old cuff, "Thou hast been a very dutiful child to me, and therefore (says he) I am willing to please thee: shall I look thee out a wife?" The young man (who without doubt would have been better pleased to have looked out a wife for himself) answered, "With all his heart." The old gentleman looks out accordingly, and, being well known in the country, was not long in pursuit of a wife for his nephew; which happened to be a gentleman's daughter about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The two old people discoursed the matter, and came to this resolution, that the two young ones should have an interview, and see how they liked one another. Home comes the old man, and acquainted his nephew that he had pitched upon a wife for him, one of Mr. ——'s daughters, who were all of them virtuous young women, and every way suitable to his quality and circumstances; although their portions were but small, their father having met with many misfortunes, yet the virtues inherent in them rendered them equal to himself. The young man returned him abundance of thanks, and did not, in the least, question the prudence of his choice.

Now was the young man to have an interview with mistress bride-elect, and his uncle retired into consultation with himself, how to equip his nephew for that enterprise: at first, he determined to send to London to have him a new suit of clothes made, that he might appear like a courtier; but, upon second thoughts, and to save his money, he told him, he could better provide for him at home; "For (says he) you are just of my size, and I have above stairs, in the press, all my wedding-clothes, which were the best I could lay my hands on, both for the fineness of the cloth, and the silk-lining: I am sure they are so good, that I never wore them above four or five times in all my life, and they are never the worse for wearing. I will assure thee, if I had not a great respect for thee, thou shouldest never have them: what sayest thou, child; wilt thou try them on?" "With all my heart;" replied the young spark. Up goes the old man, and brings them down; he puts them on, and they fitted exactly. The coat-sleeves were gloriously cut and slashed, small buttons on the coat, a little bigger than pease; the pockets about a handful below the knees; the breeches were open-kneed, a great deal wider than a Flanderkin's trowsers, hung all around with abundance of little ribbons: the old gentleman asked him, "How he liked them?" "Very well, sir;" replies the spark. "Now (says the old man) for a hat; I have a special beaver I bought along with these clothes;" which he also produced: it had a crown as high, and in form of a sugar-loaf, with brims as broad as a tea-table: the young gentleman thanked him heartily for it also. "Now (says the old cuff) there is nothing wanting but a pair of boots, which I have by me;" and which being brought, the young spark tried them on, and they fitted exactly: they were of a russet-colour with white tops. "Pray, (says the old man,) take great care of these boots, it is wet weather and may spoil them; therefore I would advise thee to twist some hay-bands about them for their security; and when you come near the house, pull them off, and then they will be neat and clean as they were at my wedding. But one thing I had almost forgot; hast thou got any money?" "Not one penny;" replied the spark. "Well thought on, (says his uncle;) courtship is chargeable; here is half-a-crown, pray make good use of it." The young gentleman, thus equipped, looked like one of queen Elizabeth's courtiers come from the dead, or like snow on the grass and trees about midsummer: but what would one not undergo for a good wife or husband?

The young man gets up early the next morning, and having resumed his former accoutrements, and mounting on the outside of his uncle's best palfrey, away he trots in pursuit of his lady: you may be sure the people gazed, and the dogs barked sufficiently on the road at this human scarecrow on horseback; but the worst of it was, as he came within bow-shot of his mistress's tabernacle, the young lady was looking out at the window, and espying such a figure, she called her other two sisters, and told them that

merry Andrew was coming, which put them into a great fit of laughter; till, approaching nearer, one of them cries out, "It is Mr. —'s nephew;" and, knowing his business, they sent a man to take his horse, and their father and mother received him very genteelly at the door, and ushered him into the house. But, as if fate had ordained that the poor spark should be exposed in his antiquated habiliments, it so happened that day there was an invitation of gentlemen and ladies to dinner at the house. When dinner was ready and set on the table, the young spark was conducted from another room to the rest of the guests: no sooner had he set his foot on the threshold, but the eyes of the whole company were upon him; one sneered, another tittered, a third laughed outright, nobody knowing the meaning of this odd dress, so that indeed he was the scaramouch of the company; but by that time they had feasted their eyes on him, and filled their stomachs with the victuals, they found the spark was very modest and ingenious, and that his good-humour and eloquence was more agreeable to their ears and minds, than his habit to their eyes; and by his ogling one of the ladies more than the rest, they guessed at his design; and being unwilling to cramp love in its embryo, after dinner they all withdrew, and left that lady and the spark together. The spark immediately takes the opportunity to apologize for his garb, and told her how necessary it was for him to please his uncle's humour in the thing; which, though it made him ridiculous to the company, he hoped would not lessen her esteem of his person. The young lady (who knew she was to marry the man, and not the clothes) told him, "It was not the garb she looked at, but she had more respect to his other accomplishments:" and at this rate they went on in discourse of love and matrimony for about two hours. The lady then thinking it uncivil any longer to withdraw herself, or detain the gentleman from the rest of the company; she desired him to go into the next apartment, and take a game at cards with the young ladies: the spark, knowing the weakness of his pocket, desired heartily to be excused; but being pressed by one he could in nowise refuse, he was at last forced to give her the grand argument, by making known to her his Job's condition: she, understanding the humour of his uncle, guessed the money might as well be wanting as new clothes, and she desired his patience for a minute or two, whilst she stepped out about a little business, which she did, and returns presently with a purse of five pounds, desiring him to make use of it. Upon which he waits upon her into the next room, where he played at cards with the rest of the company, sometimes won, sometimes lost, but always pleased the company to admiration; so that they all thought his mistress extremely happy in having so ingenious and good-humoured a lover, though in an antiquated dress.

To make short of my story; he tarried with his lady a full fortnight, and in that time got her consent, and the consent of her parents, and returns home to his uncle with this joyful news, which extremely pleased the old gentleman; but he took care to tell the old man, that (according to his own words) he had found indeed that courtship was chargeable, for that he had spent eighteen-pence of the half-crown he gave him; and, putting his hand in his pocket, he gave his uncle the remaining shilling. "Well, child, (says the uncle,) I commend thy prudence and frugality; I find thou art to be trusted with money and any thing else, and therefore I will settle five-hundred a year upon thee in marriage:" and giving him a good sum of money to buy him such wedding-clothes as he should best like, the marriage was soon after solemnized to the satisfaction both of old and young: they were a happy pair; and the old man, dying some years after, left them the remainder of his estate, which made an addition to their happiness.

Politica. Truly, madam, the young gentleman was enough ingenious: had he been cross, and not pleased his uncle's humours, he would have been disinherited, though I must confess, it is hard to render ourselves ridiculous to a degree of folly, to please an old humourist. But what is not sinful, can never be shameful; and how unpleasant soever our actions are in the sight of men, if they are otherwise in the sight of God, it is no matter: a good estate and virtue make a man beautiful in any garb. I believe I could conform myself to the humours of the greatest caprichio, were I afterwards to be as happy as the young lady you have mentioned; we must all of us suffer some way or other in our pupil-

lage. The apprentice serves out his time with cheerfulness, in expectation of being his own man at the seven years' end. Future ease is a great encouragement to present labour. But I know many young men and women are ruined by the unaccountable humours of their parents and governors, and take such wicked courses, that they are seldom or never reclaimed, especially women, who have once broken through the bounds of chastity. It is a common proverb amongst the men, that 'Once a whore and always a whore.' Though I have known this proverb crossed; and, to level and make our stories even as we would do marriages, I shall give you an account after what manner.

A country-gentleman, who was a justice of the peace in the county of R—, not having been in London in his life, or at least, not for a long time, being in conversation with some of his friends, heard them speak of the practice of lewd women, in picking men up in the streets. The gentleman, being a stranger to this abominable practice, could not believe any woman could be so impudent, as they reported them to be: but they told him, he might experience the contrary any evening when he pleased. The gentleman was resolved to make the experiment; and one evening in Fleet-street he takes notice of a very pretty gentlewoman, which eyed him very narrowly; whereupon he asked her to drink a glass of wine; she agreed at the first word, and went with him to the next tavern. When the gentleman and his doxy were seated in a room, and had some wine brought them, they drank very civilly one to the other: but miss expected to be attacked, after another sort of manner than she found by the gentleman; for he asked her, how long she had continued that trade? She told him, (as they all do,) "But a very short time:" then he continues, "How can you dare to live in rebellion both against the laws of God and man, and impudently pursue methods to destroy both your body, and your immortal soul?" In short, he read her such a lecture, that she (not being hardened in sin as are the generality of those miscreants) burst out into a flood of tears, and told him, that it was not without a wonderful remorse of conscience she followed that wicked course of life; and protested to him, that it was pure necessity obliged her to it, for otherwise she could not get a subsistence. The gentleman asked her further, "How she came first to be debauched?" She told him her father was a country-gentleman, who had extravagantly spent a plentiful estate, and then dying, left her to the wide world unprovided for: she thought London was the best place to get her a livelihood in, and thither she came, but very unfortunately fell into the hands of a lewd woman, who betrayed her to the lust of a gentleman, who was no more than once concerned with her, and then advised her to ply the streets; and that he himself was the first person that ever had picked her up. The gentleman told her, it was hard to believe persons who had been guilty of such heinous crimes, and very heartily admonished her to forsake her evil practices, to repent of what she had already done, and to amend her life for the future: she gave him many thanks for his good advice, and told him, she should think herself a very happy person if either he, or any one else, would put her in a way to live otherwise. He told her, if she would resolve to amend for the future, he would take care to provide for her. She promised him, with all the asseverations imaginable, that she would. Whereupon he told her, that she should meet him the next day at a certain time and place. She coming according to appointment, he put her into a lodging he had provided; and being well assured of her repentance and sincerity, and finding her an accomplished gentlewoman, soon after married her; and she made him a chaste and happy wife, and he lived as happily with her, as if she had been possessed of a portion of thousands of pounds.

Sophia. If I had here a bottle of wine, I would drink that gentleman's health: he, under God, saved the body and soul of that poor creature, and made a saint, by taking a sinner to his bed. I cannot choose but reflect on our discourse, how naturally we have fallen from the discourse of matrimony, to love-stories; we have talked away the time, as children cry themselves asleep. But we must be gone; the sun is just down, and we shall be wanted at supper.

A Continuation¹ of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; with a Declaration of all his Time employed since the Battle in Africk against the Infidels, 1578, until this present Year 1603.

London; Printed for James Shaw, and are to be sold at his Shop near Ludgate, 1603.²

[Quarto; containing sixty-eight pages.]

The Epistle to the Reader.

Gentle Reader,

IN the entrance of this discourse which follows, you shall find three letters (written by an ancient man called Doctor Texere, a Portuguese, directed to a bishop, this father's very friend,) which I have here compiled and expressed, among other proofs, to verify the unfortunate accidents this disastrous King hath sustained, since he was taken prisoner by the great-duke of Tuscany, until the last day of the year past 1601. You may also find within this pamphlet two letters translated: one written by Don Raimond Marqueti, a knight of the order of St. John, born in Messina in Sicily, to Don Sebastian; the other sent from the said King to Don Prospero Baracco, dwelling in Padua. By the two last letters, it will evidently appear unto you, that the prisoner, detained now in Naples, is not that Marco Tullio Catizzone, whom the Spaniards in their libels have so falsely proclaimed; but the very true King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. Immediately after these letters followeth a discourse, in the beginning whereof there is a preface written by father Texere, manifesting the natural disposition of the Portuguese, and witnessing how constantly they address themselves in loyalty towards their governors that reign over them, according to the sincere word of God, and the infallible rules of honour.

You may also behold a most ample declaration, about the end of this discourse, ministering four several points, worthy the reading and observing; to prove unto you assuredly, that the prisoner, for whom we travel so industriously with perseverance, is the true and lawful King of Portugal, Don Sebastian, whom God of his divine mercy will, I trust, restore to his former crown and dignity, for the good and propagation of the peace and welfare of all Christendom; which the eternal God effect, if it be his blessed will! Amen. The 26th of February, *an.* 1602.

POST *acceptam benedictionem*: I wrote to your reverend lordship from Paris, to signify unto you the cause of my return from Lyons; where I received a letter from your ordship, dated the twentieth of March; in the which you gave me a charge, that if I had occasion to travel into Italy, I should give you special intelligence of all the occurrents,

¹ [See the former part of this supposititious History, in Vol. IV. p. 423. Two false Sebastians, both hermits, laid claim to the throne of Portugal: one was hanged, and the other died in the galleys. Vide Le Quien's *Histoire Générale de Portugal*. The latter of these false Dons is the subject of the present narrative.]

² See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 80.

that should be presented to my understanding in my journey. The sixteenth of April, in the same year, I departed from Paris towards these parts, passing through Campaigne: the very first day, the gout began to assail me, and ceased not, but accompanied me to Chalons, which was Wednesday, being a holy-day; where I remained in my convent until the Wednesday after Easter. The same day, after dinner, having urgent occasion, I was compelled, by means of my sickness, to use the benefit of a coach, and came the Friday following to Nantz. On Saturday following, I undertook to walk fair and softly, with much pain, to visit his Highness, and the lady-sister to the King, and her husband, the cardinal, the count of Vaudemont, and the princess his sister. Believe me, I cannot express in words the consolation I conceived, in beholding the inseparable bond of love and amity, wherein these noble princes seemed to be united and conformed; from whom, like one loaden and charged with honourable benefits, gifts, graces, and favours, I departed to Basil on Monday, being the seventh of May. Notwithstanding the great comfort my entertainment gave me occasion of, yet a bitter spell of discontentment wounded me inwardly; for that, the Friday before, I had particular intelligence by the post, that the Calabrian, the false and counterfeit Don Sebastian, as they termed him, the pretended king of Portugal, was rendered into the custody of the governor of Orbitello, a town in Tuscany, bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea; being a part of the king of Spain's territories; from thence to be conveyed to the viceroy of Naples: so swift were those bloody Spaniards in their cruel expeditions. The poor Prince departed from that town the thirteenth of April, at eleven of the clock at night, passing by Sienne the twenty-fourth, and was delivered the twenty-sixth. The manner of divulging these news was by intelligence, that came to Nantz by Milan, in less than eight days. The eleventh of May I came to Basil; the thirteenth I entered Soleure; where, because I was ill at ease, monsieur De Vic, your lordship's dear friend, and worthy ambassador of his most-Christian Majesty in affairs to the Switzers and Grisons, forced me to stay and repose myself with him until the sixteenth day; from whence, after the fruition of infinite courtesies, I departed: passing by the Switzers, Grisons, Valtoline, and Valcamonica, I entered into Italy; the first town I lodged in was Bresse, the next Verona, Vicence, and Padua. The second of June I came to Venice, where, without delay, I hasted to visit monsieur Villiers, ambassador of his excellent Majesty. This noble gentleman I found, in all respects as your lordship had commended him to me, most reverend for honour, virtue, and wisdom, as the world can justly testify.

From thence I retired myself, in his gondola, to a friend of mine, an honourable gentleman, by whom, with divers others of my friends, that came to see me, I was confirmed in my former knowledge concerning the mishaps before rehearsed: understanding in like manner, how grievously the nobles and citizens of Venice took the troubles of the worthy distressed King, ascribing the blame to the negligence of the Portuguese, that undertook the managing of his liberty, into whose hands they had committed him safe and sound; forasmuch as, in those lords' presence, they seemed to acknowledge him: under which pretence they pressed before the senate to signify unto them a truth, beseeching them to allow him some other solemnity in proceeding, than they use to a common or private person, and to respect him as a king. The fourth day, I returned to Padua; the seventh I was at breakfast in Mantua, where I was well entertained by the reverend and virtuous prelate, the rare and honourable lord, father Francis Gonzaga, bishop of the said city. And, soon after I had been in my convent, and received the chief-prelate's benediction, I went to salute the duke and the duchess, to whom I carried certain letters; who received me with no less show of account, than they could have made to an ambassador, that had been employed in the most-Christian king's affairs.

The self-same day, to accompany this my glorious entertainment, the despiteful gout made a return into my feeble limbs, and there sojourned with me seventeen or eighteen days, in the same city. In which space I drew a tree with branches, expressing the genealogy of the house of Gonzaga; wherewith the duke seemed so well pleased, that he gave me a great present in gratification. I protest I should never have dreamed, that

Mantua had been honoured with a prince so noble for virtue, so rare for honourable courtesy, so peerless for bounty, so familiar in histories, so conversant in languages, so great a lover of rare properties, so entire a Christian. I sifted divers of his court as narrowly as I might possibly, and I discovered them to be true and faithful well-willers to our country of France.

On the feast-day of St. John Baptist, somewhat late, I set forward in my journey towards Ferrara through Bologna. On the eight-and-twentieth day of the last month I came to Ferrara, being St. Peter's eve. The next day, being the feast-day, after my morning repast, I went to the honourable duke; delivering him certain letters, which he received with a smiling countenance, and made very fair weather to me by his honourable and courteous entertainment: so did likewise his duchess. All this while, making no mention to me of the King, nor of the Calabrian, nor I to any man: the duke and duchess severally demanded of me, what news I heard of France or Lorrain? And so sleighted me off with licence to depart, saying, "We will take another day fitter to handle these causes more at large." So I departed for that time. The next day following, the duke came into our convent of St. Mark, where I remained; and our prior entreated me to bear the Provincial company to entertain his Highness at the church-porch, where the duke took notice of me, and talked with me all the way passing through the entry; and, at his departure, said, "I will choose a more convenient time to talk with you more at large." After breakfast, I went to the archbishop of Pisa, and delivered him a letter from a very friend of his, in regard whereof he did me many kind offices. And I telling him I had undertaken this journey for the dispatch of business that concerned my order, and myself particularly, (for so was the tenour of my passport,) and to acquaint myself in the families of the princes of Italy: after long deliberation, and pausing for the space of an hour, he demanded of me, "If I had not heard any speech of a Calabrian, that named himself Don Sebastian, king of Portugal?" To whom I answered, that, "being in the court of Lorrain, I understood by letters sent from Milan, that there was such a counterfeit, and abuser; and that therefore I would not meddle neither with him nor his affairs." And he replied unto me, "That he thought it not amiss for me to know what passed, and was done in that business." When I found his purpose, I prepared myself to hear him as patiently as I could, and he very pleasantly began this invective which followeth:

"This man, that would be called Don Sebastian, &c. is a Calabrian, a merchant, whose name is Marco Tullio Catizzone, that hath both wife and children alive, which have been compelled to come from Messina to go to Naples, to justify the truth. And the same Calabrian hath had access to Portugal for matters of traffick, where some religious professors of our order have persuaded him to call and proclaim himself Don Sebastian, king of Portugal. And the monk hath burned and branded him with hot irons, in the same places, with the like marks that Don Sebastian had; and the scar, which he carrieth in his arm, was forced by a gash given of purpose with his own hand, and the monk that on his head. Besides, when he was first taken, he had only two crowns about him: and, as soon as the Venetians discharged him, the Portuguese consulted how they might embark him at Livorne, and send him presently into France. Whereof the great-duke being speedily advertised, caused all the passages to be laid betwixt Florence and the sea-coast, that he could escape no way. And, as soon as he saw himself prevented and caught, he straightway discovered his legerdemain, saying, "That he was no longer able to endure those torments and grievous imprisonments, to maintain such foolish delusions and cosenage." Presupposed, that before he made this confession, he intended to have his life assured him; which they ascertained him of; comforting him, that he should not die. And after that he was detected in Naples by the presence of his wife, Donna Paula Catizzone, he was instantly sent into Spain, without any violence done unto him, and was there openly and generally shewed to all the world, to the end that the Portuguese should no longer abuse him, and that it might be published to the world that he was a very impostor, a counterfeit, and a deluder."

After I heard so many foolish and gross absurdities uttered so confidently, my very soul

was so deeply plunged into extreme grief and vexation, that I was forced to crave pardon of that reverend lord for not answering; being sore perplexed; knowing assuredly, that Marco Tullio Catizzone died in Portugal, while he endeavoured the dispatch of some business, the King sent him thither about; which is evident by a letter sent from one Don Raimond Marqueti, a knight, dwelling in Messina, by whose means and persuasion the King sent this Marco into Portugal. Which letter was sent by Marqueti to Venice, to have been delivered to Don Sebastian, which came to the Venetians' hands, whereof the lords of Venice caused a copy to be taken; and the original remains in the custody of one Constantine Nicoline, citizen and inhabitant of the same city; from whence a transcript was made, which I have about me to shew. This Constantine, seeing the agents of Spain to justify an untruth so impudently, without blushing, saying, "That the prisoner was called Marco Catizzone;" shewed this letter openly in St. Mark's church, to stop and confound their malice. Which letter when they had seen and perused, they were never afterwards so bold as to prosecute the matter any further, but kept silence.

Moreover, it appeared, that this prisoner could not be Marco Tullio; by another letter, written by the prisoner to Don Prospero Baracco, which he shewed me in Padua, which I craved earnestly to have delivered me to bring with me; but I could only obtain a copy thereof, which I have also in my custody. The same is likewise testified by an Italian gentleman attending the most-Christian king. Whosoever is desirous to see the said letter, shall find it in the beginning of the book, called, '*Admirable Adventures*,' &c. which was printed in France, before I came from thence towards these parts. I have set down these proceedings in writing to your lordship, to acquaint you with the forgery and devices of those detractors, called Castilians.

Now to return to the archbishop of Pisa, whom I cannot but charge with great abuse, to report that those natural marks were inseared with an hot iron, and to lay it upon a religious monk of my own order. But, to set aside many reasons and proofs, that might easily confute his allegations, this one shall serve to satisfy all men, that have any spark of discretion or judgment: It is impossible that any man should, by art, force, or skill, make a man's right arm and leg bigger in all proportions, than the left; that is only reserved to God that made him. And further, this reverend lord would have persuaded me, that the religious man, that so marked him, was Don Sempayo; which was impossible to be true: for the said father never once saw the King, since he departed from Lisbon to go into Africa, until the eleventh of December last past, when he was set at liberty by the Venetians. Besides, this Don Sempayo never knew any privy marks of the King's body, until the year of our Lord 1599, when he went into Portugal to enquire of them. Hearing so many reports so much differing, and knowing how hardly this archbishop could hide his own error, and considering, that to answer him peremptorily might rather hurt than further my purpose, and to save myself from peril, being within his jurisdiction, I was fain to suppress my inward passion, but said unto him: "My lord; seeing you understand, that the imprisonment of this man was the chief cause of my arrival in these parts, and as I understand the honourable knight came from thence, being four times sent for by letters from Paris to the great-duke, since I was in Lorrain; whatsoever is, or shall become of his person or affairs, I resolve hereafter to take little care, but mean to follow the other employment, I recounted to your lordship. Notwithstanding, as one that hath some interest in the cause, I will render your lordship my censure and resolution in a word; and make you partaker of my inward and secret contemplations. Forasmuch as your lordship hath been acquainted with this impostor and deluder's confession, dissimulation, and trumperies, I can do no less than grieve thereat very much: and the rather, that he escaped without punishment; being, as your lordship assures me he is, so vile and so notorious an offender: marvelling you would suffer so pestilent and damnable a wretch to live, that hath been the cause of so many men's disasters, confiscation of goods, ruins, and extinguishments, by undertaking misadventures by sea and land, and what not indemnities for his sake; abandoning country, father, mother, wife, children, house and home, rest and safety. And I wonder it pleased God to suffer such an one to be born;

that his mother, in his conception, before her deliverance, had not been transformed into a stone, or presently been dissolved into smoke, or air. What unhappy man could have caused me to forsake my place in Paris, where I was well and quietly seated, to thrust my life into peril, but only he? that wicked and ungodly man. I have twice in this unlucky journey been afflicted with the gout; divers times almost overwhelmed with snow, drenched in waters, tormented with clambering rocks and hills, sustaining all hazards that sea and land might present me, with thunder and lightning from clouds. And is it justice think you, my good lord, that a man, occasioning so many troubles, should live unpunished? This man hath troubled me much, and grieved my very soul. This noble duke might, by the approvement of many, have caused him to have been indited, arraigned, and condemned; and have ministered to him some extraordinary death, to the terrible example of all others, and have manifested the same to all the world. In my conceit, my noble lord, this execution had been most expedient and convenient, to the commendation of equity and justice."

The archbishop, hearing these words pronounced with such vehement passion, as though my soul had given frank consent to my passionate utterance, in lamentation of my hard success, said; "I am much grieved for your vexation; notwithstanding I cannot so heinously accuse nor condemn the man, but only for his folly to call himself Don Sebastian king of Portugal; for, surely, he was a reverend man for virtue and sincerity of life. I could rather agree to accuse that religious traitor, by whom he was first persuaded and suborned to take the name of king upon him." These, and many such like words he used, as well to justify himself, as to recover me out of that affliction, which he perceived his speeches had thrust me into: but, in the end, I took my leave of his lordship, and returned to my cloister of St. Mark, where the religious fathers received me with many courtesies and kind welcomes. The like entertainment I found in all other convents as I went, especially at Mantua, where I was importuned to remain many days. God give me ability and grace to requite them, that I may not be found unthankful: for I assure your lordship, I cannot express the merits and favours I found at their hands; much less, see which way I may yield them due recompence. From Mantua I thought best to go to Rome; in hope, by the friendship of the cardinals, and other noble lords and gentlemen, to find some furtherance in my affairs, to the bettering of my unhappy prince's fortunes. That he should be my very king and lord, I am greatly fortified in hope, and find many good signs and apparent arguments amongst the most serious and religious men of estimation, princes, lords, and others; finding it not expedient to nominate all the favourers of this enterprise, desiring your lordship to pardon me for not satisfying you in every particular, concerning my success at this time, according to your request; which defects I will repair in my intelligence from Rome, from whence I hope to send your lordship more exact advertisements, concerning the life and success of this Prince since the battle in Africk³, from whence he hardly escaped by flight; with all that past here in the time of his imprisonment; how, in what manner, what day and hour he departed from hence. Father Seraphin Banchi hath hitherto much assisted me in the business, and was very joyful of the honourable greetings from your lordship; desiring his continuance in your honourable favours. By his means I am so much furthered, as I trust to-morrow morning to be dispatched hence. The Almighty bless your honourable person in all you desire.

Florence, the third of July, 1601.

Your noble humble Servant,
Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE, Portuguese, &c.

³ [This battle was the subject of an anonymous tragedy, intitled, 'The Battle of Alcazar, with Captain Stukely's Death; acted by the lord high-admiral's servants, 1594:' from which Baker, or Reed, think it probable Dryden might have taken the hint of his highly-finished piece of Don Sebastian. Biog. Dram. vol. ii.]

A Letter written by the said Father Texere to the Bishop before saluted.

IN my last letter, written to your excellent lordship from Florence, I promised to perform as much, or rather more, at my arrival at Rome; wherein I fear I shall fail (for many causes checking my will and endeavour) to keep touch with your lordship. First, because I came not hither so soon as I intended; being hindered by reason of my sickness, which lengthened my journey: for, being in Viterbo, I sojourned seven or eight days in the house of our Lady de la Quercia, a monastery of our order, distant some half league from the town; where God, by the intercession of the Virgin, doth many miracles, to the benefit of the well-believers. So soon as I was entered into Rome, which was Sunday the fourteenth of July, I sought out my very friend; of whom I gathered, that his Holiness, and all the lords of the court of Rome, conceived, and were persuaded verily, that the prisoner which the duke of Florence caused to be sent from thence the three-and-twentieth of April, at eleven of the clock at night, and delivered into the hands of the governor of Orbitello, was Don Sebastian, the true infallible king of Portugal. Of him I learned, how he was conducted from Orbitello to Hercules's Port, and from that Port in a galley to Naples, and last to Castlenovo. This galley the enemies made the subject, to give notice to the whole world, that the said Don Sebastian was condemned to the galleys, and after to the Castle Del Ovo.

Further, I was shewed the copy of a letter, which the count of Lemos, viceroy of Naples, wrote to the duke of Sessa, ambassador from the king of Castile unto his Holiness, giving him to understand, that the same prisoner was Don Sebastian, the true king of Portugal. I have also found out which of the cardinals and prelates favour the cause of that virtuous and holy Prince. A friend of mine lent me his coach, wherein I went directly to the most excellent prince, the cardinal of Florence, and kissed his hand; of whom I had the evidences your lordship is advised of: and, after an hour and a half's conference with him, I departed in the same coach to visit sir Alexander Giusti, *Justice de la Rota*, our dear friend. From whom so soon as I was departed, I met near his gate with another of my familiar acquaintance, that discovered unto me certain plots and circumventions, attempted and suggested by the duke of Sessa, informing against me in the consistory of Rome, that I was a seditious man, prejudicial to the state of Christendom generally; for that heretofore the Christian princes had used to associate themselves in a league jointly to make war against the infidels; which I had been a cause to hinder, by interposing division and contention between those princes; and, as a principal reason to induce them to believe the same, he shewed publicly the discourse which I sent your lordship from Lyons, intituled, 'Admirable Adventures,' &c. which, for the more familiar understanding, was translated into Italian and Spanish: the common dispersing of which discourse, was like to breed much dishonour and damage to Don Philipppo the Third, king of Castile, his master; and so purchase unto himself, being his agent, infinite disgrace and harm by his displeasure. For my part, I answered, that I merited no punishment for traducing into writing such true accidents, as they were; the confirmation whereof increased with the time, considering they were not of mine own invention or stamping.

Relinquishing this friend, I hasted straight to the cardinal of Ossat, into whose hands, when I had delivered letters, and informed him thoroughly of the cause of my repair thither; he advised me not to shew myself so openly there, until such time as I understood what my enemies had conspired to object against me since my entrance into this city, which could not be concealed; for that the patriarch of Constantinople, who was and is general of the order of St. Francis, a Sicilian born, (and so much the more my forcible enemy, by how much he was zealous for the king of Castile his master,) had a glance of me in the Cardinal of Florence's house. My occasions detained me so long with this cardinal, till night grew on; so that his lordship caused me to remain with him until the mor-

row, from whence, after the hearing of his mass, I departed to my first friend's house; whither divers persons of quality repaired to visit me; signifying unto me, that the ambassador for Castile intended to work me all the mischief he could possibly: and, seeing he found no sufficient means to endamage me before the estate, he had a purpose to bring me within the Inquisition, alleging these accusations that follow. First, he objected against me, that I had been in England six or seven years, and that I ever favoured the proceedings of hereticks; that I composed divers books fraught with heresies; that at Lyons I made and began to imprint a book against his Holiness, and the inquisitors-general of Portugal; with many other matters, which I let pass, for fear of troubling your lordship. To all which I answered, without blemish to my honour or reputation, in this manner: "I thank God, all the time I was in England I lived amongst men that were religious, as mine enemies can testify; and, for my continuance in France, I hope to acquit myself easily from misdemeanour there. To the most capital matter and of greatest importance, that I wrote and began to print a book at Lyons against his Holiness, and the inquisitors-general of Portugal, I can purge myself purely, and pass as clear as the most unspotted innocent, being always approved religious and zealous; wherein I appeal to the sincere of all the brethren of mine own order. In that he terms me a rebel and a traitor to the king his master, for shewing myself serviceable and faithful to a foreign prince, his enemy; in that he is assistant to my affairs, recommending my estimation by opening a gap, to decipher the traitorous in Portugal, backsliders, enemies to their own friends, and very Castilian hypocrites; that I am a disperser of many lies in conventicles, at this instant. That article is worthy of such men's preferring as they seem to be, and not fitting men of worth and lovers of religion. As it happeneth, I have the book about me, that was printed at Lyons; which shall confute and display the malice and impudence of him that caused the rest of my books to be burned." The remainder, that concerns these affairs, is best known to your lordship, and therefore, to conclude this point, I crave pardon for being so tedious.

Now to return to my former subject.—Sunday being the 15th of July; the Monday following, after I had finished the principal part of my intention, I determined, by the counsel of my friends, to return directly to France. And, being advertised that the duke of Sessa had sent beforehand some of his people to way-lay me in the ordinary way, I changed my course by Umbria. I departed out of Rome the fourth day after my arrival; and passing by the cities of Narne, Tarne, Spoleto, Foligni, and Assise, I came to Peruse, which I did only pass through, and shaped my course by Siene, Florence, and Bologne, through the confines of Modena and Mirandola; and before I could reach to Mantua, my horse fell upon me, and hurt one of my legs very grievously, which caused me to stay in this place, where I might provide the best means for my recovery. I assure your lordship, I took this mischance to be ominous, that God would have it so; for that, by my return this bye-way, I gathered some certainty of much that happened to Don Sebastian the King, since his flight out of Africk, until he was discharged out of this commonwealth. And now I begin to make your lordship a true relation, certain, and without controlment. When it was spread at Rome that I remained in this town, and that, by reason of my hurt, I could not suddenly depart from hence; a friend of mine certified me by letters the 6th of August, in what manner Paula Catizzone, with her daughter, arrived at Naples; being shipped from Messina by the Catholic king's agents, to come and acknowledge this prisoner for her husband: and the said Paula, meeting in the ship with a religious man of the order of St. Francis, of her acquaintance, she discovered the cause of her travel unto him; assuring him, she knew undoubtedly, that that prisoner was not Marco Tullio Catizzone her husband; saying, "That same prisoner that they call Don Sebastian King of Portugal, had sent him into Portugal, which she trusted would make well for that prisoner, and do him no hurt at all, and that she came rather to justify, than to condemn him." The same man, my friend, promised me of particular advertisements of whatsoever shall be effected in this business. I beseech you consider the cunning the Castilians use in the expedition of their enterprises, who are both terrible and wary in all

their practices. Although they know that Marco Tullio Catizzone died in Portugal, yet, notwithstanding, they continue their indirect and false course; with inventions and sleights colouring their projects, to seduce and blind the world. This woman, a subject of the Spanish king's, was threatened, upon pain of death, not to hinder any of the king's proceedings; therefore she must take upon her to know this man, and justify him to be her husband Marco Tullio, &c. though she had never seen him before, be the matter never so false, as it is most untrue, and so proved by many reasons and letters; whereof I made mention to your lordship in my letters from Florence.

I have sent a copy to my friend in Rome, to be delivered to his Holiness, and another to your lordship, with these presents, to control all those that shall belye this action. Beside this testimony, there newly arrived a grave Portuguese (a man of good authority and credit), that, understanding at Rome which way I was departed, took post-horses, and came after me. Beside, that, he was one of my old acquaintance, he brought letters in his bosom of recommendation to induce me to trust him; and that he might open his secrets unto me, which certain lords of Portugal, that sent him, charged him to do. This man named the house in which Marco Tullio Catizzone died; to the owner whereof he brought and delivered certain letters from the king, and there were counter-letters written, which were never, as yet, delivered to the king. I trust I shall not have cause to stay in this town to write any more letters unto you; but purpose, by God's help, to make small delay to come myself to your lordship, and excuse all other messengers: beseeching the Heavenly King to bless your excellent lordship.

From Venice, the thirteenth Most humbly, at your excellent Lordship's service,
of August, 1601.

Father Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE.

The Copy of a Letter written by Don Raimond Marqueti, with this Inscription:
'To Don Sebastian, calling himself King of Portugal, being at Venice.'

I RECEIVED letters from your lordship, the fifth of September last past, wherein I perceive the resolution your lordship hath taken, to commit your care and trust to Marco Tullio Catizzone, a man as worthy, as able, to manage such a business. Further, I render your lordship a thousand thanks, for the good opinion and confidence you have reposed in my person; in discharge of which trust, I will repair my diligence, to learn news of that Marco Tullio, who, as yet, is not returned into these quarters. As for the letter to Donna Paula Catizzone, I hold it no policy to deliver it her; considering it as a loose adventure, in such dangers, to trust a woman. Neither will I neglect to be careful, for the honour of the said Paula Catizzone's house, as your lordship required me; and, in the end, the effects shall shew.

To conclude, I desire your lordship to excuse me for not using so reverend a style to your lordship as I could wish, which I hope you conceive I refrain to do, because I would not be discovered in your weightier affairs; holding this the best and safest course to do your service: wherein I beseech the Almighty God to prosper your lordship, and grant you due success; to whose tuition, with reverend kissing your hands a thousand times, I commit your lordship.

From Messina, the eighth of October, 1598.

Don RAIMOND MARQUETI.

The Copy of a Letter by Don Sebastian King of Portugal, while he was Prisoner in Venice, sent to Padua to the most reverend Don Prospero Baracco, Almoner to the Cathedral Church in that Town; the Original remaining in the Hands of Sir Georgio Bustarelli.

MOST Reverend Don Prospero, I am to signify unto your lordship, how much I have been grieved for your meritless afflictions; having suffered imprisonment for my sake, by

the pursuit of the Castilians, mine enemies. But, seeing things past are irrecoverable, and are only to be overcome with patience, considering you are not ignorant of the whole complotment; and, forasmuch as I am so restrained from writing at large, that I cannot express unto you my secret meaning, I only request you to send some trusty messenger to Messina, diligently to enquire and search, whether Marco Tullio Catizzone be returned thither with any directions, or not. And to that end and purpose, your reverend lordship may use my name to Don Raimond Marqueti, to whom I wrote heretofore, being at Moran; if you forget not, that I received also answer from him. And this gentleman you may inform of all that hath passed since that time, if you think good; and when Catizzone shall happen to come thither, he may direct him covertly to this place, where he may secretly give me knowledge of the expedition in my affairs. And, for the love you owe to the Almighty, fail not in one whit in a business to me of so great importance, considering how much it may avail, to bring my long travels to a good end; and weighing, that the lords of Venice will not be brought to the true period of justice, notwithstanding I have oftentimes laboured unto them to do me right, and make me known personally to the world; saying, "That if they find me not to be Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, without favour let them worthily punish me."

For all this suit, they neither yet would, nor will come to the centre of my just cause, and wrongful imprisonment, saying, that they loved not to be mocked and trifled withal; offering always very readily, that if I would deny, or not profess myself to be Don Sebastian, &c. they would set me at liberty, &c.

Love me still as I have done you, and so farewell.

From Venice, the fifteenth of April, 1599.

DON SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal.

Another Letter written by the aforesaid Fr. Texere, a Portuguese, to the same Bishop.

I WROTE to your excellent lordship from Venice, the 13th of August, and departed from thence the 18th of the same, being then not thoroughly well; for which reason I made the way more long and tedious than I purposed. I staid many days at Soleurre, because monsieur De Vic would not let me pass, until monsieur De Sillery came to town. After whose coming, he staid me to see the order of that town, in entertaining the cantons, and other provincials, at their first feast; and this commandment I could not well disobey. This importunity and such other were the impediments, that I could not reach unto Paris before the 14th of October. Then presently I went to Fontainebleau, to kiss his most-Christian Majesty's hand, who entertained me very princely, shewing himself glad of my safe return. For (to tell you true) I had no assured being, but in France; so offensive and dangerous was the Spanish indignation unto me. At my return from Fontainebleau, I met with your lordship's advocate-agent, praying him to give your lordship advertisement of my return; promising to write unto your lordship shortly after, which I did not effect; partly for mine unapt disposition; being vexed with slanderous lies and tales, which mine enemies found occasion to spread in my absence; who, for the satisfaction of their malice, having neither care of the law of God, nor of his fear, stick not to suppress any truth, to further the confusion of their neighbour, or Christian brother; and, to gorge their wicked appetites, respect neither the honour of the King, his safety, nor the firing of Portugal, which they had lately kindled and disturbed; and more than that, being blinded in fury themselves, think no man else can perceive their intents, be the matter never so plain and manifest. But of this theme let this suffice, considering your lordship is not ignorant of Castilian broils.

At my first entrance into this place, I found certain letters written from Rome, Venice, Padua, and other ordinary passages in Italy; all which gave me credible intelligence, that the King, my lord and master, lives; and that he is well treated in prison in the Castle, De Ovo. And my Roman friend, being joyful of my good news, wrote unto me in this

form following: 'Forasmuch as your afflictions, dangers, and travels, have received some hope of good event, and for that it is certain, that the troubles of those that fear God shall be converted into prosperity, so it may fall out, that *hæc olim meminisse juvabit*.' These words and tidings seemed very common and vulgar; which being conferred with those things that fell out happily in Rome, for the good of my Sovereign, I conceived great hope yet once again to see him re-established in his kingdom. By the same letter I understand, that my intelligence hath bred him great contentment, and that also he conceived no less pleasure by those copies which I sent him, to present unto his Highness; which were the transcripts of those I sent your lordship from Venice, which prove that Marco Tullio Catizzone is one, and Don Sebastian another. A doctor and a friend of mine, dwelling at Lyons, shewed me a letter which a French gentleman, his inward friend, of good calling, dwelling in Rome, after he had recorded many things concerning the King my master, revealed as followeth: 'The count of Lemos, viceroy of Naples, is very favourable to Don Sebastian, his prisoner, honouring him very much, allowing him some small liberty; which when he heard that the king of Castile took in ill part, he began presently to restrain and kept him shorter. When he was allowed to hear mass amongst other prisoners, they did honour him with much reverence, saying among themselves, that they discovered in his countenance and carriage a princely majesty. And, without all question, he must needs be Don Sebastian, the king of Portugal, or some devil in his likeness. The viceroy, as it is said, craved licence of the king of Castile to go into Spain; because in Naples he could not recover his health, which the king would in no wise grant him.' There be other letters sent into these parts, not from Portuguese, or any other by their appointment, the contents whereof are here expressed: 'Heretofore it hath been lawful and tolerable for this prisoner, that termed himself Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, to speak with any Portuguese or men of other nations, that desired to see the said prisoner, that said they had seen him before; and since they verified him to be Don Sebastian, the true king of Portugal, he is more straitly kept from the sight and speech of any than before.' Another letter, having recounted something concerning this King, addeth: 'The count Lemos, lying in his death-bed about the last of October, said to his son, in the presence of his wife and divers other prisoners, that he should look well to the place and charge he had, both of the viceroyship and his prisoners. "For you see, (said he,) that I am upon the point to go to God, to render account for that I have done during my life; and here I must cease and end my worldly business. For the disburdening of my soul and conscience, I protest, that this prisoner here, whom the vulgar call a Calabrian, is the very true Don Sebastian, lawful king of Portugal. I know it assuredly, having examined him, and for that I have had often conference with him before his imprisonment. Therefore I command and entreat you to use him well." This done, he gave him a letter, which, said he, is written to his Majesty, I mean the Catholic king, touching these affairs; and use all the diligence you can in those things I have given you in charge. The father being dead, the son respected the prisoner with much more reverence than he did before; but allowed him less liberty than he had in the old count's life.'

I have also two letters from doctor Sampayo, the one bearing date the eighteenth of November, the other the fourth of December; which confirm the same contents before mentioned. There be many other letters here lately sent from Portuguese to the same purpose, reinforcing the truth. And here lately passed a Portuguese by this town, that protesteth he spoke with Don Sebastian, declaring marks and tokens of his apparel, chamber, and bed, and other appurtenances. The same Portuguese said further, the King enquired of him for certain persons, which this party, being then but young, could not remember, and therefore gave him no direct answer. We have here many rumours from divers places near about. One wrote out of Portugal, which divers other coming from thence confirm, that upon St. Anthony's day of Padua, the last year, they rung the great bell at Villila in Arragon in the city of Coimbre, an university of Portugal, where befel a very admirable and rare wonder. In the same town there is a convent of canons-

regulars, of the order of St. Augustine, sincerely reformed, great and rich, in the which is interred the body of Don Alphonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, whom they adore for a saint. In whose behalf they say, God hath shewed some miracles unto men, to confirm their opinion of him, that they believe not amiss. Many religious men, for this four-hundred years space successively, continuing this saint for their intercessor to God, *ut ferunt*, have obtained much release and consolation in their afflictions, as well strangers as the natural countrymen. And to this effect they have a book written, recording all the benefits received thereby: so that this house never harboured any other, than those that were devoted to this holy king.

The last year, an old man, whom age had made feeble and decrepit, used ever to kneel down and pray at the sepulchre of the said king; and, upon St. Anthony's day the last year, he there, in happy time, offered his solemn prayers, and continued a long time in meditation before the sepulchre, where he remained until he was stiff, and not able of himself to rise, but by the assistance of his juniors and religious brethren; who, beholding all his face bedewed with tears, demanded of him how it came to pass? This old man answered, "I am very much displeased and grieved at the negligence of our kings and princes of Portugal, as well dead as living, I mean descending from this holy king; that being assured by infinite miracles, that he is in heaven in eternal glory, and lives in the presence of God, and we never yet knew any man that travelled to canonize him." To whom one or two answered, "That hour shall come: and, father, seeing your devotion and love is so great to this holy king, beseech him to be a mediator for the liberty of Don Sebastian, descending of his masculine line, that he may be restored to his former dignities and realms; and that good deed will cause him to be canonized."

We have heard lately more reports by the passengers from Italy and France, that he, whom the Venetians imprisoned and released the last year, is Don Sebastian, our true king and lord; and that he seems no whit to degenerate from the steps and traces of his ancestors.

As those religious men were advising and contemplating upon the vision of this Alphonso, which was mentioned in the 'Admirable Adventures,' &c. and considering the promise God made unto him, when he appeared unto him in the field Orique, the sepulchre resounded unto them three strokes, hearing the echo with ability to judge from whence the noise came. The sound being past, they approached nearer unto the tomb, continuing their discourse; and suddenly again the tomb gave three other great blows, so terrible that they were forced to recoil for fear; and the echo continued so long, that they were all amazed, and become as pale and wan as men use to be, in the horror of death. When afterwards they came to themselves, recovering their senses and perfect understanding, and conceived that it came by the old man's prayer, they went and revealed this accident to the bishop of that city; who, in all the time of treaty between Portugal and the king of Castile, approved himself as rank a traitor to his country, as he proved a true servant to the king of Spain; who, for his recompence, was established in that see, and created bishop of Coimbra, count of Arganill, &c. with fifty-thousand ducats of yearly annuity. This bishop, advertised of the noise, came to the convent, and made inquisition; and, finding it a thing so extraordinary, said: 'You Portuguese, that wonder at these toys, and give credit to baubles; know, that the soul of this saint, being aloft in glory, is so sore offended with you, that God suffereth those senseless monuments to give testimony of your fopperies.' These words were so ill taken by the people of the town, assembled about that strange noise, that the bishop was constrained to unsay what he had said, and to confess it was very wonderful.

Furthermore, there are many letters come of late from Portugal, that testify, That at Lisbon, the last of October, in the year 1601, the Church and Hospital of the King, called All-Saints, suddenly fell on fire by night, and flamed so furiously, that the roof was burnt, and all the images of the kings of Portugal, that were painted upon the wall; only the portrait of Don Sebastian was left undefaced. The self-same ruin happened to the arms of the kings and princes of Portugal, which were drawn in escutcheons upon the wall. The day following, being the feast of All-Saints, in the forenoon, fell an infinite

number of hail-stones, as big as small eggs, red of colour, which bred as great cause of wonder, as the rain that fell the day following; which was so extreme, that (as I have heard credibly reported by many) the people of that town durst not go out of their doors all that day, for fear of drowning. These things to me, as well as to others, I assure your lordship, seem marvellous; and can find no reason of their rareness: God, of his divine mercy, turn them to good! I could have written to your lordship more news of great consequence, if my paper had not been injurious.

But now to return to our first subject, which I will entirely deliver unto your lordship; and, seeing I have recovered my strength, I will proceed to declare unto you the success of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, since his escape from the battle in Africa; which I entreat your lordship to cause to be printed, that all princes may have free knowledge of the history.

Paris, the twelfth of January, 1602.

Immediately after my last writing, I received letters from my friends at Venice and Padua; by which I understand, the agent of that signiory, being resident in the Catholic king's court, hath written a letter to that state, which hath been openly read at Pregay; part of the contents whereof are: 'That the count Lemos, viceroiy of Naples, before his death, wrote a letter to the king his master; wherein he did assure him, that that prisoner, which he caused to be sent him from the duke of Tuscany, under the name and title of a Calabrian, was Don Sebastian, the very true king of Portugal, which, in the year 1578, lost the battle in Africa; which he affirmed with many assured reasons and trials, as having thoroughly examined him of divers things, wherein he had dealt with him both in Portugal and Castile. This viceroy never received answer of this letter, in his life; and therefore, being then almost at the last gasp, for the disburdening of his soul, he detected this secret to his son, that succeeds in his place, in the presence of his wife, his confessor, and divers other persons of good account; giving him also a letter for the king, wherein is ratified the same he spoke before. The new viceroy sent to the Catholic king a nobleman of the house of Mauriques, of whose house proceeded the dukes of Najara. This signior he sent with his father's letter; and it is reported, that the king returned answer of the same letter to the count Lemos, commanding him to treat that prisoner well; and take especial care, that no disaster chanced unto him.'

These news forced me to enlarge this treatise. I would to God they were like to be true! and that the Catholic king would answer his title with due correspondency to Christianity, according to his Christian style, by yielding liberty to his cousin-german, and restoring all that to him belongeth; which were an excellent branch of honour and magnanimity, and an assured means to settle Christendom in peace, and to avoid the danger of present war, which now the lowering heavens, and malicious inclination of stars, do assure us to fall upon us. I confess, that so many extraordinary accidents do persuade me to expect a good issue out of all these troubles, that they may be both happy and profitable to the whole commonwealth of Christendom. Pleaseth it your lordship to remember, that about the infancy of our amity, I said, "That if the Portuguese and Castilians be not separated, it will be impossible to maintain a general peace in Europe;" justifying my opinion with many evident demonstrations: and yet, to this day, I hold the same resolution; in which many noblemen, both of the council, and others of great calling, do accord, saying, "They from day to day see more apparent reasons so to judge." To that end, do I daily offer up my sacrifices and earnest prayers to entreat Almighty God, that it may please him, of his divine mercy, to inspire the hearts of all Christian princes to combine in one knot to set this cause aright before the increase of more mischief: for, so much the longer as they defer this good work, so much the greater will be the ruin of Portugal, and peril of our universal destruction.

Your noble Lordship's humble Servant,

Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE, Portuguese.

A Narration of Things done by Don Sebastian King of Portugal, since the Battle he lost in the Fields of Alquiber in Africk, fighting against Muley Maluco, an Infidel, *Anno* 1578, until this present Time. Written by Father Joseph Texere, a Portuguese.

THE PREFACE.

GENTLE READER; forasmuch as I have done you the favour by my travel to discover in writing unto you a peregrination so much desired; I shall entreat the like of you again, in giving credit to that I will most faithfully deliver unto you, concerning the natural inclination of the Portuguese, and the disposition of the king.

The Portuguese have two especial qualities, happily differing from other nations, which are as familiar to them, as to laugh is proper to all men. The first is, they are extremely scrupulous of conscience: the second, they are exceeding constant in their resolutions; especially when they are assured, that they are warranted by the law of God, and concern his glory. For the first, I will recommend unto your judgments two examples: the first, after the death of Don Henry, supposed king of Portugal; the succession of that kingdom, being left to the inheritance of women, came directly to Donna Catharine, duchess of Braganza, daughter to the son of Don Duarte, brother-german to the said Henry; who caused her title to be disputed of in the university of Coïmbra; which disputation was published in print and compiled in a book confirmed by the hands of fourteen doctors subscribing thereunto: all whose sentences were pronounced in the favour of the said Catharine. The like censure was exhibited by the doctors of Bologne, Pisa, and other universities in that part of Europe; the succession of the said realm of Portugal being adjudged to the said Catharine, and Don John, duke of Braganza, her husband and cousin-german; by reason whereof (while the cardinal lived, being induced, or rather informed by the agents of Don Philip, the second king of Castile, not to publish the said Donna Catharine to be his heir, did respite the publication, pretending that Donna Catharine, Don Antonio, and Don Philipppo, being all at once with other competitors to the crown, might set some variance among the people about the title, leaving it after his death by certain judges that he had appointed and named) he swore to stand to the sentence of those judges, and would not pronounce him king of Portugal himself, but said it might be a means for him to come to the best assurance of the enterprise before any other; for that he had on his part, not only the most of the princes of Portugal, descending from that line, but also many cities and towns in that realm, whereof he was owner and lord, being about fifty with castles, beside the city of Braganza; and had under his government above two-hundred-thousand subjects of account, by reason whereof he was the greatest and the richest prince subject, among the Christian princes of Europe. Considering withal, that out of the city of Braganza, and two other towns called Chaves, which the Romans termed *Æquas Flavas*, he was able to make and bring into the field thirty-thousand men, between the age of five-and-twenty and fifty years. And it is to be noted, that the men bred in those parts are hard and valiant soldiers, and have been so approved in the battles and victories which the Portuguese have had against the Spaniards, by whom they have been often vanquished in ranged battles. This prince's nice conscience was the cause, why he extended not his force to defend his right, but withdrew himself into a corner, without purpose or intent to marry either one or the other; by which means he left the crown to him in the right of his late wife, and his life in short time after.

The second example.—The lord Don Antonio, the prior of Crato, likewise supposed king of Portugal, by reason of his oath at Santaren, where he was chosen, and after at Lisbon, in which election he was confirmed by the deputies of the cities and towns of the kingdom, promised by oath that he would make no bargain or agreement with any of their enemies, but leave the same realm at liberty. The Catholic king, Don Philipppo, offered to make him viceroy of Naples for his life-time, with four-hundred-thousand ducats of

yearly rent, and the bestowing of certain offices and benefits, and fifty-thousand ducats presently to pay his debts, to go into Italy; and likewise to restore to their former state, dignity, houses, and goods, those persons from whom they have been confiscated by his occasion; and to give both honour and riches to all them that should accompany and attend upon him, according to every man's place and calling; upon condition he would renounce and disclaim all his right and interest in the kingdom of Portugal, by virtue of their election: and if withal he would swear never to give attention to any, that might persuade him to the contrary. His answer was to all these great offers: "That his conscience bound him to do nothing prejudicial to the contract he had already made, and that he had rather live poorly and die miserably in a simple chamber with credit, performing the duty of a good Christian, than to live in great pomp and pride in sumptuous palaces, disclaiming the law and commandments of God."

Courteous Reader; no man can speak so assuredly, or so sensibly in this matter as I. For in the year 1582, upon St. Augustine's day, being prisoner at Lisbon, Don Christopher de Nora (for that time appointed viceroy of Portugal, with whom his Catholic Majesty sent a gentleman of his chamber for me) assured me, that I might talk with him as boldly as with himself; telling me, that the king meant to employ me to Don Antonio about these affairs. This was not then effected, for that I escaped out of prison; since when, in this country, and in England, I conferred with him divers times about this business, being his confessor, who often said unto me, "God forbid I should do a thing so contrary to my conscience; if I should, (said he,) I persuade myself that every chink or furrow in the ground would open and swallow me up presently, by reason of that offence. God first I desire to take away my life: I had rather live laden with afflictions, accompanied with misery and beggary, reserving my serious and public promise, than to lead a perjured life in great prosperity, pleasures, and delights." Thus he died; obtaining, as I think, for the preservation of his integrity, as well reputation among Christian men, as recompence at God's hand, desiring always to live and rest in peace: and, in regard of his small ambition, could have contented himself with the tenth part of the king's, his cousin's, offer; had it not been for the respect to his oath at their election; and could have found in his heart, to quit the right and claim he had by his father, while the right was in him, but could not dispense with the oath they bound him with when they elected him; having power to do the first, but not the second.

This is sufficient, as I take it, gentle Reader, to prove unto you my first proposition, that the Portuguese dwell upon the severity of their conscience. Now coming to prove the second, which is, that they are most constant in their designs, when they resolve to build upon the true law of God, and his honour; I am to entreat you to defend me against the murmurers, our enemies, in two respects. That is to say, not only in the principal point that shall concern our subject, but that they may become censurers of me and of the cause: saying, that in the first history of two, I speak not religiously; and that I give cause of offence to the kings and princes of Europe, or that I incite you to take arms against them. To the first objection I answer, that when a person, of what estate soever he be, deliver any thing to good purpose, or utter, by chance, that which is come to pass; in that he offends not, being thereunto obliged in duty and conscience. As for the second, where they suggest, that I transgress against Christian princes, they are much deceived: for, though a man make fine gold into a chain, yet, for all that, it loseth neither the beauty nor reputation of gold, nor the name of the most excellent metal of all others. So let it be supposed, that a man, descended of a princely race, become a mean subject, yet cannot any man say, he loseth, by his dejection of fortune, his nobility that came by nature: for David's sheep-hook was no disgrace to the sceptre of Judæa; nor Justin's wallet, nor the halter of Gratian, father to Valentine, were any blemish to the imperial crown. Therefore I conclude, that no man can accuse me of rashness, in the narration of my history, speaking to a good end accidentally; though I prove, that many kings and princes of Europe have been derived out of mean and vulgar houses.

The chronicles of Portugal offer unto us, among the traditions of our ancestors, a nota-

ble history, well worthy the reporting and observing.—In Portugal, in the province of Alentejo, otherwise called Transtagana, there is a town called Veyros, by estimation about the bigness of Manto upon Seine, situate upon a mountain, at the foot whereof westward, there runs a river which hath the beginning from the north part, the current passing into the south. Not far from that town, upon the highest part of a little mountain, regarding the west, for the most part, this river seems to have an issue towards the east; and there is a ford where men are constrained to pass, under this promontory: the river hath made a sandy shallow place, as it were, knee-deep, where the women inhabiting the said town use to wash their linen, maids as well noble as vulgar. It fell out upon a day, that Don John, natural son to the king of Portugal, was to pass by that point with Don Petro, justicier, and great-master-overseer of the cities; and, by reason of that office, was endued with spiritual and temporal honour and authority. He being a young and lusty gallant, and governor of the same town, beholding these maidens with their clothes trussed up, (as women use going about that labour,) this nobleman began to jest with the rest of his company at the bare-legged wenches; and passing by them, some part of his train yet to come, one wench amongst the rest, as the history reporteth, in a red petticoat, as she was tucking up her clothes, discovered her legs somewhat high, and giving herself a clap with her hand on the calf of her right leg, said aloud, “Here is a white leg, girls, for the master of Auiz.” Which being overheard by some of his followers whom she took no heed of, hearing and seeing what the wench had both said and done, came no sooner into their lord’s lodging, but they reported unto him what they had heard a young frolick wench say, and see her do. Wherewithal this noble gallant being stirred, sent for her presently, and, finding means to have her secretly, upon her begot a son. And this maid was a shoemaker’s daughter of that town, very rich and of good account; who understanding that his daughter was sent for to such a nobleman, and being informed that her own speech and light behaviour was the first cause, and being assured she was deflowered by her own frank consent, took it so heinously, that, at her return home, he reviled her with most opprobrious and despitel words, and beat her out of his doors openly. And to manifest unto the world, how much he was inwardly vexed with the spoil of his daughter, he never after would eat at any table, nor sleep in a bed, nor put on any shirt; never pared his nails, polled his hair, nor cut his beard, which grew so long, that the people called him ‘Barbadon,’ for it continued uncut till it reached beneath his knees. This malecontent lived so long, that his grandson, called Don Alphonso, grew to be a man, and duke of Braganza, created by the great Auize master, his father; who, by the election of the people, afterward became king of Portugal, and, for his worthy acts, was surnamed Memorable, and Barcelos, by the right of his wife, the sole daughter and inheritor to the constable of Portugal. This town of Veyros stands between seven or eight other towns belonging to the said duke, and is distant but four leagues from Villa Viçosa, where his palace is. This vicinity was the cause that he had perfect intelligence of the shoemaker his grandfather, and the reports, he heard of him, made him so desirous to see him, that he determined to go seek him out himself in his own town; where, meeting him in the streets, he alighted from his horse, and kneeled down before him bare-headed, and desired him to give him his hand and his blessing withal. The shoemaker, having an eye to the duke’s train that attended upon him, and seeing his base humbleness, and hearing his speeches, amazedly conceived him to be some great personage, unknown to him, and said: “Sir, do you mock me?” The duke answered, “So God help me, I do not: but in earnest I crave I may kiss your hand, and receive your blessing, for I am your grandchild, and son to Ines your daughter, conceived by the king, my lord and father.” As soon as the shoemaker heard these sayings, he clapped his hand before his eyes, and said, “God bless me from ever beholding the son of so wicked a daughter as mine was. Yet, forasmuch as you are not guilty of her offence, hold, take my hand and my blessing, in the name of the Father, &c.” But neither the duke, nor his followers, could persuade him to pull away the hand that covered his eyes: so confident this old man was in his discontentment; neither would he talk any longer with the duke. Shortly after, this old man died; and, before

his death, he took order for a tomb to cover him, whereupon he commanded to be engraven all manner of tools that belonged to a shoemaker, with this epitaph:

This sepulchre Barbadon caus'd to be made,
(Being of Veyros, a shoemaker by his trade,)
For himself, and the rest of his race,
Excepting his daughter Ines in any case.

I have heard it reported by the ancientest persons, that the fourth duke of Braganza, Don James, son to Donna Isabel, sister to the king Don Emanuel, caused that tomb to be defaced, being the sepulchre of his fourth grandfather.

As for the daughter, after she was delivered of that son, she continued a very chaste and virtuous woman all her life; and the king made her commandress of Santos, a most honourable place, and very plentiful, to the which none but princesses are admitted, living, as it were, abbesses and princesses of a monastery, built without the walls of Lisbon, called Santos, that is, Saints; founded by reason of some martyrs that were there martyred. And the religious women of that place have liberty to marry with the knights of their order, before they enter into that holy profession: the order is called St. James, bearing the same cross. In this monastery the same Donna Ines died; leaving behind her a glorious reputation for her virtue and holiness. Observe, gentle Reader, the constancy that this Portuguese, a shoemaker, continued in; loathing to behold the honourable estate of his grandchild, nor would any more acknowledge his daughter, having been a lewd woman, for purchasing advancement with dishonour. This considered, you will not wonder at the count Julian, that plagued Spain, and executed the king Roderigo for forcing his daughter La Cava.

The example of this shoemaker is especially worthy the noting, and deeply to be considered: for, besides that it makes good our assertion, it teaches the higher not to disdain the lower, as long as they be virtuous and lovers of honour. It may be, that this old man, for his integrity, rising from a virtuous zeal, merited, that a daughter, coming by descent from his grandchild, should be made queen of Castile, and the mother of great Isabel, grandmother to two emperors, Charles the Fifth, and Ferdinando; and confute the proverb in Spain:

*De cien en cien annos, los reynes villanos :
Y de cientos en seyes, los villanos reyes.*

Which is, 'From a hundred to a hundred years, kings become villans; and, from a hundred to six, villans become kings:' so here the plough was converted into the sceptre, in less than threescore and ten years.

For the proof of my second proposition, I must necessarily refer you to the history expressed in the discourse of the twelfth letter, intituled, 'Admirable Adventures, &c. concerning Don Sebastian, the true and lawful king of Portugal:' where it is reported of Don Alphonso, the African, king of Portugal, that seeing king Lewis the Sixth deluded him, in not giving him aid, according to his promise made at the beginning, when he first arrived in France; by which means, for two years space, he left Portugal, not being able, for want of power, to bring his purpose to any good pass; for, at his return, being ashamed to be seen of the Portuguese, for that he lost a battle against the Castilians, determined with himself to steal as unknown out of France secretly, and place himself in a monastery near unto Rome. And, to effect that design, he disguised himself in a strange habit, taking with him but two of his people to accompany him: but he and they were intercepted, and taken by the way of Robinet, termed the Ox of Normandy; which Philippus Comineus also confirmeth, with this addition, that king Lewis was much offended with Robinet for that piece of service; forcing him to supply him with an army, and embark him for Portugal, where he ended his life; as I have already more at large declared unto you elsewhere.

That which I have said, gentle Reader, I think to be sufficient, to acquaint you with the natural disposition of the Portuguese. And to induce you to believe what likewise hath been verified concerning Don Sebastian, my lord and master, it is convenient for you

to know, that he resolved never to discover himself, or to make it apparent to any man, what he was; but was fully persuaded to pass the rest of his time uncouthly, and so to finish his life in silence; because he wilfully took upon him, contrary to the advice of Xarifa, and all the princes, lords, and commanders that accompanied him, to give battle to Muley Maluco, in the hour, the day and place, that, in their judgment, was not thought fit for his advantage: and the King, acknowledging his error and oversight he committed that day, so afflicted his soul, that the memory thereof bred him more inward torment and vexation, than any misfortune that ever befel him in all his woeful days. For the confirmation whereof, I will give you to understand, courteous Reader, what I heard an old man say; being a man of great authority, an ordinary assistant, and a common reliever of afflicted persons, be they never so abject, and a religious man of mine own order, and archbishop of Spalato, a Venetian born, a maintainer and supporter of truth, who, during this realm's last troubles, wrote in behalf of his Christian Majesty. This reverend prelate, while I lay sick in his house, distant some half league from Venice, sitting by the bed-side, said unto me, "In this very self-same bed lay Don Sebastian your king, tormented with a fever, before his imprisonment in Venice; at which time, in my hearing, a father of the order of St. Bernard, a doctor in divinity, very famous for his profession, entreated him to tell him how it came to pass that he lost the battle in Africa; and, because the King condescended not to his demand, he reiterated the same again." Then suddenly I beheld tears gushing from his eyes as big as pease, and in such abundance, as they did wet not only his handkerchief, but his shirt, the sheet, and a silk quilt that lay upon him. This passion was without weeping or sobbing, for that he never could do; but ever shewed himself all one, no changeling, come prosperity or adversity. At length he requested us instantly, to use some other communication, saying, "The remembrance of that intolerable mishap was to him such a torment, as it deprived him of reason and judgment, and made him desire to abandon both the sight and conversation of all men." All this grief could not supplant his sickness, which persecuted him so sore, as he was out of hope or care of his recovery, often tempting him to end his misery with his own hands. I considered, it was great inhumanity to add a torment to his affliction, in seeking to extract that from his knowledge, which his extreme sorrow would not give his tongue leave to utter; so I desired the nobleman to depart with me, and give him time to rest a while; for that, the night before, he had slept very little, or not at all.

To conclude; the shame and grief he sustained inwardly by his rash attempt, as is before rehearsed, committing so great an error, and so prejudicial to Christianity, enforcing him to obscure and hide himself from all his acquaintance and familiars; imitating Alphonso, his predecessor, both in temerity and repentance; or to equal Bolislaus, king of Poland, who, to kill Stanislaus, the bishop of Cracovia, left both his crown and sceptre, and retired himself into Hungary; where, some say, within few years after the execution of his bloody purpose, he slew himself. Others say, that he was devoured with dogs in a forest: but the most certain report saith, that he served a cook in a monastery at Carinthia, called Osia, a little distant from the town named Felikirchen; and, after the sufferance of many troubles and travels, he died; and was known by a writing, which was found in his bosom, the contents whereof was: 'I am Bolislaus, some time king of Poland, that slew Stanislaus, bishop of Cracovia.' In the same manner, I believe, had Don Sebastian, the king of Portugal, died; had he not been a religious man, bound in conscience to shew and reveal himself, and take pains to seek to be restored to his former rights and dignities, so provoked to do by secret illumination from God himself, who otherwise had resolved to end his life in an hermitage; which intent he manifested in certain Italian verses, composed by him while he was in prison in Venice, which I have about me, uttering all his success since he lost the battle in Africk, &c. There were four examiners, appointed by the senate, to attend that business all the time of his imprisonment there; which examinations and verses he sent, inclosed in a letter, to his Holiness, which also are in custody. The advocate, judge, counsellor, and inquisitor testify, that he gave them a princely, sententious, and a pithy answer; rehearsing all things that

had passed, concerning himself and others, since that battle in Africk, with the names of the generals, colonels, captains, lords, and gentlemen, that accompanied him in that action; the number, and the diversities of nations; the day, the hour, the situation of the place, where it was fought; how, and in what manner he escaped.

I am again to entreat you, friendly Reader, to give credit to that I shall report unto you, and not to measure the nature of Portuguese, by the light and lewd dispositions of other nations. When I was in England with Don Antonio, the putative king of Portugal, (as I told you before,) I was solicited by father Diego of Chaves, a professor of my own order, with great importunacy to relinquish and give over this signior Don Antonio, and incline towards his Catholic Majesty, whose confessor this Diego was, and his sole governor; assuring me, that, if I would yield to his request, I should be very bountifully rewarded; and wrote unto me most confidently, that my entertainment should not want one mite of twenty-five or thirty-thousand ducats yearly in revenue, to be duly paid; which allowance would not only serve competently to maintain me in honourable estate, but I might also deduct a surplusage therefrom to enrich my kindred and friends withal, whom also the king promised to prefer and advance for my sake, (this confessor was my mother's cousin-german): assuring me, that all my actions, intents, and purposes whatsoever, prejudicial to his Catholic Majesty, should be quite buried in oblivion, and no blame for any invectives, or writings in derogation of his Majesty, should be once objected against me. And, to the end I might the rather yield unto him, he recapitulated all the particular offices and favours he had performed in my behalf at the time of my imprisonment; that he purchased my deliverance, and saved me from being adjudged to the galleys, and also prevented me from being stretched upon the rack; and, further, obtained pardon of his Majesty for Emanuel Texere, my uncle, that was condemned to lose his head; and caused all his goods to be restored, that were confiscated, for being in employment with Don Antonio against the king; and when he could not obtain a grant at my hands, of that which he demanded himself, he incited my friends and acquaintance to do their uttermost to win me from my constant resolution; hoping, in regard of the great distance and separation from my country, and what by the want and necessity I endured in France, with my aged constitution of body, I would retire from that place, and end my age in Portugal, where I began my youth; attempting afterward, by rating and reviling, to make me recant, when other provocations would not prevail: all which enticements, mixed with bitter taunts, moved me nothing at all; and at this instant, if I would vouchsafe acceptance, I might receive the same entertainment before offered. It is not yet two years past, since a very dear friend of mine in this town pressed me, with vehement persuasions, to return into Portugal, assuring me of as much advancement there, as I would desire: but God forbid that ever I should accept it; for I had rather be a poor religious beggar in France, than a great discontented bishop in Castile, or in Portugal; considering the country is not itself, but in bondage, most servilely subject to Castilian tyranny. In this town, a nobleman of France, accompanied with some religious men of my own order, often persuaded me to leave the habit of St. Dominick, and betake myself to another; assuring me, in lieu thereof, of an abbey (which he had in his power at that time to give), and afterwards a convent of eight or nine thousand livres annual rent; and, to make me capable thereof, he promised to procure me a dispensation from his Holiness to allow the exchange of my present habit: all which bountiful proffers could not once move me to change my shape, like a mutable weather-cock, or an airy chameleon. For, if the Spirit of God forsake me not, I will die, as I have lived, a religious votary to St. Dominick, and a natural Portuguese: and the same blessed stability possess all those, that seek and spread my reproach and defamation. And, to those that make a scorn of me, I answer nothing, but that I am a true religious Portuguese, of the same disposition that others of my countrymen be; I mean, the godly, virtuous, and loyal Portuguese: neither will I admit any for my associates, in this case, but such as be most entirely sincere and constant. So I end my present narration, in the name of God, and purpose to proceed to the handling of my promised discourse; which, albeit I cannot so exactly relate, as I desire,

(not being an eye-witness of all that hath been done and suffered by this miserable King, my lord and master,) I have gathered out of the greatest probabilities and assertions of the justest and honestest, that I could possibly learn, or understand, that were able to give me the best intelligence; which diligence I was bound in duty and conscience to exercise; and am withal forced, by the importunity of many, meeting me in the town and field at every corner, to discourse unto them my master's adventures. Therefore, to satisfy them and all the world, and to meet with their tedious inquisitions, I have effected this collection, to rid myself of trouble, and to quench their inordinate thirst after the truth; referring all, that can read, to this and my former discourse of 'Admirable Adventures.' Farewell.

AT my being in Venice, gentle Reader, I understood by divers, that the opinion conceived of many, and the rumour commonly spread concerning the death of Don Sebastian, the King of Portugal, my lord and master, was false; and believed rather, that their reports were more like to be true, that maintained the contrary. For that it was confidently justified by credible persons, that he was seen alive and safe since the battle in Africk, namely, by Cid Albuquerque, Emanuel Texere, my uncle, N. Murselo Higuera, and many other gentlemen and personages of great quality and account. He escaped by flight among the rout, being sore hurt in his head and in one arm; and passed as a private man to his ships, and was embarked amongst the remnant of his army, that saved themselves by flight, as he was forced to do. After a few days, he arrived in Portugal, in a town called *Neu-feu-de-mille-fuentes*, near unto St. Vincent's Cape, where he refreshed himself, and sent for a chirurgeon from Faro: his name I have forgotten, but well I remember he was reckoned excellent in his art. There the King sojourned, accompanied with the duke of Aneiro, and Christopher Tavora, and divers other lords, until he was perfectly healed. The tidings of his being at the Cape were suddenly spread at Lisbon, and was soon published generally throughout all Portugal. And it was affirmed, that he was seen at the convent of Capuchins, built upon the Point of St. Vincent, amongst his companions. This rumour was soon quelled by the policy and authority of Petro de Alcacova, great-secretary of Portugal, in the behalf of Don Philip king of Spain, with whom he had before-hand concluded, when Don Sebastian the King employed him in ambassage into Spain, before his departure into Africk. And for that cause, this Peter Alcacova (a damnable politician, and a monstrous traitor), as soon as the first news came, that the Christians had lost the day, and his king and master slain; this Jew gave secret intelligence to the king of Castile of all that happened; signifying unto him, that now were a fit time to surprize the kingdom of Portugal, and bid him make ready for the purpose.

I respected the handling of the second establishment of union between the King my master before his departure, and the king of Castile, which is expressed by one Connestay at large, who, being a man of good respect in Portugal, came post to seek me from Rome to Venice; and, amongst many other news, he reported unto me, that as soon as ever it was bruited abroad in Portugal, that Don Sebastian the King was living, and prisoner in Venice, there were many devices revived concerning this bruit, that long time before lay buried. And withal you must note, that Don Diego de Sosa, the admiral which conducted the King into Africk, re-embarked him from thence into Portugal again, and gave continual intelligence unto his kindred and assured friends, that their king was living; and that he had secretly received him a-board, among the scattered troops, and gave them an especial charge that they should conceal it. And further, that he gave him a secret sign, whereby he might know him hereafter, if need required: which privity Don Diego discovered unawares, when a counterfeit (suborned for the purpose) came to that Diego's house, sending for him into the field to come home to speak with Don Sebastian the King; to whom he said abruptly, "Hath he delivered any secret token betwixt him and me, whereby I might credit thee?" By which question he published that, which

he secretly had bewrayed before to his allies. Whereupon, the cardinal Don Henry great-uncle to the King, took occasion to send a trusty servant of his, called Emanuel Antunes, to St. Vincent's Cape; charging him to use all the industry he might, in finding out what certainty he could learn of the King, his nephew. All which this Emanuel performed, with as much endeavour as he might possibly use; and, by this diligent inquisition about the said Cape, found that the King had been in the monastery; and was there certified, that he was both hurt in the head and arm, and, in a manner frantick; not only for the exceeding anguish and vexation of mind which he suffered for the loss of victory, but withal the shame did ever perplex him, when he considered the overthrow came by indiscretion and rashness; and that, by his default, the flower and prime of all Portugal was defeated and cut off. Antunes brought a very large testimonial hereof to the cardinal, under the seal of the father-guardian and all the rest of his brethren of the said monastery; which the cardinal received with his own hands, commanding his servant to impart this secret to none; which he, for his own part, buried in his own bosom. And not being able to find out what course his nephew, and his company, took for their escape out of the country, gave over the expectation of his recovery either of his crown and sceptre while he lived, though it were his due. But, when it was known in Portugal that the King lived, Antunes began to acknowledge the pains he had undergone in these affairs, by his master's appointment; which was no sooner conveyed to the king of Castile's ear, but he sent for this Antunes, of whom he had a liberal relation of all that he knew concerning that business; and, soon after Antunes's return into Portugal, he died. Whereby it appeareth unto me, that God lengthened his life some space, to reveal a truth, that seemed before to be very intricate and doubtful.

Shortly after, the Portuguese began to murmur among themselves; boldly saying, "that Don Philip the king had made away Don Sebastian their king, his nephew, going to him to crave his aid before his departure into Africk; because he had a meaning to gain the kingdom of Portugal to him and his successors, and hold it by usurpation." And this scandal was never extinguished, because fame divulged his arriving at the cape called St. Vincent; and no certainty appeared to the world, what way he passed from thence. But since it is proved, that from Spain he got shipping and travelled into Alexandria, and there lived in Prester John's court with his followers, some twenty months, unknown of what quality he was, professing that he had a desire to see the world, and travelled only to that end and purpose; for of want he made no show, he and his company being well furnished with gold and jewels of great price. From Æthiopia they passed over the Red-Sea, and so directly to the mount Sinai; from thence to the Great-Sophi, called Xatama king of Persia, whom he served as a commander five or six years against the Turks; where he achieved many victories, and divers wounds in his body, with much honour and reputation. In requital whereof, the king of Persia did him many honourable offices, and gave him rich presents of inestimable price; with the which he and his company departed. I heard at Venice of his conference with colonel Cigogna, a man of great experience in the wars, which assured the lords of the senate, that he never talked with any more wise, learned, or better experienced in military discipline, than this noble person; and he protested he could be no other, than the same he professed to be. The excellent and most reverend lord the archbishop said, "he heard the discourse between the king and the colonel, which delighted him exceedingly." This archbishop I could not speak withal, at my being in Venice, for that he was employed in Dalmatia in the affairs of the state.

The king, leaving Persia, went towards Jerusalem, from whence he travelled by firm land to Constantinople; which, after certain days, he left, and came into Italy; from thence to Hungary; and from thence fetched a compass by Muscovy, Poland, Swedeland, and Denmark, where he took shipping for England: and in London it is reported, he saw Don Antonio, the supposed king of Portugal. From England he passed into Holland; from Holland by Almain back to Antwerp; from thence to Paris, *anno* 1586. It comes to my memory, that in the latter end of the same year, one Antonio Fernandes Pignero,

a priest, which had sometime been almoner to the said Don Sebastian, &c. and was with me in service from the said lord Don Antonio, told me, "that the same Don Antonio had heard it credibly reported, that Don Sebastian the King was living," &c. whereat Don Antonio seemed to be sore amazed and perplexed. About which time I craved licence of Don Antonio to go out of England into this country, which he gave with some show of discontentment therewith. By reason whereof, and to avoid all suspicion, I moved no question to him concerning the particularity of this matter; and I must tell you, by the way, that Pignero had all this discourse in writing, *sub sigillo confessionis*, which although, said he, "I make the same known unto you, yet I pray you conceal it from Don Antonio, because it may be very prejudicial to him of whom I heard it." In the year following, after Easter, in the time of Ember, when I was come to that town, whither I made the scope of my journey, I heard the like concerning the same business which I before had heard in England, whereof I seemed to make no great care; and coming to Paris, after his Christian Majesty had entered the town, Don Nouvelet assured me, in the presence of divers Portuguese and Frenchmen, not once or twice, but many times, "that it was as certain and assured that Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, had been lately in Paris, as he spoke to me:" describing him to me by many circumstances; to all which I gave no credit, esteeming all he said to be mere fables. Not that I held any opinion or conceit that he was slain at the battle in Africk; but my imagination could not receive any impression that he could be guilty of any such rare dissimulation, to pass so many cities and regions without discovery.

The last year, writing to the said doctor to Annissi, where he dwelt, of the news which I heard, that my lord and master should be set at liberty by the consent of the seigniory of Venice: I entreated him to write unto me at large, that which he had oft recited to me in this town, concerning the estate of that king. And because his answer was, that he could not agree to the satisfaction of my demands, I ceased to importune him any further in that behalf. But forasmuch as, at my being at Venice, some of the chiefest of the seigniory of that state, asking me, if I were able to say any thing concerning what the King had answered upon his examination; saying, that he had been in Paris, and there conferred with a Portuguese fled out of his country for Don Antonio's cause, being his cousin. And further, that he met with a gentleman of Swisserland at Soleurre, departing from thence towards Annissi, by whom I sent a letter to Don Nouvelet; in the which I most instantly desired him to set down in writing all that he had declared to me at Paris, concerning my master Don Sebastian, &c. At my great importunity, it pleased him to grant me my desire; and here I have annexed the same, copied out *verbatim*, as it was written, in manner and form, with the recommendations he assigned me to do to his friends, named in the same original; men of good esteem for birth, office, and popular affection. So that to his truth and sincerity no man can take exception, being a professor in his art, both very learned and excellently experienced, in his life and manners never detected. Therefore all suspicion, either of the matter or the man, is prevented.

The Copy of a Letter, sent from Don Nouvelet, to Father Joseph Texere.

SIR,

I Received your last letter, dated the eighteenth of the month past; whereby you make me recall to mind the grief I conceived, by your letters preceding, concerning the troubles of Emanuel Godigno, a gentleman born in Portugal. I had long since expressed in writing, and sent it you; if I had conjectured your disposition had been apt to entertain news: so ready and willing I am to apply my endeavours to do you service, in any thing you shall please to command me. But the consideration of your rare perfection of memory made me decline from doubt of any defect therein, and so much the slower in committing that to writing, which I had before so observantly uttered in your hearing, and in the presence of many persons of good respect, as well of your country, as of other nations.

Imputing this imposition rather to your desire to be better assured, *obsignatis tabulis*, than to any want of carriage in your understanding parts, I thus address my pen to confirm my tongue's discourse: In the year of our Lord 1588, being at Nantz, in employment and service of my lord the cardinal of Gondie, about the affairs of my lord the bishop of Paris his nephew, that was called abbot of Buzai; I took up my lodging in the convent of the Jacobins, where I found good opportunity to ingraft myself in the favour and friendship of the reverend father, Dr. Sampayo; a man much commended for his liberal erudition in letters, but recommended for his integrity and zeal; one of your own order, and of your antient and approved acquaintance; and, being both godly and learned, united in more assured bonds of love and amity, than are exercised among the vulgar. Meanwhile, that league of friendship, then planted between that good doctor Sampayo and me, took so good root in us both, that it continueth without peril of supplanting until this day; and is like, for your sake, to fructify abundantly, as well by increase of love, as of acquaintance with many other noblemen and gentlemen of good sort and condition. Among the rest of the ordinary frequenters, came sir Emanuel Godigno to visit Dr. Sampayo at my lodging, and taking some acquaintance of me, continued the same as long as I lay at Nantz, till I retired towards Paris; leaving, to my great sorrow, the sweet conversation betwixt Dr. Sampayo and myself, loving each other dearly. This Godigno, loth to let slip out of use the compliments that had past between him and me at Nantz, at his coming to Paris frequented my lodging daily, to understand of Dr. Sampayo's health and welfare; whereof I not being able to give him any certain intelligence, he began to mourn and look heavily, whom I could not choose but in that passion to accompany; envying any man's affection should exceed mine in zeal to my friend.

It followed that, upon a Sunday, (in what month I remember not,) this signior Godigno received the communion very devoutly, ministered by the chief of the Jacobins, which made me refrain for that time to salute him, or he me: for, in truth, I think he saw me not; and I, not willing to interrupt his devotion, let him pass without any ceremony on my part performed. Notwithstanding, the same afternoon he repaired to my lodging, and as his custom was, demanded what tidings I heard of his friend and mine, doctor Sampayo; and I, having no better means to inform him than before, desired him to excuse my ignorance, being unable to give him any contentment by intelligence of him, or from him. At which answer, the kind gentleman seemed very pensive and appalled, sitting still a long while mute and silent; whereby I imagined he had somewhat that inwardly distempered him; for I might perceive the tears trickle down his cheeks. Which perturbation, breaking out at his eyes, afforded him some liberty to utter these words following: "Sir, I consider the great love that was betwixt Dr. Sampayo and you, that manifestly appeared to me at Nantz; and withal, the confidence he reposed in your fidelity towards him; which persuades me, that I cannot commit a secret matter of great consequence to a man that can more assuredly conceal it than yourself. And I doubt not but the same shall be as safely guarded in the treasury of your constancy, as in his; if you will vouchsafe to give me your unfeigned promise so to do." Whereunto I answered: "Sir, if it be a secret never as yet by you revealed unto any man but unto me, you may boldly speak it: but if you have already trusted any man, or shall hereafter declare the same to any other, it may so fall out, that you may lay some other man's deserved blame to my charge. Therefore, in this doubtful case I beseech you trust yourself, and tell me nothing; for I will not have you ransack your inclosure upon my protestation, although I presume so much upon your honest sincerity, being a gentleman both honest and religious, you will utter nothing unto me that shall not be like yourself; considering beside, I have seen you this day participate a sound mystery most reverently and devoutly among the Jacobins, which assures me, that you cannot produce any thing out of your mouth either profane or wicked." Whereunto he replied, "That he was expressly prepared to receive the holy communion upon this day; to the end God might inspire him with the understanding what was fittest for him to do in this case, and resolved absolutely to tell it me, that I might disclose it to doctor Sampayo, fearing lest he might die

burdened with so great a secret as concerned the good of all Christendom; holding his conscience greatly charged with the weight thereof, conjuring me seriously to deliver it safe to doctor Sampayo: meanwhile, if it please God to take him out of this transitory world, it might be lawful for me to publish it openly before my death."

This and such other like speeches being ended, he began to unbosom his conceit in this manner: "It was my chance to meet with a gentleman in this town, my countryman, between the which and me there had been antient amity; after many days conference at secret meetings, he told me that Don Sebastian, the King of Portugal, was not dead: whereat the said Godigno seemed to be astonished, and said, 'he did not believe it, until he had seen him alive with his own eyes, and then (said he) I may have reason to be of your mind.' Which the other promised should be effected; and to that purpose carried him to dinner to the house where Don Sebastian was lodged, which was as I remember in St. James's-street, or in Harp-street; whether the first or second day, or shortly after he had used that place, he could not certainly name the time, but a friend of his, a Portuguese, came and enquired at the house for Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; and as he was coming up the stairs, Godigno hasted down the stairs to stop his passage, and took occasion to carry away his friend, feigning some other affairs with him; because he would prevent the King from discovery, who was very jealous of public notice. But, the morrow after, the same gentleman came again about his former business, and enquired earnestly for the King; and, being there denied him, ceased not to ask, of every one he met throughout all the city, for Don Sebastian, King of Portugal: but not prevailing at all, he fell into an extreme agony, and desisted not from inquisition to little purpose; and, surprized with great care what to do, was at length inspired with a motion from God to profess a solitary life, and take upon him the habit of an hermit. So, being disguised, he travelled towards Spain; and, arriving, at the court, found means to speak with the Catholic king, saying, 'That he had matters of great importance to reveal unto him, and to none but the king.' And, after long attendance, he was admitted to the king's presence to have audience; to whom he protested he had lately seen Don Sebastian in Paris, and confirmed it by many signs and tokens of verity. The king presently forbade him by any means to utter it to any man living, and willed him to go abroad every where to search out and discover what he might possibly; allowing him present money to bear his charges, delivering him a letter to Don Bernardin Mendosa, then his lieger-ambassador in France, to give him any money he should have cause to use, not signifying unto him for what cause or intent; and thereupon he shewed me letters, which made the matter evident, that he had been in Spain, as is aforesaid: but for the particularities of the said letters I do not well remember, but that I hold myself satisfied thereby, that he had been in Spain, &c. But, to continue his tale, he told, he had travelled so long, that his money being well wasted, he was forced to go to Mendosa to be supplied in his necessity; to whom when he would not reveal the cause of his coming into those parts, and having letters of intelligence out of Spain from some great man, that he should deliver that Godigno no more money, (being but an impostor and a deluder, as they termed it,) Mendosa was soon confirmed in that parsimony; intending before to shut up his liberality, and to give him never a denier: at which denial this Godigno began to lament, and burst forth into bitter tears. As I judge, his lamentation was, because he was crossed and prevented for coming to the type of his enterprise. In the end, protesting before God and his angels, and by virtue of that holy sacrament he had that day received, that all that he had uttered to me was true.

In the end, without protestation of believing, or show of infidelity, I promised him my secrecy, as he desired. Some few days after this conference, he returned unto me, as he used to do, enquiring what news I heard of father Sampayo? To whom I answered, 'I understood of him no more than before.' Meanwhile, I was, as it were, distracted in conceit; seeing this gentleman's relation a paradox adverse to the fame and vulgar opinion of Don Sebastian's death: and, weighing this gentleman's integrity, zeal, and communication with the Jacobins, could not in my conscience condemn him for a liar. But whether it were true or false, according to my promise I concealed it, though it were in

some sort an offence so to do. It came to pass in some little space after, in the house of an apothecary, dwelling in the suburbs called St. Germain's, near the gate, whose house was razed at the siege of Paris, that this man died. Here is all that I can say concerning this subject, which I never opened to any man, saving to Dr. Sampayo, which was a good while after, but the time I do not justly remember: and one cause why I was loth to speak of it, was, for that I was afraid to be thought deluded. And, methinks, this I have written unto you may seem very strange, notwithstanding the common report at this hour is, that Don Sebastian was seen alive two years after he was detained in Venice. But I tell you, the greater part of the world suppose that he is a counterfeit, suborned, &c. God knows what he is; who ever send you a happy and long life! So, with my humble recommendations to your reverend self, I leave you.

From Annisi, the last of September, *anno* 1601.

I forgot to tell you, that Emanuel Godigno added to that before mentioned, that the Catholic king gave him in especial charge to tell Don Sebastian, that the Catholic king requested him by any means to hasten his return without delay to him; desiring nothing so much as to render him the possession of his realm and kingdom, and to bestow his eldest daughter upon him in marriage.

I am farther to desire of you so much favour, as to send me these books from Lyons, here mentioned in a catalogue, inclosed in this letter, and I will faithfully repay whatsoever you shall lay out to that purpose. Here follow the titles: All the works you can find, *de regno Christi temporali*. I beseech you salute for me Monsieur le Fevre, recommending my faithful service unto him: of whom, if it please you, you may crave assistance in my business; for he is a man *multæ lectionis*.

Good Lord! I had forgotten my duty to Monsieur de Tyron, to Monsieur Pellejay, to Monsieur de Marnay, and to my loving friends of Amboise, three brethren, reckoning myself much bound to them all. Notwithstanding, I fear they little trouble themselves with the thinking upon so mean a man as myself; and this conceit half dismays me to trouble you so far, as to recommend me, in all humility, to my lord bishop of Eureux. Whatsoever you shall think convenient to perform in my behalf, either to add or diminish, I refer to your discretion.

Your most humble servant, CL. D. NOUVELET.

The superscription.—‘To M. Texere, Portuguese, counsellor and almoner to the King,’ &c.

A Declaration.

THE King, Don Sebastian, departing from Paris, travelled through France directly into Italy: and I know not who followed him, or where he forsook his company; but most assured I am, he resolved to give over the pomp and glory of the world, and to retire himself to live privately: and being in Dalmatia, he made choice of an hermitage for his habitation, contenting him therewith, in lieu of his former princely palace. This poor hermitage was situated on the top of a mountain, near the city of Lesine, where he abode for the space of three years: in the issue of which time there arrived a ship of Portugal, from whence some passengers going a pilgrimage to that hermitage, seeing the King, knew him incontinently, and said aloud; “Behold, yonder is our King Don Sebastian:” and spread this rumour presently about the city. The King, perceiving that he was discovered, grew much displeased therewith; and, upon that discontentment, determined with himself to forsake the place, to the great crucifying of his soul; for there he lived in great tranquillity of mind, with no less consolation. Being in a bodily fear, lest the Portuguese should come thither and search for him, he thought good to go: and, before he went from Lesine, he distributed all his moveables and household-stuff amongst his friends: three of the which, coming to Venice, were called before the senate, before whom they confirmed all which the said King confessed upon his first examination, touching his estate, and accidents in

those quarters. The senators called them to come before the King face to face, in open view of the whole senate and assistants, and they knew one another very well; and one of them brought a picture with him, which the King had left behind him, upon the which was painted Jesus Christ crucified, with St. Sebastian and St. Anthony of Padua. And this act is so common in Venice, that they talk thereof without controulment.

The King departed from Lesine, wandering here and there; and seeking some convenient place to retire himself into, fit for his design, lodged himself in a mountain near Pisa, where he spent his time as you shall hear. He had hose, and what else I know not; but no hat, nor other necessary thing that might serve instead thereof; by reason whereof you must needs imagine his complexion, of force, must alter, which, from swarthy, became black. His hair grew long, but not unseemly; for he used to cut it. His garments were of coarse cloth, and his food herbs, roots, and fishes, which were given him for God's sake. He frequented the city; where, the first months of his arrival, he gave money towards the dowries and marriages of poor maidens; and, at his own charge, delivered many out of prison, discharging their debts. And having distributed all he had for God's sake, he was fain to receive again for God's sake; and took that in good part which was given him in the town, only to serve the necessities of his person, which were few, considering the austerity of his diet, and hard penance which he willingly endured; relieving prisoners with the surplusage of his poor fortunes, if he had any, to whom he did many services by his travel and labour, to dispatch their business whensoever they requested him. One reported unto me, that he had many charitable alms at a Portuguese's house in the town, who ministered unto him clothes and other necessities, without knowledge what he was, or where he was born; which he, by his own confession, took very thankfully. The like befel him in St. Alexis, where he afterward arrived; and after in Edessa, a city in Syria, he received benevolence of his own servants, that wandered almost through the habitable parts of the world to seek him.

After he had remained certain years in these mountains, there appeared a vision unto him by night, wherein he thought God commanded him to repair home into his own kingdom, and leave this desolate and solitary life, and abandon both hermitage and mountains. But, afterward misliking his former opinion, he began to suspect the same apparition to be diabolical, or merely fantastical; and revoked that purpose for to proceed in his journey homeward. But a very old man dwelling near unto him in the foresaid desolate place, with whom he lived in a great league of amity, because he was a virtuous man, exercising himself wholly in devotion and prayer, made him revoke that unreverent conceit of his vision, saying that it was a good and a godly motion, and therefore could not proceed from an ill spirit; and therefore a godly and a divine vision; and persuaded him to do his endeavour, to execute that, which therein was given him in charge. The King listened unto this old man's advice, and so much the rather, for that he discovered unto him before many strange things, and foretold many matters that he had seen take event according to his predivination. Whereupon, the King wiping away the tears from his cheeks, which his woeful heart had sent outward as messengers of secret sorrow, took his leave of his fellow in affliction, like one deprived (by grief) of ready use both of reason and judgment. So, abruptly leaving his loving friend and religious companion, trotted onwards of his journey from one place to another, until he came to Messina, a city in Sicily. In which place it is supposed he had left (passing that way before) some pieces of gold and jewels of value, which to recover, to serve his present turn, and to furnish him in good sort, he was forced to discover himself to his companions, from whom he had stolen long before.

In this voyage he sent Marco Tullio Catizzone into Portugal, with divers letters, to many persons of quality, (as is said before in my treatise called '*Admirable Adventures.*') And at Messina he shipped himself in a galley belonging to his Holiness, bound for Genoa, being fraught with silks; and afterward came to Civita-Vecchia. From whence without any delay he posted to Rome, and was lodged near unto St. Peter's Church; where, as he was sleeping in his chamber, he was robbed by certain of his servants, whom he had

newly entertained into his service, not long after his coming to Rome. And very near as shortly after my departure from thence, hearing of the rumour, I sent to a friend of mine there, to give me intelligence of the certainty of these tidings; and spoke with his hostess, being a widow, and with her children and servants, which reported all that had passed in that business; saying, they well discerned by his behaviour, that he was some honourable personage, or some very great lord, and said they were very much grieved with the unfortunate rumour that was spread there, that he was declared to be Don Sebastian, the true king of Portugal; which by his gravity and majestical behaviour assured them no less, than that he was some great prince.

Conferring this I now learned, with these circumstances collected before in this country, and afterwards confirmed at Venice, any man may be assured that this report was true. At Venice one shewed me an inventory, written with his own hand, of those parcels of treasure that had been stolen from him. Amongst the rest there was a chain of gold garnished with precious stones, which the great-sophi presented him, with a diamond of great value, and rings with precious stones most exquisitely set, with many other pieces of good estimation and value. And while he was distempered for the loss of these jewels, he missed certain papers, the purports whereof were of great importance; all which were slipperily conveyed away: which being kept, had been direct testimonies to serve his turn, in the doubtful opinions of them that were to try and sift him, whether he were the same Don Sebastian he pretended to be. And, having understanding of some ambushment laid to intrap him by the passage of Umbria, he altered his course and went by Narne; and when he came thither, and heard no news of his enemies in his way, he went forward by Tarne: where he had intelligence that his Holiness would go to our Lady's of Loretto. Then he addressed his journey to that place directly; and, when he came to Neuvaïne, he understood his Holiness had changed his purpose, and was resolved to go by Bologne, and so to Ferrara. The King, after his devotion ended, bent his travel towards Bologne. Whither when he came sore wearied and tired miserably, he heard of another alteration; that his Holiness, by means of some sickness, that came upon him suddenly, had no intent once to budge from Rome, being forced to keep his chamber. This tossing and reeling to no purpose troubled the poor King exceedingly, having broken the neck of his designs. Not knowing then what way to take, thought with himself to go some way at a venture: not resolving upon any one, his fortunes grew so variable, that at last he directly passed to a village, which belongs to the count of Verona, in the midway to Mantua, which some call Nogara. And, when he came to that borough, a strange imagination possessed him, that one violently withstood him, for going any further that way. Then he, supposing himself to have day-light enough to guide him to Mantua, was contented to be checked in the other passage; finding his mind assailed with a thousand variable cogitations, which so afflicted him, that he could not utter any one period of his vexations, to him that accompanied him. All this time I had no certain report of the King's being in that place; which is the cause I made no mention of the day, as I used to do of his other passages.

The King being at Mantua told a gentleman of Loretto, that when he was at our Lady's there, he named himself, Juan Poeta. This gentleman, being entered into very good terms of amity with the King, did him many kind favours and courtesies, entertaining him at his lodging in the best sort he could devise; and shortly after accompanied him to Ferrara, where he apparelled the King in silks and velvet. Shortly after this gentleman had performed these offices to the King, his urgent business called him from that place. But, before he went, he conducted the King to his tailor's house; and there took order for supplying of his wants, and gave charge for his special entertainment, willing his host to call him *Joanne Baptista Sartori della contrada de Santa Maria la Fratra*. This man was of good years, very virtuous and rich, into whose house the King entered the fourth of October, *anno* 1597. In which year, the King, understanding the pope was to make his entry into Ferrara, accompanied with this tailor, about the first of May, set forward towards the same city. Whither when the King confessed himself to friar Alonso, a religious professor of my order, a man of great virtue and sincerity, (but very simple,)

who came, and found not his Holiness there, he determined then to attend his coming; in which space the King thinking to do well, did that which fell out to be very ill, in reporting to divers nobles and gentlemen, that Don Sebastian the King of Portugal was in the city, attending the presence of his Holiness. And as it happeneth, that one evil seldom comes alone, the tailor being acquainted with a gentleman of Portugal (whose name I know not, some called him Baron), this gentleman the tailor conducted home to the King's lodging to dinner. This Portuguese, sitting at the table, often beheld the King advisedly as he sat at meat, and observed him in every respect. Soon after dinner was done, the King rose and departed to his chamber. After his retiring, the gentleman said to his hostess, and the rest of the company that dined with them, the tailor also being present: "Gentlemen, (said he,) this gentleman, that sat here at dinner amongst us, is surely Don Sebastian the King of Portugal. I am that countryman, and know him well; for I have seen him many times before his departure into Africa to war against the Infidels. All we Portuguese hold it for an assured verity, that he escaped at that time very sore hurt, and that he was seen afterwards in Portugal, from whence he fled; but how or what way, we could never yet learn." The tailor no sooner heard these words, but he went presently and told them to the King. This speech much offended the King, and grieved him not a little; and withal, remembering that friar Alonso had in his mere simplicity betrayed him; and moreover, considering that the king of Castile's agent was advised that he was in that city, and plotted against him, (being in great fear what evil might happen unto him,) resolved presently to steal away secretly, without taking leave either of host, confessor, or tailor.

This discourse the tailor himself uttered unto me, with many other particularities, in the temple of St. Silvester in Verona, confirming the same in his own house afterwards, with the effusion of abundance of tears running down his cheeks and beard, with such zealous lamentation, as he forced me to accompany him in the self-same manner of grieving. He told me also that he remained in his house with him seven months at the least, and was attended on by his daughter, being a fair young maiden: and in all that while he protested the King did not once look directly in her face; commending him for his temperate, affable, and exceeding virtuous behaviour, and that he observed his fasts very severely, praying almost continually: and said farther unto me, weeping: "Father, I fear that prince is much injured: I beseech the Almighty God to preserve him! O that it were lawful for me, and for his safety, that I might keep him within my simple habitation; not as he is a prince, but in respect of his bounty and honour! And, if I should happen to die before him, I could leave him sufficient to live on all the days of his life." Trust me, the simplicity of this poor old man pleased me exceedingly, and induced me the rather to believe him. He also informed me by what title the senate of Venice called him, and enquired of him if ever he entertained him in his house; and whether his answers to divers interrogatives were true or not; and whether all that he told the lords were true or false? To which he answered justly, and failed not a jot; and he maintained him to be the true king of Portugal, having many reasons so to persuade him. The one was, the confident assertion of the Portuguese gentleman, that dined in his company at Ferrara; saying he departed out of Portugal secretly, yet proved by many circumstances. And this old man assisted me much when the senate convened him before them; asking him how long he kept company with him before he came to Ferrara, and whether he were the same man that lodged in his house. Then he kneeled down before his feet, embracing them, and, looking towards the senate, said: "This is Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, which lodged in my house, whom afterward I accompanied to Ferrara." And when the King was asked of the judges, whether he knew that old man or no? He answered, that he had never seen him before this day. At which answer, the old man told me he was more perplexed, than he was with his sudden departure from him at Ferrara; and wept most bitterly. I must excuse the King for thus confuting the old man before the senate; for that he understood at Venice and Padua, a little after he departed from the presence of the senate, that they had straitly imprisoned and punished one Mon-

sieur Jeronimo at Venice, for entertaining him in his house; and had punished divers others for doing him the like favour. And the King, fearing that the like rigour might be offered this silly old man, made him disclaim his acquaintance: which the King, upon his return to prison, revealed incontinently to count Cæsar Martinengo, to count Charles his brother, and divers others his fellow-prisoners. “And the lords said unto me, they called me to see one John Baptista Sartori de Verona, and asked me if I knew him; and for that I was much bound to this good old man, for many good offices done unto me, and for that I saw it turned them all to displeasure, that did me any good, I answered for his safety, that I knew him not, nor had ever seen him: which the poor old man digests very heavily: and if any good friend would but deliver this my excuse unto him, I will acknowledge myself much bound to him for that friendly courtesy.” The self-same act, in the like words, a canon of Bresse reported unto me, (meeting me in that city, accompanying me as far as Lac,) happening to speak of the King, and of the opinion that was delivered of them generally that had seen him: that it was thought verily he was Don Sebastian the King, most assuredly, not knowing me to be a favourer of his proceedings: telling me, that all he knew of the matter, he heard of these counts and gentlemen that were in prison with him, for the space of five months; whereof he recited unto me many particulars. And this canon (as I take it to be) was called De Lone. So after long conference, the night approaching, I took my leave of him; &c.

The King, departing from Ferrara, held on his way to Padua; and being there, he thought it fit he should attend the answer of his letters he sent into Portugal by Marco Tullio Catizzone. His devotion performed to St. Anthony, he determined to go to Venice, where all these things happened unto him, which we have already reported in the former treatise, intitled, ‘Admirable Adventures,’ &c. as you may read in a letter sent to me from John de Castro; and in that, which the King wrote to his Holiness; where it is at large specified, how he was betrayed into the hands of the Castilians, by one of his own servants for reward, and so committed to prison. This treacherous varlet, being convinced and reprovèd by some of the King’s friends, that had understanding of his perfidious service; being already bought and corrupted with a few pence; following the perjured faction like a masterless cur, fell into the art of slandering, and banding against his loyal master with hot pursuit, and vehement accusations, as sodomy, cozenage, in prison and abroad. Notwithstanding all this villainy, God, that weighs all men’s causes in equal balance, will not suffer his servants ever to quail under the burthen of iniquity. The hearing of his cause was committed to sir Marco Quirini, which was at that time *sabio de la terre firme*, and at this day is *sabio grande*, one of the four judges, commissioners allotted for this circuit. The said Quirini, reporting to the senate what he had heard concerning his accusations, and what also was testified in his defence, said, “That he not only found this man innocent and guiltless of the crimes laid to his charge, but thought him generally to have lived a harmless life.” This sentence was well approved and allowed by the senators: and as soon as it was published, (which was in the beginning of the year 1599,) they freed the King from the dungeon where he lay before, and placed him in a more favourable prison, a place of some liberty.

You shall read hereafter the pains and punishment Don Sebastian, the King my master, endured since his misadventure in Africa, until the day of his manifestation to the world. I beseech you hold me excused, though I satisfy you not so plentifully and so orderly as you expect or desire. It is all I could learn, and it is hard to gather so much in these parts, where the truth hath been so ingeniously laboured to be suppressed and smothered: besides, the great hazard of my person in travelling to obtain this little; assuring you that our hope withers not, but springs daily, to see my lord Don Sebastian to be as absolute king of Portugal, as it is justly due unto him by the law of God and nations. Then shall my pen trample upon the vail of tyranny and oppression, that now so imperiously curbs poor patience and equity. Seeing God hath hitherto been both his lamp and shield, to lighten and guard him, through so many dark and dangerous ambushments; why should we not be assured that He, that can, hath a purpose to make us rejoice, and won-

der as much at his advancement and dignity, as his poor friends and servants are grieved and dismayed with his fall and misery? hoping all Christian, magnificent, and majestic princes, will join in intercession to the Almighty, to restore my poor, yet princely master, from his woeful imprisonment, to his crown and liberty.

A Declaration.

Now it is requisite, that I report unto you somewhat concerning the ring, that hath been so famous throughout the world, and of the rare virtues it was esteemed for; and so proceed to handle other matters, whereof some make for his purpose, and others as much for his hindrance.

You have heard, gentle Reader, of one that shewed this King a ring, &c.: thus it happened. As soon as he was come to Venice, there was a warning given to the goldsmiths, both by himself and some other of his friends, that he was robbed of certain pieces of gold and jewels at Rome: then he gave them the marks and tokens, desiring them, that if any such came into their hands by chance, they would make stay of them, until he, or some for him, came to challenge them. Not long after, a goldsmith lighted upon a ring of gold, whereon was engraven the arms of Portugal; which ring he presently brought to monsieur Jeronimo, (of whom you have read before,) an inhabitant of the same town, who was jointly apprehended with the King for lodging in his house, and was not delivered until five hours after the King was set at liberty. Jeronimo took the ring, and brought it secretly to the King, lodging privily in his house. As soon as the King beheld the ring, he said, "This ring is none of mine, but belongs to Don Antonio, my cousin." This relation I had from Jeronimo himself, at Venice, in the presence of many witnesses; and how the goldsmith happened to get this ring. In Moran, an island some half league from Venice, there is an abbot called Capelo, a gentleman of Venice, a grave personage, and of great authority, hearing that the King laid wait for certain jewels that he had lost, hoping thereby to recover some of them, having a diamond in his keeping, with the arms of Portugal, came to the town to the conventicles of St. Francis, called Frari, where the King lay concealed, (for that he was pursued by some that meant him no good;) who no sooner beheld the ring, but he said, "Verily this is mine; and I either lost the same in Flanders, or else it was stolen from me." And when the King had put it upon his finger, it appeared otherwise engraven than before. The abbot enquiring of him that brought him the ring, "How he came by it?" He answered, "It is true that the King hath said." There hence arose a strange rumour of a ring, that by turning the stone, you might discern three great letters engraven, S. R. P. that is as much to say, 'Sebastianus Rex Portugalliae.' Ignorant people, not conceiving aright of the thing, raised thereupon such rumours, as their own imaginations could gather; and at all times, so often as the abbot shewed the ring to the King, he had many witnesses to testify the same. I sojourned three weeks in the same isle, very near the abbot's house, after this had passed.

To the second point: Although the King was lean and weak, by reason of his travel and troubles, (as it is like he could not be so strong and puissant as he was when he reigned in Portugal, being there full-fed and corpulent;) yet in Padua, in the house of Don Prospero Baracco, he was seen to lift up two men at once with great facility; one of which was called Pasquino Morosini, the other Bernardino Santi; both these together, putting his arm between their legs, he heaved from the ground, without straining or wrenching, in the view of many. He did the like in the Isle of Moran to two others; the one called Jeronimo Calegari, the other Pasquilino Calegari; and there was present the archbishop of Spalato, at the like performance of his puissance, with other men of quality; and this Pasquilino was a man both tall and corpulent. A Venetian gentleman, of the house wherein the King was prisoner, oftentimes took occasion to scoff at the King, saying, "It was impossible he should be the person he reported himself to be;" with other jeering frumps: whereto the King said earnestly, "Sir, I pray you tell me the rea-

son of your incredulity, and whereupon it is grounded :” and Moliner answered, “ Because I have heard it often reported, that the King, Don Sebastian, was a lusty strong man, of power to pull a horse-shoe in sunder with his hands, and able to tire six horses in an hour ; and you are but a spare, poor, meagre shrimp, and a gristle in respect of such a one, and scarcely able to tear four cards asunder, if they be well joined together, nor like to tire one horse in an hour.” “ Well, (said the King,) if force will prove me to be Don Sebastian, &c. and the matter rest only upon that ; it may be, that one day I may satisfy you in that point.” So long this gallant continued in his former jeering and railing, that one day above the rest, he moved the King’s patience, and made him angry, and constrained him to shew him by the force of his hands, that he was Don Sebastian, &c. and made him confess the same : for, being in a rage, he came upon him directly, and took him by the girdle with his right-hand, and heaving him higher than his head, carried him round about the prison in that manner, to the great admiration of all that beheld it ; and this gentleman, never after, durst abuse him any more, but used him with the honour and reverence that was due unto him. In like manner, he took up in the same prison, by the girdle, one Gasparo Turloni, a gentleman of Venice, with his right-hand, and Baptista Marsota with his left-hand, and lifted them both up from the ground at one time. He also, in the same prison, took up, putting his arm between their legs, two other gentlemen, one very gross and corpulent, namely Messier Lucio de Messine, and Alexander de Alexandria, and lifted them both of a good height ; the opportunity of this gentleman made him do it in prison : and at Padua, and at Moran, he was disposed to shew his force, to pleasure his friends thereby. That, which before was spoken of the ring, and of his forces, were the two things I thought necessary first to give you notice of.

To add to the two first two others : In Venice there is a rich and an honourable merchant, who, hearing of this King, what marks and tokens he had on his body, and what he had said and done, took occasion to go to him, and made means to deserve his love and amity, by the performance of many kind offices towards him. This merchant was a Piedmontese by nation, by name called Monsieur John Bassanesse ; and his mother, being a widow, married after to one Bartholomæo Verneti (a Piedmontese born also), who often used to check and reprove his son-in-law for going so much to the King, saying, “ He was an impostor and a counterfeit :” and his son-in-law boldly defended the King, by all the means and reasons he could devise. During this contention betwixt the father and the son-in-law, the old man said, “ Come hither ; hear me : Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, sent an ambassador to Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, his nephew, son to his cousin-german ; which ambassador brought him a present, and returned back again from the said King with an answer, and another present from the King to the duke : the ambassador’s name was Dominico Belli, whose servant I was at that very instant ; by means whereof I saw, and was privy to all the parcels, and placed them myself in the casket, and likewise saw advisedly what was returned from the King. Now, sir, if you can persuade that man, that says he is Don Sebastian, &c. to tell me what parcels those were, that were sent to and fro, directly, you shall bring me to be of your mind ; and to confess, that he is the very same man he nominates himself to be.” John Bassanesse, hearing these words, bethought himself which way he might come to have conference with the King, to understand the right of this matter ; and as he was studying how to bring his purpose about, he dreamed of a stratagem, which should effect his design ; which was, that he would perpetrate some light crime, in hope therefore to be committed to the prison, where the King was. Whereupon, he resolved to take a cudgel under his cloke, and go to the Realto, the chiefest place in Venice, and there quarrel with one or other, and bastinado him until he had drawn blood of him, for which act he doubted not but to be committed. He proceeded according to his secret determination ; and when he was come near the Realto, he met with a friend of his, who perceiving by his countenance, that he was troubled in mind, said unto him, “ Sir, I see by you there is somewhat amiss.” John Bassanesse being well assured, that he was a faithful servant to the King, laid open his intention unto him, who found means to get a note, in writing, under the King’s hand, of

all the parcels, that passed from the one to the other. This memorandum was put into the hands of one Leonardo Donato, one of the Sabio Grande, that first examined the King, and was thought to owe him little goodwill; but after he surveyed his cause, and found it so just and true, travelled earnestly to the senate, to pronounce him Don Sebastian, the true king of Portugal.

All this I have heard confirmed by many very worthy persons. The original I could not bring with me, for that Donato, at my being there, was employed as general of five-and-twenty-thousand foot, and five-thousand horse, in the county of Bresse; which force, the seigniory had levied the year before, for their defence, upon some intelligence, &c. But, as soon as John Bassanesse had got the writing, he hied him home to his father-in-law, and they agreed between them, that one should stand at one end of the table, and the other below, and the father wrote the pieces he knew, and the son, by his note, was able to inform the old man of divers parcels that he had forgotten; and the old man said, "It was haste made him overslip somewhat: those four white horses, (said he,) I did not well remember, but I think verily it was true:" and the old man wondered not a little, how his son came by this intelligence, and said, "He had devised it himself;" but, seeing himself vanquished, said to his son, "Visit the King, my son, at your pleasure; and do him what good you may, and I beseech God to assist him."

Forasmuch as I know the curious sort of people desire to view the particulars, and to make our proof the more authentical, I have here set them down in order, as they were inventoried.

The Parcels presented by the Duke to the King.

A case full of silks, of divers colours.

Another, full of cloth of silver, of divers sorts and colours.

Another, full of cloth of gold, of divers colours.

A diamond set in a ring.

An ancient garment, of very great value; being a trophy, taken from the French at St. Quintain's, embroidered and garnished about the neck with many jewels: four white horses, which the old man had forgotten, and divers other pieces not named.

Those Parcels that were sent from the King to the Duke.

A great chain of gold of very good value, two peutrils, two bits, two pair of stirrups, all garnished with diamonds, rubies, and other stones of great price.

One diamond set in gold; which Bartholomæo Verneti said was as big as the nail of his right-thumb.

Many East-Indian dishes, of sundry colours; with other rich things of good esteem.

For the second of the last proofs, being the fourth and last, you shall understand that there be four merchants at Venice, men endued with wealth, honour, estimation, and charity, that in my hearing have named these four witnesses Barnaba Rizzo, Jean Bassanesse, Constantine Nicoli, who keeps in his hand the original letter of Don Raimond Marqueti; by which it is manifest that Don Sebastian is one man, and Marco Tullio Catizzone another: which letter he shewed publicly at St. Mark's, to convince the falsehood of the Castilians, and their adherents. For the which, and such other like services, the Spaniards could not be appeased without revenge. The nineteenth of October, I had intelligence by letters, that one came into this honest man's shop, (his servants being all sent out of the way,) and cut him on the head with a cutlass, and in divers other places so dangerously, that he was in great peril of his life. The malefactor escaped unknown. The fourth and last is called Baptista Dolphin; and these four have been ever good friends to the King, both by entertaining him and travelling in his affairs, to the uttermost of their power, to set him at liberty, without intermission of any minute of opportunity, that might be spent in his profitable service. But the Castilian agents considering and knowing the zeal of these personages, and observing their constancy, that both with all their might and main, defended the cause of the King my master: seeing that neither fair promises, persuasions, nor threatenings, could make them desist from their vowed fidelity and assistance; entered into this devilish practice. First, they began to publish these witnesses

to be fools, cozeners, and rogues; and persuaded certain bankers and brokers to lay wagers with them, that the prisoner was not Don Sebastian the King: assuring them that they might offer to give a thousand for one, if ever it were proved or published; for that they knew assuredly, that he was a Calabrian, a sodomite, a thief, a cozeners, and a counterfeit; and that ere long they should see him hanged upon one of the pillars of St. Mark's church.

These usurers believing this to be true, and desirous to make gain of any thing, began to enter into the course of laying wagers, as the Castilians had advised them. The witnesses hearing they offered so frankly a thousand to one, if the prisoner were judged to be Don Sebastian, &c. knowing certainly that it was he, (believing that the senate, in regard of such especial marks, tokens, and proofs, would not refuse to publish him, what they had found him,) were easily drawn to bargain with these bankers; to some of the which, the simple and honest men gave out twenty, some thirty, some fifty, some ten, some five crowns, in hopes to be paid a thousand for one: so that they had given out some three-hundred crowns or more: and shortly after, they found out the wrong and hindrance they had done to the poor King's cause, by their money, they began to repent themselves exceedingly of their folly. The account was cast, that the repayment would amount to three-hundred thousand crowns. And the bankers, seeing themselves engaged for so great a sum of money; and if the senate should chance to publish that which they knew to be true, that they were like to be stripped of the greatest part of their substance; began to complot and oppose themselves to countercheck the truth, which fell out to be a great prejudice and bar to the King my master's cause; for that many chief men, and the factors of many principal houses, were interested in this hazard of indemnity. As those of the house of Astroci, Caponi, Baglioni, Labia, Jacobo Begia, Antonio Simone, Pietro Tobon, Bastian Garinoni, and many others of their parents and allies, for their sakes. Among which were divers that bare offices in the commonweal; as Jacobo Fescurini, a proctor in St. Mark, that was ever an enemy to the King my master. In the end, this devilish invention, and Castilian pernicious policy, wrought us much woe, and multiplied our enemies infinitely. For it was so commonly known and spoken, that little children, as they went for mustard, could say, that this was the principal cause why the senators would have had Don Sebastian say, he was not Don Sebastian, but a Calabrian; and they promised straight to set him at liberty: and not that favour alone, but they would do what else for him, he could or would require. Whereupon, he wrote a letter to the pope, complaining justly upon the senators of Venice, for requiring at his hands so unlawful a thing; to whom he declared in his letter, that he answered them, "that he had rather die a tortured death, than confess so palpable an untruth, to gain an ignominious life and liberty." O that it were possible for me to speak all that is true in this case! But I must let pass infinite injuries; lest the revealing all, might rather aggravate than relieve my master's miseries. If I durst, this discourse should have been more ample, and better understood; if it were lawful that I might say what I could say, that the monarchs and princes of Christendom have done the King, my lord, secretly and openly much good and ill; and are unwilling either of both should be manifested to the world in writing. Notwithstanding, I will never bury in silence an answer that a grand-sabio of this commonwealth made to a magnificent prince in Europe, of great understanding, but of no great antiquity. This sabio, going to visit this prince, was entreated by him to tell him what ground the seigniorship of Venice had, to proceed upon the prisoner in that form, which called himself Don Sebastian King of Portugal? "For, (said he,) if they found him to be a Calabrian, why did they set him at liberty without chastisement? And if it were verified unto them by good proofs and evidence that he was Don Sebastian King of Portugal, why did they use him in that manner?" The grand-sabio publicly made this answer in the presence of many: "Sir, forasmuch as the affairs concerned the estate of Spain, the seigniorship would not presume to judge whether it was he or not. This man was committed for disobeying a commandment the seigniorship laid upon him, and therefore restrained two years of his liberty; to the end he might repent him of his fault, and after the expiration

of two years again dismissed him upon the like commandment. And, to be plain with your Excellency, the man would follow no good advice, but was wilful, turbulent, and of ill government, by which means much ill is come unto him." That word, 'ill advised,' might have been well interpreted; for that he would not deny himself to be that, which undoubtedly he was. It was not my fortune to be present at this act, being elsewhere employed out of those parts: but at my return it was related to me, by a learned person that was there present; which afterward the same prince himself did ratify unto me; assuring me, that the answer of that sabio-grand did verily induce him to believe, that that prisoner was Don Sebastian, the very true king of Portugal. "For if the seigniory had held this man to be a Calabrian, (said this prince;) to what purpose did the sabio hold me with such a long discourse publicly, considering he knew the privy of the affairs? If he had been proved a Calabrian, it had been sufficient to have said in a word, 'Sir, he was a Calabrian, an impostor, and a cozeners;' without any more ado." But you see how the world fares, and how it sways abruptly; and so ends my pitiful narration: advising, entreating, and conjuring you (gentle Reader) to shun the snares and trips of these subtle enemies. For I can assure you, by the testimony of a good conscience, that they be those that St. Chrysostome terms the Pharisees, *qui portabant mel in ore, & fel in corde*: they will flap you in the mouth with honey, which when you begin to chew, perhaps you shall taste sweet; but, in the digestion, you shall find it most bitter in operation.—Farewell.

The Judges' Judgment. A Speech, penned in the Beginning of the Parliament, against the Judges.¹

Per ignotum quendam.

Printed for John Ashton, 1641.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

Mr. SPEAKER,

IT was a custom amongst the Romans (who, as by their power they once gave laws, so, by the happy success of their long-flourishing government, might they well give examples to all the world), that in their senates the youngest men spoke first: partly, that they might not have their weaker notions anticipated by the more knowing senators; and partly, for that the senate might not be diverted from the mature resolutions of the more antient, by the interpositions of the younger men: they, as all free states, ever allowing free members to express themselves according to their several capacities. And methinks it was a happy method. So, your opinions and inclinations of the Assembly, being discovered and ripened to resolution by such gradations, the sentences of the sages sounded as judgments, not orations; their wisdom and gravity put a seasonable period to others, perhaps otherwise endless discourses. Their precedent encourages me (who worst may) to break the ice. Children can lay their fingers on the sore, point out their pain;

¹ [At the time this Speech was penned, the Judges of the realm had rendered themselves extremely odious to the people; as well by the judgement they had given in Mr. Hampden's affair, relative to ship-money, as by numberless other acts of injustice to private persons.]

and infant graduates in parliament may groan out the grievances of a diseased commonwealth ; but they must be doctors in the art of government, that can apply apt remedies to recover it.

Mr. Speaker ; Antient and approved hath been that parallel of the body-politick with the body natural. It is the part of the patients, in either distempered, to impart freely their griefs to the physicians of the body or state, if they expect a cure. This Commonwealth is, or should be, but one body ; this House, the great physician of all our maladies : and, alas ! Mr. Speaker, of what afflicted part shall we poor patients complain first ? Or rather, of what shall we not complain ? Are we not heart-sick ? Is there in us that which God requires, unity, purity, and singularity² of heart ? Nay, is not religion (the soul of this body) so miserably distracted, that (I speak it with terror of heart) it is to be feared, there is more confusion of religions amongst us, than there was of tongues at the subversion of Babel ? And is it not then high time that we understand one another ; that we were reduced to one faith, one government ?

Sir ; Is the head whole ? The seat of government and justice, the fountain from whose sweet influence all the inferior members of this body should receive both vigour and motion. Nay, hath not rather a general apoplexy or palsy, taken or shaken, all our members ? Are not some dead ? Others, buried quick ? Some dismembered, all disordered, by the diversion of the course of justice ? Is the liver (nature's exchequer) open ? from whose free distribution each limb may receive its proper nutriment : or rather, is it not wholly obstructed ? our property taken from us ? So that it may properly be said of us, *Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra* : our ancestors drank the juice of their own vines, reaped and did eat the fruit of their own harvest. But now, the poor man's plough goes to furrow the seas, to build ships. We labour not for ourselves, but to feed excrescences of nature ; things grown up out of the ruins of the natural members, monopolists.

Sir ; These are *maximè vitalia* ; religion, justice, property : the heart, the head, the liver, of this great body : and these distempered or obstructed, can the subordinate parts be free ? No, Sir ; the truth is, all is so far out of frame, that to lay open every particular grievance were to drive us into despair of cure. In so great confusion, where to begin first, requires not much less care than what to apply.

Mr. Speaker, I know it is a plausible motion to begin with setting God's house in order first. Who presses that, moves with such advantage, that he is sure no man will gain-say him. It is a well-becoming zeal, to prefer religion before our own affairs : and indeed it is a duty not to be omitted, where they are in equal danger. But, in cure of the body-politick or natural, we must still prefer the most pressing exigents. Physicians know that consumptions, dropsies, and such-like lingering diseases, are more mortal, more difficult to cure, than slight external wounds : yet, if the least vein be cut, they must neglect their greater cures to stop that, which, if neglected, must needs exhaust the stock of nature, and produce a dissolution of the whole man. A defection from the duties of our religion is a consumption to any state : no foundation is firm, that is not laid in Christ. The denial of justice, the abridgement of our liberties, is such an obstruction as renders the commonwealth leprous ; but the wounds in our property let out the life-blood of the people.

The reformation of church-government must necessarily be a work of much time, and (God be thanked !) the disease is not desperate : we serve one God, we believe in one Christ, and we all acknowledge and profess one Gospel. The difference is only *de modo* ; we vary but in ceremonies ; to reduce which to the primitive practice, must be a work of great debate, is not a work for us alone to settle. The stop of justice can yet injure but particulars. It is true, there may be many, too many instances of strange oppressions, great oppressors ; but it will be hard to judge the conclusion : *et sic de cæteris*. But, take from us the property of our estates, our subsistence ; we are no more a people : this is that vein, which hath been so deep cut, so far exhausted, that to preserve our being, we

[Or singleness.]

must, doubtless, first stop this current; then settle rules to live by, when we are sure to live.

Mr. Speaker; He that well weighs this little word, *property*, or propriety in our estates, will find it of a large extent; the leeches, that have sucked this blood, have been excise, benevolences, loans, impositions, monopolies, military taxes, ship-money, *cum multis aliis*; all which spring from one root. And is it not high time to grub up that root, that brings forth such fruit? Shall we first stand to lop the branches one by one, when we may down with all at once? He, that to correct an evil tree, that brings forth bad fruit, shall begin at the master-bough, and so lop downwards, is in danger to fall himself, before the tree falls. The safer and speedier way, is to begin at the root; and there, with submission to better judgments, would I lay-to the axe.

The root of most of our present mischiefs, and the ruin of all posterity, do I hold to be that extrajudicial (judgment³ I cannot say, but rather) doom, delivered by all the Judges, under their hands out of court; yet recorded in all courts⁴, to the subversion of all our fundamental laws and liberties, and annihilation, if not confiscation of our estates: that in case of danger, the king may impose upon his subjects, and that he is the sole judge of the danger, necessity, and proportion; which, in brief, is to take what, when, and where he will. Which, though delivered in the time of a gracious and merciful prince, who, we hope, will not wrest it beyond our abilities; yet, left to the interpretation of a succeeding tyrant, (if ever this nation be so unfortunate to fall into the hands of such,) it is a record, wherein every man may read himself a slave, that reads it; having nothing he can call his own, all prostitute to the will of another.

What to do in such a case, we are not to seek for precedents; our honourable ancestors taught us, in the just and exemplary punishments of chief-justice Tresilian and his accomplices, (for giving their judgments, out of parliament, against the established laws of parliament,) how tender they were of us; how careful we ought to be to continue those laws, to preserve the liberty of our posterity.

I am far from maligning the person, nor in my heart wish I the execution of any man; but, certainly, it shall be a justice well becoming this House, to lay their heads at his Majesty's mercy, who had laid us under his feet; who had made us but tenants at will of our liberties and estates. And, though I cannot but approve of mercy, as a great virtue in any prince; yet I heartily pray it may prove a precedent as safe and useful to this oppressed state, as that of justice.

Mr. Speaker; Blasted may that tongue be, that shall in the least degree derogate from the glory of those halcyon-days, our fathers enjoyed, during the government of that ever-blessed, never-to-be-forgot royal Elizabeth! But certainly, I may safely say, without detraction, it was much advantage to the peace and prosperity of her-reign, that the great examples of Empson and Dudley were then fresh in memory. The civility of our laws tells us, 'That kings *can* do no wrong;' and then is the state secure, when judges, their ministers, *dare* do none. Since our times have found the want of such examples, it is fit we should leave some to posterity. God forbid, that all should be thought, or found guilty! There are doubtless some ringleaders; let us sift them out. In public government, to pass by the nocent is equal injustice, as to punish the innocent. An omission of that duty, now, will be a guilt in us, render us shamed in history, cursed by posterity; our gracious, and in that act of voluntary justice, most glorious king, hath given up, to the satisfaction of his afflicted people, the authors of their ruins; the power of future preservation is now in us; & *qui non servat patriam, cum potest, idem facit destruenti patriam*.

³ [Mr. Pym, in a speech at the opening of the parliament, 1640, enumerated, among other grievances, 'the extrajudicial declarations of Judges, without hearing of counsel or argument.']

⁴ [The Judges' answer, relative to the affair of ship-money, was ordered by the king to be entered in all the courts of Westminster. See Rushworth's Collections, ii. p. 356. On the 7th of December, 1640, it was resolved in parliament, 'That the said opinions of the Judges, in the whole, and in every part of them, were 'against the laws of the realm, the subjects' right of property, and contrary to former resolutions of parliament, &c.']

What though we cannot restore the damage of the commonwealth, we may yet repair the breaches in the bounds of monarchy; though it be with our loss and charge, we shall so leave our children's children fenced, as with a wall of safety, by the restoration of our laws to their ancient vigour and lustre.

It is too true, that it is to be feared the revenues of the crown, sold out-right, would scarce remunerate the injuries, or repay the losses of this suffering nation, since the pronouncing of that fatal sentence. What proportionable satisfaction, then, can this commonwealth receive, in the punishment of a few inconsiderable delinquents? But it is a rule valid in law, approved in equity, that *qui non habent in crumena, luant in corpore*: and it is without all question, in policy, exemplary punishments conduce more to the state, than pecuniary reparations. Hope of impunity lulls every bad great officer into security, for his time: and who would not venture to raise a fortune, when the allurements of honour and wealth are so prevalent, if the worst, that can befall, be but restitution?

We see the bad effects of this bold erroneous opinion: what was at first but corrupt law, by encouragement taken from their impunity, is since become false doctrine; the people taught in pulpits, 'they have no property;' kings instructed in that destructive principle, 'that all is theirs;' and it is thence deduced into necessary state-policy, whispered in council, 'That he is no monarch, who is bounded by any law.' By which bad consequences, the best of kings hath been, by the infusion of such poisonous positions, diverted from the sweet inclinations of his own natural equity and justice; the very essence of a king taken from him, which is the preservation of his people: and whereas *salus populi* is, or should be, *suprema lex*, the power of undoing us is masked under the style of what should be sacred royal-prerogative. And is it not high time for us to make examples of the first authors of this subverted law, bad counsel, worse doctrine?

Let no man think to divert us from the pursuit of justice, by poisoning the clear streams of our affections with jealous fears of his Majesty's interruption, if we look too high. Shall we therefore doubt of justice, because we have need of great justice? We may be confident, the king well knows, that his justice is the band of our allegiance; that it is the staff, the proof of his sovereignty. It is an happy assurance of his intentions of grace to us, that our loyalty hath at last won him to tender the safety of his people: and certainly (all our pressures well weighed, these twelve years last past) it will be found, the passive loyalty of this suffering nation hath out-done the active duty of all times and stories. As the poet hath it,

Fortitèr ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

I may as properly say, *Fidelitèr fecimus*; we have done loyally to suffer so patiently.

Then, since our royal lord hath in mercy visited us, let us not doubt, but, in his justice, he will redeem his people. *Qui timidè rogat, docet negare*. But when religion is innovated, our liberties violated, our fundamental laws abrogated, our modern laws already obsoleted, the property of our estates alienated, nothing left us, we can call our own, but our misery and our patience; if ever any nation might justifiably, this certainly may now, now most properly, most seasonably cry out, and cry aloud, *Vel sacra regnet justitia, vel ruat cælum*.

Mr. Speaker; The sum of my humble motion is, That a special committee may be appointed to examine the whole carriage of that extrajudicial judgment; who were the counsellors, solicitors, and subscribers to the same; the reasons of their subscription; whether according to their opinions, by importunity, or pressure of others, whether *pro formâ tantùm*: and, upon report thereof, to draw up a charge against the guilty; and then, *Currat lex, fiat justitia*⁵.

⁵ [On the 7th of December, 1640, the House having met to debate upon the affair of ship-money, appointed a committee of sixteen persons to go forthwith to several judges, to know in what manner, and by whom, they were solicited and threatened to give their extrajudicial opinion, concerning ship-money.' The same committee was likewise ordered to draw up a charge against lord Finch, and the rest of the judges, that gave their opinion upon this tax. The charges were at length produced, with an act to abolish ship-money; to which the king gave his royal assent, the 7th of August, 1641.]

The Character of an Oxford Incendiary.

Printed for Robert White, in 1643.

[Quarto ; containing eight pages.]

AN Oxford Incendiary is a court-salamander, whose proper element is fire: an Englishman, yet lives by antiperistasis to his native climate; and turns our Northern Temperate into the Torrid Zone. All antient philosophers are by him confuted, having made one region more of fire than they dreamed of; nor is it any wonder, seeing he creates new prodigies every day.

I suppose him lineally descended from St. George's fiery dragon; and if you please to enquire of doctor Heylin, he may chance to make good the heraldry. But, whosoever was the sire, mother he hath none that I can hear of: nor do I believe that nature, our common mother, will own the monster. For his name, you may, if you please, make bold with Ovid, and call him Phaeton; for he rules the chariot of the Sun; and having gotten the reins in his own hand, hurries all into combustion: yet the desperate wretch cares not, so he may work a metamorphosis upon the nation, or mingle his own with the kingdom's ashes.

His birth-place I take to be Mount Ætna: there Empedocles acted the man-midwife, and delivered him out at the tunnels. If the pope want a leiger for purgatory, none can fit him better; he being of a constitution and religion suitable to the service. But his employment must be altogether at home, else the deluded fraternity will grow chill in their designs here; and to them there's no sport without a fire-drake, or an *ignis fatuus*.

To be a little more plain: an Oxford Incendiary is the excrement of ill-governed monarchy; the vast volume of treason wrapped up in an epitome; one that feeds the vulture Prerogative with the carcase of the Commonwealth, that it may disgorge into his own coffers; and makes a mule, to say no worse, of majesty, to carry him through all his own private designs against the publick.

Yet, notwithstanding, his proper sphere is the court; there he shines a bright constellation of royal favour, though the whole kingdom beside take him for a prodigious comet, and behold him with the same countenance as they did that in the year 1618. Nor is it without reason; when the meanest prognosticator cries, that he portends the ruin of some great princes. Upon his influence depends the almanack of treason, exactly calculated for the several meridians of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; for from thence you may judge of all eclipses between king and parliament, or tell what weather will be in Great-Britain the whole year following. Thus Jupiter and Mars, meeting in conjunction at York, with a direful aspect threatened misery to the nation; though it produced no effect, till an interposition of Malignants at Shrewsbury, and an oblique course of Venus from Holland, bade us expect a deluge of blood.

Indeed it may serve for Great-Britain and Ireland, with very little (or no) difference: for the tragedy and actors are the same, only the scenes are several; the better to dress out the plot, and make it seem more intricate. Thus the rare Irish commission was begotten of English parents, when the earl of Antrim was made a godfather to the design; though Ormond had rather forfeit his honour and conscience, than say they were English hands which cut the Protestants' throats with an Irish knife. But this is not all: the train of gunpowder reaches to Scotland; and there they light matches to blow up the fidelity of that nation: which not taking effect upon the heads, then squib-cracks are tied to the very breech of Thule, to set fire on the Highland wilderness; for in such barren places is

their harvest. Rare vipers! who thrive best out of the sun-shine, in the dark caves of barbarism and ignorance.

But stand off, or provide an antidote. The most prodigious serpent comes crawling this way; some monstrous African or American, for sure it is not of the British brood: yet every Cavalier carries it in his bosom, like a tame snake. It is the commission of array; a very flying dragon hatched in a conventicle of spit-fires; an illegitimate by-blow to supplant the militia. It was spawned at Whitehall; there the cock-brained crew ingendered with their master's female understanding. At York it became an egg; O that it had then been crushed! But afterwards, scarce pen-feathered, it ventured a flight toward Hull; yet fell short, and was sore bruised. Notwithstanding this, it crept to Nottingham; and there (in hope of recovery) voided a standard with a declaration or two; evident symptoms of a bloody-flux at hand. But the leeches, not able to draw blood there, betook themselves westward toward Wales; and then fell to sucking at the nether postern of the kingdom. It was time then to cast the water of the state, and purge out the excrements of the body-politick.

Now the game begins: room for the Roman actors. Here the Bishops rack themselves in a pulpit, vomiting up daggers, like Hocus, to amaze the people: doctrine cannon-proof, and let the devil make application, so he can convert all to his Majesty's use. If the Pope be commander-in-chief, it is but reason they should be major-generals; and for inferior officers, Deans and Arch-deacons, the only colonels; Prebends, lieutenant-colonels; big-bellied Parsons, majors; Vicars, captains; Curates, ensigns: and for the rest, they cannot be wanting, when there are whole swarms of the same breed of caterpillars in both Universities.

These are spaniels to the Incendiary, in hope of preferment. He leads them in couples, breeds them to fetch and carry after his own humour, and to be at the word of command. But the sport is, to see a dog handle a drum-stick; yet these docile creatures will do it, and beat up their drums in all churches and chapels, to alarm the people against reformation and the parliament. This black brigade are of the same lineage with the Incendiary; he hugs them as his white-boy. And to say the truth, there is not a hair's difference between them; the chief of the prelatical clergy being the principal, if not the only fire-men: and therefore it cannot be amiss to present them in the first rank of tragedians; seeing our scene is the precious University of Oxford.

As the prologue before the play, enter Canterbury¹, the pope's pigmy-champion, the meritorious traitor, the Catholic demi-culvering, the reverend granado; who lived to set all on fire, yet escaped the martyrdom of hanging, to be quenched upon a scaffold; whereas the other kind of death had been more suitable to his life, having always been a pendant in the ear of majesty. This is he that took water lately at the Tower, being bound for the Red-sea; but that, for his presumption in comparing himself with Christ and his Apostles, and threatening Charon with the Star-chamber, he overturned the ferry-boat, and let him drop into Purgatory. Thus it is to quarrel with a waterman.

A broom, a broom; Sweep the stage. Here comes Religion in slip-shoes and sandals; mistress Novelty's gentleman-usher clad in robes of antiquity; the bell-man of the Jewish temple; Aaron in the last edition; Wren turned Robin-redbreast, as gay as the bird of Paradise, with his man Pocklynton at his heels. These two, like lightning and thunder, never parted; two diocesan exorcists, that conjured away all godly ministers by bell, book, and candle. Their charms were so strong, that nothing could lay them but a parliament, the kingdom's antidote.

Now single out Pocklynton from his master, and couple with him Heylin, two of Canterbury's prime beagles, and as famous as his breed of Smyrna cats. These two held a conspiracy against the Sabbath; helped to rear up an altar, with the title of *Christianum*, set up the Ten Commandments over it, where they might plainly read themselves sabbath-breakers and idolaters; and yet continued to worship both it and the candlesticks, com-

¹ [Archbishop Laud, chancellor of Oxford.]

mitting fornication with gold and timber. Nor is this all: Heylin can shew more tricks than one for a bishoprick. To make good the Roman calendar, he will prove St. George a real saint; and then, upon this sandy foundation, create an imaginary honour to the most honourable order of the Garter; as if the Protestant nobility of this kingdom would be taken with Romish gewgaws, or pleased with such trifling fetches. Yet believe me, as the times went, it was a politic fetch for preferment.

And now we talk of preferment, enter Owen Glendour on horseback, Brute's cousin-german, and the top of her kindred, Welch Williams, the prelate of York. This is the pepper-nosed caliph, that snuffs, huffs, and puffs ingratitude at the Parliament; though they freed him from prison, and put his adversary in his room. Tell him of reformation, and you transform him to a turkeycock. A Jack-a-Lent, made of a red-herring and a leek, will not more inflame him, than the name of Presbytery. Some kind heart take this Incendiary and cool him, or vexation will consume him to ashes.

But I wonder how it comes to pass, that Armagh should be ranked here. The case stood otherwise once: nay, he ebbed so far from his archiepiscopal dignity, as to turn lecturer, and so brought himself into a possibility of heaven, till the old man began to doat upon the world again. I cannot tell to what I may attribute his apostasy; to his climate, or his conscience; his country, or his religion, or both: yet we have found him a right Irishman, and a second Spalato.

It is a rare mystery, that this pageant should be so persecuted by the rebels, as to fly for his life out of Ireland, and yet be able to digest them and their councils at Oxford. But was it ever seen, that a bishop would be out with any that were in at the court? This is the prelates' heaven; there they are all parallel: though distant in their ends, as in the circumference, yet united in the centre. Give their ambition line enough, and you may decoy them whither you please. Thus our *quondam* saint Patrick slipped into the bog at Oxford.

I should have done with them now, but that I find another in over head and ears; I mean the brewer in *pontificalibus*, Duppa the formal dray-horse, that carries about holy-water in rundlets, to furnish the court, camp, and university: Davis the barber shaves his Majesty with the very same; for there needs no wash-balls, when the exorcism scours beyond soap-suds. This is he that puts down Gunter in his firework-protestations against the Protestant religion; and then, in his Majesty's name, charges them upon the people. For the same purpose also, he frames enchanted prayers for Christ-Church-chapel; and so makes the organs, at once, pipe out impiety against heaven, and treason against the state. God bless prince Charles; for this is his tutor. He cries to him, when you pray, Say thus: but what? A Pater-noster or two, with a little collect and litany, after the tradition of his fathers; from which, my litany shall be, 'Good Lord deliver him.'

But if you would know him better, let Stewart, the ghost of Arminius, appear, to bring in the catastrophe. These two are brothers, both having the Whore of Babylon for their mother; and the sons of Pelagius by heretical adoption. The foundation of old Rome, saith history, was laid in blood; and these Romuli take the same course to be founders of new Rome here in England. The name of peace puts them into a fit of the cholick: it stings like a tarantula; for nothing will cure them but the musick of war.

Now, sound aloud! Avaunt, ye black-coats; the court-pageants are entering: Strafford, without a head. But, let him pass for a dumb-show; the tyrant hath had his exit already by order of parliament.

Who comes next? What, Henrietta Maria! Sure our Incendiary is an hermaphrodite, and admits of both sexes. The Irish rebels call her their generalissima: what she willed they acted. She set them on work, and they pay themselves their wages out of the Protestants' estates. Because the pope is turned out of doors, she makes the fatal sisters and furies of her privy-council; and proceeds so meritoriously manful, that Kenelm Digby consults now with his Holiness, to have her set in the Rubrick, by the name of St. Nemesis in Breeches. How many breeding fits hath she had, since the coming over of madam Beldam? And no sooner delivered of one plot, but, within the month, a con-

ception of another. I wonder at Neptune's rage against these two, mother and daughter; for they never crossed the sea but a tempest followed; which shews, that they were not of the Halcyon brood.

But the flame rises not high enough yet: therefore hasten away the two bellows-menders from Holland; Rupert and Maurice, Simeon and Levi. A miracle, that a phenix should bring forth two such vipers! If this be too bold, know that the game is begun, and then all fellows at football. But I spare them, though they are so unnatural, as not to spare that nation which bred them up.

Next, enter a gentleman in disguise, newly landed out of the ship called Providence; Ahithophel junior, with store of Samson's foxes and firebrands. Pull off his vizard, and his name is George Digby. This is the beardless Solon; Lycurgus newly whipped out of long-coats into the privy-council; treachery's man-midwife, and Machiavel's catamite: for by him were spawned those desperate aphorisms and positions, of his Majesty's wandering from his parliament. What we wonder at in the rest, is natural to him, being a native Spaniard, to have an antipathy to the weal of our nation: for an atheist, that hath neither religion, nor conscience to sway him, follows the constitution, and ingrafted principles of his climate. The truth of this they knew well enough, that fetched him out of the senate to the court, and the Spanish Gilt-head swallowed the bait immediately. Faces about: farewell to religion, honour, parliament, common honesty, and all; for he waited but for such an opportunity, as well as Colepeper and Dering, though the latter missed it.

More Spaniards yet? Bristol and Cottington, rare peccadillos! Imps of Spinola; two of Gondemar's jockies, that posted between Whitehall and Madrid, till at length they mortgaged England with the Protestant religion, for a pension of Spanish gennets, and bars of silver; which they have striven since to repay, together with the interest of pernicious counsels, and secret practices. Upon a return of the Indian plate-fleet, these hirelings will do any thing, even sacrifice their country, to those gods of America.

Here comes a gentleman of the long-robe; Littleton, the egregious pickpocket, that would have stolen away the kingdom's purse from the parliament; which renders him, by the known laws, a most intolerable traitor. He promises his Majesty to make all good by law; but first intends to banish Dalton, Cooke, and the rest, as heterodox, pettifoggers, and spurious authors. If nobody will believe he can maintain the slander of rebels, yet his impudence can disdain all such scruples, though with arguments grounded upon a manifest contradiction to the state's fundamentals.

What he cannot do, Heath will. This tetter converses altogether with old outworn records, to make good the case. He might do well then to come and search in the Tower, if he dare venture his neck upon the point, in a legal trial. In him we find it true, that an old man is twice a child; for he stands in fear of every bigger boy at court. Besides, he makes a fine hobby-horse of the Prerogative; and tricks it ever and anon with illegal ribbands. He procreates proclamations also in private, yet avows the spurious issue as legitimate as acts of parliament; and so, upon pain of high displeasure, the subjects must own them; like the needy fornicator, that lays his brats at other men's doors.

There are more adulterers of the law. But stay, here is a post come to town with ill news: oh, Bristol! Bristol is lost! Up starts the Junto; westward hoy! Off goes their parliament-purple, and away to Oxford. This rotten limb of the representative-body boasts itself as healthful and sound as the whole; and having been catechized awhile at court, would answer to no name but Parliament. O prodigious! Nay, the renegado-conventicle had the impudence to sit and vote the kingdom slaves; and, for this, thought themselves highly recompensed with a smile or two, from the supreme petticoat. No heaven now but there: they offer incense to traitors, and have the conscience to idolize an Irish rebel, a murderer of Protestants; imitating, herein, the naked Indians, who worship the devil for destroying their kindred.

But the best of it is, this firework never did much mischief, though all ways have been

tried, from the squib to the cannon; for they never durst stand to it yet. Always in motion; the curse of Cain pursues them, as a just reward, that these, who choose to live, should also die runagates.

What think ye then of Montrose? This lapwing-Incendiary ran away half-hatched from Oxford, to raise a combustion in Scotland. As his tutors in England, so he thrives best there, where is most ignorance. He raked up the remains of antient barbarism, and soldered them together with creatures of like metal from Ireland; the very dross of both countries coagulated into an army. The first sight of them would convert a Sadducee, and make him confess a resurrection of the old heathen Picts and Kerns. Strange names they have! And, should a herald venture to reckon the genealogy, he might be taken for a conjurer. The repetition of twenty Mac's, O Connor's, O Brian's, and O Donnel's, were a charm for the gout, or an ague, beyond all the magneticks in chymistry.

This mountainous breed of pagans, like the old earth-born giants, fight against heaven; bidding defiance to Christ and his Gospel; concerning which they know no more than what belongs to blasphemy. Miserable then is that prince who counts such his best subjects! Most abominable is that cause, which cannot stand but with such supporters! Of late they domineered with such superlative tyranny, and had, in conceit, swallowed up all Scotland; but now the monsters surfeit with their own blood: and if ever they recover their stomachs, it will be but for a running banquet.

There is Ormond too, the juggling marquis, the new popinjay-duke; and, to give him all his titles, lord-protector of the rebels: for the wolves are brought now into the same fold with the sheep. They say commonly now, that there is not a rebel in Ireland. Are they not good men then at Oxford, to fight so long till they have left never a rebel? But the late peace confirms them good subjects, though rebels before. Thus, by entertaining this paradox for truth, the pye-bald marquis got his dukedom of Ossory.

Antrim is a rebel not worth the naming, nor that precious piece of iron-work, his duchess: yet I must needs say, she was a lady rarely marked out for two eminent husbands, the beds of Buckingham and Antrim; this latter more pernicious than a bed of scorpions.

Yet there is one marquis more, a wise one, God wot, Winchester, the man of Basing: but let him pass, he has not wit enough to be an Incendiary. And for Newcastle, he is but a counterfeit marquis; at the best but a play-wright; one of Apollo's whirligigs: one, that when he should be fighting, would be fornicating with the Nine Muses, or the dean of York's daughters; a very thing; a soul traducted out of perfume and compliment; a silken general, that ran away beyond sea in a sailor's canvas. He, with his tinder-box of authority, first lighted the fire in the North, yet was so kind to see it quenched again, ere he left us.

But the Western squib, Hopton, holds out still, and rages beyond gunpowder with *aqua vitæ*: but there are other ingredients of atheism joined to him, which make the blaze in the West shew so big; for he of himself is nothing now. The man lives toward the sun-setting, treads *antipodes* of late to victory, and despairs of appearing east again; yet, to comfort him, because the parliament lay claim to his bald pate, the king hath given him a peruke of honour.

I had almost forgotten Goring, her Majesty's jeweller: she plundered the crown, and he conveyed away, converting all into arms and gunpowder. Rare philosophical transmutation! But this is the least part of his skill: for, in time of peace, he was so expert an alchymist, that he turned rags, and worse things, into gold and silver.

There is butcherly Jermyn too, contemptible Harry, the left leg of a lord; he that wraps up his treason in fine linen. He, master of the horse? Mount the chicken upon an elephant; for he is a man of some substance, though little revenue; somewhat too ugly, in my opinion, for a lady's favourite, yet that is nothing to some; for the old lady, that died in Flanders, regarded not the feature. This feather-bed traitor must pass also for an Incendiary; for justice put the gentleman into such a fright, that to make one shift he avoided another; and, at an ill season, took his long journey in Spanish-leather boots.

There are other whelps of Catiline ; but it were endless to reckon up all. I shall conclude thus : What the poets feign of Hercules's Hydra, is truth of our Incendiary. It is a fertile monster of many heads ; for, by lopping off one, up starts a miraculous generation of many more. Then, as it cannot be imagined how he conquered that prodigious enemy, but by striking off all the heads at a blow ; so the ready way to quell this, must be to bring the whole rabble at once to execution.

The Life of Henry the Second, King of England¹. Shewing what Troubles befel in his Reign, concerning the Wars between him and his Subjects ; and also the Manner how he set up his Standard near Rudland, Henry of Essex being General ; and the Manner how he left his Crown : necessary to be observed in these dangerous and distracted Times of ours.

Printed at London for H. B. 1642.

[Quarto ; containing eight pages.]

IN the year of our Lord 1154, Henry the Second was crowned : he was a man of a low stature, and fat of body, of a fresh colour, a valiant soldier, a good scholar, and of good expression in his speech ; very wise, and much delighted with peace.

In the second year of his reign, a council was held at Wallingford, where the nobles were sworn to the King and his issue², by an oath of allegiance composed by the King and his council for that purpose ; after which, Geoffrey the King's brother rose in rebellion, and did much hurt, but was afterwards overcome by the King, and all was yielded into the King's hands.

In the third year of his reign, the Welchmen rose against him, and the King raised an army, and made Henry de Essex his chief general of the army ; and when the King was come into Wales, Henry de Essex by the commandment of the King raised the standard, and open war was proclaimed, and many from their own habitations (as also out of divers prisons) came to assist the King ; and there was a great battle fought near to Rudland, where there were many men slain on both sides ; but the King recovered the castle, and marched towards the castle of Basingwrik, where there was a great slaughter on the King's army, by reason whereof the army was much discouraged, and Henry de Essex, and those under him who had the trust of the bearing of the standard, did at that time let the standard fall down to the ground in the battle, which did so exceedingly encourage the Welchmen, that they pursued with great eagerness : the King himself was exceedingly dismayed hereat, and fled to save his life ; but the two armies fought daily, for by the help of the earl of Clare it was raised up again.

¹ [This little tract is not to be despised for its brevity ; as it contains items of several occurrences overlooked in our larger chronicles ; which is too often the case with such scattered fragments of history, on account of their being either out of the reach, or deemed unworthy the notice, of more voluminous writers.]

² [Viz. His two sons, William and Henry ; the first of whom died a few days after the ceremony.]

Now the King had appointed a navy of ships also to go forth against them, and Madoc ap Merideth was admiral of the seas, who had spoiled divers churches, and done much hurt in the Isle of Man, and Anglesey; but after much bloodshed they began on both sides to be weary of war, and there was an agreement and peace concluded; and on the next Christmas-day after, King Henry being at Worcester went to church, and (going to prayers with the congregation) took his crown off his head, and laid it on the communion-table, and would never wear it after³.

In the seventh year of his reign, there being great troubles in Ireland about the rudiments of faith, and ecclesiastical rights, the King called a council; and Nicholas of Wallingford and William Fitz-Adelm were sent over to Ireland by the authority and consent of the King and council; at which time was this confession, or creed, published; *viz.*

‘ I beleeve in God, Fadir Almichty, Fppiper of heaven and earth; and in Ihesus Christ his oneleghi Son ure Loverd, that is ivange thurch the Holy Ghost, bore of Mary maiden, tholede pine under Ponce Pilat, picht on rode-tree, dead and is buried, licht into hell, the tridde day from death arose, steich into heaven, sit on his Fadir richt honde God Almichty, then is comminde to deme the quickke and the dede: I beleeve in the Holy Ghost, all holy chirche, mone of alle hallwen, forgivenis of sine, fleiss uprising, lif with aaten end. *Amen.*’

The King also caused an oath of fidelity to be drawn, for his subjects to swear to his son prince Henry, concerning his inheritance under their fidelity to the King, in case the King should die before his son; which protestation was taken through the whole kingdom.

In the eighth year of his reign, there was a sect sprang up called ‘Publicans;’ the chief leader of them was one Gerard, a good scholar, but his fellows were most of them silly and ignorant people. They denied the rights and ceremonies of the church; matrimony, baptism, the supper of the Lord, &c. These were so stiff, and stood so stoutly to their opinions, that they would not be convinced of any error in their tenets: and when Gerard the chief of them was brought to Oxford, he would not recant from any of his tenets; wherefore judgment was denounced against them: 1. That they should be stigmatized in their foreheads. 2. That they should be whipped. 3. That they should be turned out of the city. 4. That they should not be received into any town. 5. That none should give them any relief. 6. That none should afford them any succour.

These men nevertheless suffered joyfully, singing as they went, ‘Blessed are ye, when men hate you; blessed are ye, when men hate you:’ and so wandered in the fields till, with the cold and hunger, they all died; for no man durst relieve them.

In the ninth year of his reign, Henry de Essex was accused of high-treason before the nobility, and these articles were exhibited against him: 1. That the said Henry de Essex did in the expedition to Wales, in narrow and hard passage (at Colleshell) most fraudulently throw away the King’s standard. 2. That he did with a loud voice pronounce the King to be dead. 3. That he turned back those that came to relieve the King’s army against the Welchmen.

These articles he denied; and after great debate thereof, before the King and council, the matter was judged to be tried by combat, and Henry de Essex, supposed to be slain, was carried away; but he revived, and spent the rest of his days in reading.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the King appointed a collection to be made through all the countries, in this manner, *viz.*

1. For every pound in moveable goods being so valued for the first year, 2*d*.
2. For four years after for every pound so valued, 1*d*.
3. For arable lands, and for vines, the charge and cost of them not reckoned for every pound thereof after the same manner also.
4. He, that hath an house valued to be worth one pound, to pay one penny.

³ [After this, the custom of kings wearing their crowns, during the celebration of great festivals, was by degrees disused; at least, we find but few instances in the following reigns.]

5. He, that hath some office-agent, one penny.

After the payment whereof, the King caused his son Henry to be crowned, by the persuasions of Robert, archbishop of York; thinking it would prove to the great quietness of himself and his realm: but it proved otherwise, for the young King received the fealties of the Earls and Barons.

Henry, the younger, rebelled against his father, and many earls and barons fled over to him, and many great and bloody battles were fought between them: but, at the last, the old King subdued this rebellion; and, finding that the Scots had joined against him, gave to many of the young nobility, whom he had found to be loyal unto him, the most part of the land in Scotland; and imprisoned and fined many of the English, for this rebellion.

In the twenty-first year of his reign, a brother of the earl of Ferrers was slain in the city of London; whereat the King was much displeased, and vowed revenge against the City: and there were great troubles between the Court and the City, insomuch that the City was distracted and disquieted within itself; for, in the end, there were many unruly citizens, who did give themselves to the pillaging and robbing of rich men's houses; of whom one Andrew Buckequint and John Ould were chief; but the grave wisdom of the King soon suppressed them: and there was peace between the young King and the old, and the father and the son did eat and drink at one table, and all was ended in peace; and, shortly after, the disobedient son was cut off, and the old King reigned quietly alone.

Then the King called a convocation of the clergy at London, and the pope's legate sat in the chair; and, next to him, the archbishop of Canterbury, on his right-hand, as primate of England: but when the archbishop of York saw, that he must sit on the left-hand of the pope's legate, he disdained the place, and did strive to croud his a— between them; but because the legate was not to remove, and the archbishop would not remove, therefore he most unmannerly swopped him down on the archbishop of Canterbury's lap, for which he was thrown down to the ground; and, after his complaint made to the King, (of whom he thought to have found relief, but was deceived,) he was well laughed at for his remedy.

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, there was again a rebellion, after great taxes laid upon the subjects for the voyage to Jerusalem; whereat the King's Majesty was so perplexed and troubled, that he cursed the day wherein he was born, and none about him, neither clergy nor nobles, could comfort him; through the extremity whereof he was brought to a grievous sickness. After he had reigned thirty-four years, being above sixty years of age, and leaving in his treasury above an hundred-thousand marks, he died.

When this royal King was carried forth to be buried, he was first apparelled in his princely robes, and his crown upon his head, and rich gloves on his hands, and boots on his legs, wrought with gold spurs on his heels, a ring of gold on his finger, a sceptre in his hand, and a sword by his side; and, lying thus, like a prince in state, though a dead corpse, he was uncovered; and, looking upon him under his robes, he looked with a most sweet and pleasant countenance, as if he had only slept; who was again covered, and, as he deserved, most honourably buried⁴.

⁴ [A very adulatory account of King Henry II. in a scarce tract, intituled, 'The Nine English Worthies,' will be found in the Supplement to this Work.]

A perfect Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Confession of the Five several Persons that were Confederates in stealing the Mace and the two Privy-Purses from the Lord High-Chancellor of England. As it was attested at the Sessions held at Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailey, the Seventh and Eighth of March, *Anno* 1676-7.¹ With Permission.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

MANY and intolerable are the injuries and abuses that are committed almost daily within the city and suburbs of London. I need not run further to find out examples that may equalize the Barbarian infidel; do but consider in what sphere we move: with double diligence our natives run to hasten others and their own destruction; one brother can't put confidence in another, but still is fearful, lest he should betray him; one neighbour hates another, and are grown so implacable and almost incorrigible, that, did not timely justice supersede, no man could find safety in his own castle; the supervising of each sessions will demonstrate the vices and perverseness of our times.

But not to derogate too far from the intended subject of this present narrative; I shall give you an account of the audacious burglary that was committed on my Lord-chancellor, the sixth of February, being Tuesday night, 1676, and the parties that were apprehended the Saturday night following.

The manner of their apprehension was thus: Some of the head of the gang had taken a lodging in Knight-Rider-street, near Doctors-Commons; and there, in a closet, they had lodged the mace and purses. The woman's daughter of the house, going up in their absence to make the bed, saw some silver spangles, and some odd ends of silver scattered about the chamber, which she, with no small diligence, picked up, not knowing from whence such riches should proceed. In this admiration she paused a while, and it was not long before her fancy led her (like the rest of her sex) to pry into and search the furthest point of this new and strange apparition; and directing her course to the closet-door, she, through the key-hole, could discern something that was not commonly represented to her view, which was the upper end of the mace, but knew not what it was: however, she thought it could not be amiss to acquaint her beloved mother with what she had beheld; and, with this resolve, she hastens down stairs, and with a voice betwixt fear and joy, she cries out: "Oh, mother! mother! Yonder is the king's crown in our closet! Pray, mother, come along with me and see it."

The admiring mother, being something surprized at her daughter's relation, (as also having no good opinion of her new lodgers,) makes haste, good woman, and goes to the closet-door; and, opening the lock with a knife, she entered into the closet, where she soon discerned that it was not a crown, but a mace; and, having heard that such a thing was lost, sends immediately away to acquaint my Lord-chancellor that the mace was in

¹ [The principal ring-leader in this impudent robbery was that notorious pilferer Thomas Sadler, who had the audacity to make one of his confederates bear the mace openly on his shoulder, and another the purse before him, as they were marching off, over Lincoln's-Inn Fields; while he, with hat cock'd, and arms a-kimbo, walked after in strutting grandeur. His evil acts have been registered in a small tract with the following title.

'Sadler's Memoirs: or the history of the life and death of that famous thief Thomas Sadler. Giving a true account of his being fifteen times in the gaol of Newgate, and a relation of his most notorious pranks in city and country. With a particular description of the manner of his robbing the Lord-High-Chancellor; for which he was condemned to die, and executed at Tyburn, on Friday the sixteenth of March, 1677.']

her house: upon which information, a warrant was soon granted, and officers sent to Mr. Thomas Northy, constable of Queen-Hithe-ward, who, with a sufficient assistance, went into Knight-Rider-street, to their lodging, and very luckily found them, being five in number, and of both sexes, (*viz.* three men and two women,) whom they carried before the right-worshipful sir William Turner, who, after examination, according to justice, committed them to the common jail of Newgate.

At the sessions held in the Old-Bailey, beginning the seventh day of this instant March, the five prisoners aforesaid were first called to the bar; where (according to the custom of England) they were bid to hold up their hands, and asked, whether ‘Guilty or Not Guilty?’ They all replied severally, ‘Not Guilty.’ After that the witnesses were sworn and examined, who very manifestly proved the fact; the woman and her daughter where they lodged being two great evidences against them.

After this, the principal of those malefactors (a person very well known in court), having been arraigned at the same bar five or six several times before, very confidently speaks to the Bench in this manner: ‘My lord, I own the fact; and it was I, and this man’ (pointing to one that stood by him at the bar) ‘that robbed my Lord-chancellor; and the other three are clear of the fact, though I cannot say but they were confederates with us in the concealment of the prize after it was taken. This I declare (said he) to the honourable Bench, that I may be clear of the blood of these other three persons.’ The Bench, and all spectators else, admired to hear him thus confidently declare himself guilty before examination; knowing that the fact was of so high a nature, and, without all doubt, would prove capital. However, the Court went on in a legal way; and another witness began to demonstrate in what manner he was taken; to whom the prisoner answered in this manner: ‘Prithee, fellow, do not make such a long narration of my being taken; thou seest I am here, and I own that I and this man, as aforesaid, are guilty of the fact.’

With that the other prisoner, whom he thus impeached, endeavoured to clear himself after this manner: ‘My lord, (said he,) this man, meeting me in Paul’s churchyard, asked me to go and drink, with whom I went; and after we were seated, he told me, that he knew of a booty that would make me smile, telling me of the mace and purses; and further saying, that if I would be his assistant, he would give me my share of the prize.’ To whom the prisoner aforesaid made this reply in open court: ‘Yes, my lord, I look like a fellow that would commit a robbery, and give him half the prize!’ At this there was a great shout in the court, but silence was straight commanded. And the other man with the two women were examined, who endeavoured to clear themselves; but sufficient evidence was produced in court, who did attest, that they found some of the plate with them at the time of their apprehension: so they were put to silence, and dismissed the court for that time.

It was observed, the prisoner whom the chief malefactor impeached to be equally guilty of the fact with himself, had a great sense of sorrow upon him whilst he was at the bar, and complained to himself of lewd and lascivious women, saying, ‘that they were the cause of his and many other men’s ruin:’ which is certainly true, that they are the ruin of many a hopeful young man.

The Parlyament of Byrdes¹.

Imprynted at London, in Paules Church-yard, at the Sygne of the Lambe,
by Abraham Vele.

[In Black-letter. Quarto; containing fourteen pages.]

THIS is the Parlyament of Byrdes,
For hygh and lowe, and them amyddes,
To ordeyn a meane, how it is best
To kepe amonge them pease and rest;
For much noyse is on every syde
Agaynst the Hawke, so full of pryde:
Wherfore they shall in bylles brynge
Theyr complayntes to the Egle, theyr kynge;
And, by the Kynge and hys Parlyament,
Shall be sette in lefull jugement.

The Grype. The great Grype was the fyrst that
spake,

And sayd: 'Owne is owne, who can it take?
For thyne and myne make much debate,
Wyth great and small, in every estate.'

The Cuckowe. 'I synge (quoth the Cuckowe)
ever one songe;

That the weakest taketh alway the wronge:
For he, that hathe wyth us moost myght,
Taketh his wyll, be it reason or ryght.'

The Fawcon. Then aunswered the Fawcon to
that saw:

'That pleasyth a prynce is just lawe;
And he that can no songe but one;
Whan he hathe songe, his wytte is gone.'

*The Commyns*². Than all the Byrdes, that coude
speke,

Sayde: 'The Hawke doth us great wreke;
Of them so many and divers there be,
That no foule, ne byrde, may fro them flee.'

The Hawke. The Hawke aunswered the prating
Pye:

'Where is many wordes, the trowth goeth by;
And better it were to cease of language sone,
Than speake, and repent whan thou hast done.'

The Sterlynge. Than sayd the Sterlynge *verement*:

'Who sayth the sothe he shal be shent;
No man maye now say the trowth,
But his heed be broke; and that is reuth.'

The Hawke. The Hawke swore, 'by his heede
of graye,

All sothes be not for to saye;
It is better some be lefte by reason,
Than trowth be spoken out of season.'

The Popyn-Jaye. Than spake the Popynge-
Jaye of Paradyse;

'Who saythe lytell, he is wyse;
For lytell mony is soone spendyde,
And fewe wordes soone amendyde.'

The Hawke. The Hawke bade, 'for drede of
payne,

Speke not moche of thy soverayne;
For, who that wyll forge tales newe,
Whan he weneth leest, his tale may rewe.'

The Commyns. Than desyred they, grete and
small,

To mewe the Hawke for good and all:
A place alone we wolde he had,
For his counsell to us was never glad.

The Hawke. The Hawke answered: 'Ye fayle
all wyt,

It is not tyme to mewe hawkes yet;
Commyns of Hawkes can lytell skyll,
They shall not reule them as they wyll.'

The Nyghtyngale. Anone then synge the Nygh-
tyngale,

With notys many, grete and smale:
'The byrde, that can well speke and synge,
Shall be cheryshed with quene and kynge.'

The Hawke. The Hawke answered, with grete
fury:

'The songe is nought, that is not mery;
And who so no better songe can,
Maketh lytell chere to ony man.'

The Douve. Than rombled³ the Douve for her
lot:

'Folke may be mery, and synge not;
And who so hath no good voyce,
Must make mery with lytell noyse.'

The Hawke. Whan this reason was forth shewed,
'Lerne, (quoth the Hawke,) or ye be lewed
For the byrde, that can not speake, ne synge,
Shall to the kechyn to serve the kynge.'

The Fesaunt. Than crowed the Fesaunt in the
wood:

'Domme⁵ men (he saythe) geteth lytell good;
Wode, ne water, ne other food;
All fleteth fro hym, as dothe the floode.'

¹ [This antiquated poem has been compared with the remains of an early-printed copy in the British Museum, and rendered less incorrect from a MS. copy in part ii. of the Lansdown Catalogue, marked No. 206.]

² [Commons, MS.]

³ [Rombyd, MS.]

⁴ [*i. e.* Stupid, ignorant.]

⁵ [*i. e.* Dumb.]

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde : ' Whan all is sought,
Grete crowers were never nought ;
For, I swerethe by my foly,
He is not moost wyse, that is moost joly.'

The Moore-Cocke. Than crowed agayne the Moore-Cocke :
' The Hawke bryngeth moche thyng out of nocke ;
The Osyll whysteleteh, and Byrdes blake ;
He must have a-do, that a-do dothe make.'

The Hawke. ' I must, (quoth the Hawke,) by all my belles,
Saye for my selfe, when none wyll elles :
He is not gretely to repreve,
That speketh with his soverayns leve.'

The Bottore. Than blushed the Botture in the fenne,
The Cote, the Dobchyck, and the Water-Henne :
' The Hawke that dothe us all this dere,
We wolde he were sowsed in the mere.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayd : ' Wysshers want the wyll,
Whether they speke lowde, or styll ;
Whan all is done, sayd, and lafte,
Every man must lyve by his crafte.'

The Malarde. Than creaked the Malarde and the Goose :
' They may best flee that are loose ;
He is well that is at large,
That nedeth not the kynges grete charge.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde : ' Though they flye loose,
They muste obey, they may not choose ;
Who hathe a mayster, or a make,⁷
He is tyed faste by the stake.'

The Heron. Then creaked the Heron and the Crane :
' Grete trouble maketh wyttes to wane ;
He is well ayysed, can bere hym lowe,
And suffre every wynde to overblowe.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde : ' Who can blowe to plesse ?
Longe neckes done great ese ;
For the Comyns, that have no rest,
Meneth not ever wyth the beste.'

The Pertryche, Quayle, and Larke.
Then the Pertryche, Quayle, and Larke in felde
Sayd : ' Here nought may 'vayle but spere and shelde ;

The Hawke with us maketh grete batayle,
In every countre, where he maye 'vayle.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde : ' Who so wyllfully wyll fyght,
May make hym wronge sone of his ryght ;
Lawe is best, I understonde,
To ryght all thyng in every londe.'

The Robyn and the Wrenne. Than chyde the Robyn and the Wrenne,
And all small byrdes that beareth penne :
' Agaynst the Hawke the Commyns must ryse,
And helpe them fowlys in theyr best wyse.'

The Hawke. The Hawke made the Wrenne this answer :

' Small power maye lytell dere,
And who wyll lyve in rest longe,
Maye not be besy with his tonge.'

The Commyns. Than prayed all the Comyn-Howse ;

' That some myght the Hawke souse,
For fowle and byrde, by water and londe,
He will destroy, and he may stonde ;
For nere his nest may none abyde
In the countre where he dothe glyde ;
Theyr fethers he plucked many folde,
And leveth them naked in grete colde ;
Us think, therefore, the reason good,
To destroye the Hawke, and all his blode.'

The Kyng and his Lordes. The Kyng and his Lordes answered, anon,

' States may not the Hawke forgone,
Nor by no lawe his kynde destroye,
Nor deme hymselfe for to dye,
Nor put hym to none other dystresse,
But kepe hym in a payre of gesse⁸,
That he flye to no byrde aboute,
Till his keper let him out.'

The Cornyshe-dawe. Then spake the Cornyshe-dawe,
And sayd, ' Lytell money, lytell lawe,
For here is nought elles with frende ne fo,
But, go bett peny, go bett, go.'

The Hawke. ' Thou Cornisshe, (quod the Hawke,) by thy byll,
Say well, or holde the styll ;
For thou hast herde of many a man,
A tonge breketh bone, and it selfe hath none.'

The Kyng. Then asked the Kyng of the Byrdes, by rowe,
' Why come not to the parlyament the Crowe ?
For good counseyll refourmeth every mysse,
And it be taken where it is.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde, ' It is no lesse,
Counseyll is good in warre and pese ;
But the Crowe hath no brayn
To gyve any counseyll, but of the rayn.'

The Nyghtwhale. Then spake the Nyghtwhale, with his heed gay,

' He shameth with his parlyament araye ;
It is a terme with Johan and Jacke,
Broken shin draweth arme a-backe.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayd, ' He shall thryve full late
That loketh to kepe a grete estate ;
And cannot, with all his wysdome preve,
Gete hymselfe an hole sleve.'

The Pecoke and the Swanne. Then sayd the Pecoke and the Swanne,
' Who no good hath, no good canne,
And lytell is his wytte sette by,
That hathe not to bere out company.'

⁶ [Bittern.] ⁷ [i. Mate.] ⁸ [Or *jesse*; straps of leather by which a hawk is held on the falconer's fist.]

The Hawke. The Hawke sayd, 'He is worse than wode,
That maketh hym fresshe with other mennes good,
Or ought wyll borowe and never paye,
Or with wronge getteth him galaunt araye.'

The Specke. Then in his hole, sayd the Wood-specke,

'I wolde the Hawke had broke his necke,
Or brought into myschevous dale,
For of every byrde he makyth a tale.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayd; 'Though thy castell be in the tree,
Buylde not above thy degree;
For who so heweth over hye,
The chyppes wyll fall down in his eye.'

The Kyng. Then sayd the Kyng, 'It is oure entente,
To amende the Crowes arayment :'
And all the Byrdes sayde, 'Anone
Of eche of our fethers he shall have one.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde, 'He may sone come to honeste,
That every man helpeth after his beste;
For, as techeth us the lerned clerke,
Many handes make lyght werke.'

The Tydyffre. 'I saye, (quod the Tydyffre,) we Kentysse men,
We maye not gyve the Crowe a pen,
For, with them that be sobre and good,
A byrde in hande is worthe two in the wood.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde, 'I take me to my crede,
Who so wyll spende, with you may spede;
Lytell ye gyve, but ye wote why,
Ye make the blynde ete many a flye.'

The Crowe. Then the Crowe was put in his araye;

'I am not now as I was yesterdaye¹⁰;
I am abyll, withouten offence,
To speke in the Kynges presence.'

The Hawke. The Hawke sayde to the Comyns,
'By dene,
Envy and pride wolde fayne be sene;
He is worthy none audyence to have,
That can not say but knave, knave.'

The Commyns. Than asked the Byrdes, with avysement,
'Who is that taketh to us no tente,
He presumeth before us all to fle,
Even to the Kynges hygh Majestè.'

The Hawke. The Hawke aunswere to the white Semowe¹¹,
'He is the sory blacke Crowe,
And for hym fareth no man the better,
Lette hym therefore never grow to gretter.'

The Lordes. Than sayd the Lordes everychone,
'We wyll aske of the Kyng, anone,
That every Byrde shall resume
Agayne his fetheres, and his plume,
And make the Crowe agayne a knave,
For he that nought hathe, nought shall have.'

The Hawke. Than sayde the Hawke, 'As some men sayne,
Borrowed ware wyll home agayne,
And who wyll smatter what all men doos,
May goe helpe to shoo the Goose.'

The Cormoraunt. For the Crowe spake the Cormoraunte,
And of his rule made grete avaunt,
'Suche worshyp is reason that every man have,
As the Kynges Highnes vouchethsave.'

The Hawke. 'It is sothe (quod the Hawke) that thou doost say,
Whan all thing turneth to sporte and playe,
Thou mayst leest speke for the Crowes pelfe,
For all thyng loveth that is lyke it selfe.'

The hole Parlyament. Than prayed the hole Parlyament
To the Kyng, with one assent,
'That every Byrde her fether myght
Take from the Crowe, that proude knyght.'

The Kyng. The Kyng sayde, 'Ye shall leve have;
A knyght sholde never come of a knave;
All thyng wyll shewe from whence it come,
Where is his place and his own home.'

The Hawke. 'Now, trewly, (quoth the Hawke,) then
It is grete comferte to all men,
Of the Kynges good prosperyte,
Whan he rules well his comonalty.'

Then was plucked from the Crowe, anone,
All his fetherys, by one and by one,
And lefte all blacke in the stede of rede,
And called hym a page of the fyrste hede.

The Hawke. Quod the Hawke, 'The Crowe is now as he shold be,
A kynde knave in his degree,
And he that weneth no byrde is hym lyke,
Whan his fethers are plucked, he may hym go pike.'

The Commyns. Then made the Comyns grete noyse,
And asked of the Lordes, with one voyce,
'That they wolde the Hawke exyle
Oute of the londe many a myle,
Never to come agayne hyther,

But¹² the Kyng sent for him thyther:
Hym to trust we have no cheson,
For it is preved, in truste is treason;
And, sythe ye saye he shall not dye,
Plucke of his hokes¹³, and let hym flye.'

The Lordes. 'To that (sayd the Lordes) we condescende
This statute¹⁴ and other to amende;
So in this, that ye accorde
To put all in our soverayne lorde.'

The Comyns. The Comyns sayd, 'It is grete skyll,
All thyng to be at the Kyngs wyll;
And, under the hande of hys grete myght,
By grace his people to seke theyr ryght.'

⁹ [Syth, (quoth the Tedyffre) with the Norfolk men.

¹⁰ [Yt ys nott now, quoth he, yesterdaye. MS.]

¹² [i. e. Unless.]

¹³ [Lokkys. MS.]

MS.]

¹¹ [Sea-mew, or gull.]

¹⁴ [Fawtys. MS.]

The Hawke. Than sayd the Hawke, 'Now to,
now fro,
Now labour, now rest, now come, now goe,
Now leeff, now loth, now freynd, now foe ;
Thus goeth the worlde in wele and woe.'

The Kynge. Then sayde the Kynge, in his ma-
jestè,
' We wyll dissever this great sembly.
He commaunded his chauncelere,
The statutes to rede that they myght here :
This is the fynall jugement
He redde of the Byrdes Parlyament,
That whether they be whyte or blake,
None shall others fetherys take ;
Nor the Ravyn to plucke the Pecoakes tayle
To make hym fresshe, for his avayle,
Nor the Comyns fetherys wante,
For with some they be ryght skante.'

The Jaye. Thus sayeth the cownsell of the Jaye,
' That none shall use others aray,
For who so mount wyth the Egle to hye,
Shall fayle fetherys when he would flye.'

Sapiencia. Be no greedy glede good to gather,
For good wyll molt, as fowles fether ;
And, though thy fetherys be not gaye,
Have none envye at Swannes aray.

Concludent. For, though an Osteryche may eat
a nayle,

Wrath wyll plucke him winge and tayle ;
And, yf thou lye in Swalowes nest,
Let not slouth in thy fetherys rest ;
Be trew as Turtyll in thy kynde,
For lust wyll part, as fethers in wynde :
And he that is a glotonus Gull,
Deth wyll soon his fetherys pull :
Though thou be hasty as the Wype,
And thy fetherys flyght rype,
Loke thy fethers and wryting be dene,
What they say, and what they mene ;
For yett is here none other thyng,
But fowlys, fetherys, and wrytyng.

Thus finysheth the Byrdes Parlyament,
By theyr Kynges commaundement.

Aphorisms of State: or, Certain secret Articles for the Redifying of the Romish Church, agreed upon, and approved in Council by the College of Cardinals in Rome, shewed and delivered unto Pope Gregory the Fifteenth, a little before his Death. Whereunto is annexed a Censure upon the chief Points of that which the Cardinals had concluded. By Thomas Scott. Very needful and profitable for all those, who are desirous to understand the Event of the Restitution of the Palatinate, and of the State of the Princes-Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in the Behalf of the Clergy in Rome. Fit for the British Nation especially to take Notice of, that they may evidently see the Issue of all our Treaties, Ambassages, and Promises, with other Hopes depending; wherein we have been long held in Suspence, and are still like to be, to our irrecoverable Loss. Faithfully translated, according to the Latin and Netherlandish Dutch, into English.

Printed at Utrecht, 1624.

[Quarto; containing thirty pages.]

The first Article.

WHEREAS, Maximilian the duke of Bavaria, for the establishing the state of his prince-electorship, hath sought unto the authority of the apostolical seat¹; thereby, hath the apostolical church obtained opportunity to recover their lost obedience, in the denied ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The second Article.

Since the pope of Rome, by means of the present duke of Bavaria (as being the most obedient son of the church), may obtain again the rights, which, for these two-hundred years and more, have been lost in the constituting of certain things, and orders in the empire, belonging to the church; it will be a very small labour, to pluck the possessions of the church-goods which depend upon the ecclesiastical rights, out of the hands of the hereticks.

The third Article.

Whereas the duke of Bavaria, according to the especial oath made unto the church, hath an earnest desire, to restore again the ecclesiastical state, as it was before the time of pope Gregory the Eleventh; the hereticks (who are the temporal arm of the empire) shall

¹ *Viz.* the pope's chair, called by his disciples, Apostolical.

be bound to restore again those goods which they have possessed since the Passawish transaction.

The fourth Article.

Since that it properly appertaineth to the church to discern and take notice of the state and order of the empire; wherefore, those hereticks which deny this antiquity, and the rights of the church, in the state and order of the empire, which now by the duke of Bavaria shall be re-established in time to come, are not to be tolerated.

The fifth Article.

Since that pope Leo the Third had the power, in respect of the heresy, to cut off, and separate the Eastern authority² from the Western; and to pluck that from the Grecians: wherefore shall not the pope now have the same power, to take the prince-electorship from the Palsgrave, as being an arch-heretick; and transport the same unto the duke of Bavaria, the most obedient son of the church?

The sixth Article.

Since the divulsion of the Eastern empire from the Western, which was performed by the most blessed pope, Leo the Third, hath continued so firm and sacred even to this very time: that, although the Western empire hath oftentimes been void of a possessor, it was never as yet united unto the Eastern empire, nor the laws of the one in the provinces of the other were ever of force. Wherefore then shall not the divulsion of the prince-electors dignities of the Palsgrave, that arch-heretick, be maintained upon the most-Catholic duke of Bavaria, in the like sanctity of perpetuity and stability, by the pope and the holy league?

The seventh Article.

Since that the transport of the empire, from the Grecians unto the French, performed with such a free arm, and such an active power by pope Leo: the Grecian emperors themselves, although they were the strongest, durst never oppugn the same; nay, have many times and often very significantly commended and firmly kept the same: in like manner, the ability nor the opposition of the arch-heretick, the Saxon (who is yet remaining), may not hinder, much less make opposition to the transport of the prince-electors dignity, unto the most-Catholic duke of Bavaria: in regard that he, as being an heretick, and not knowing the sanctity, nor the antiquity of the right original of the empire, and ignorant of the laws and privileges thereof, may not enjoy that right.

The eighth Article.

Whenas Frederick the First, according to the will and pleasure of pope Alexander the Third, was detruded from the imperial seat; then Emanuel Comnenus presented both men and money unto the pope against Frederick; to the end the Grecian church might be united to the Latins. By which undoubtedly he confesseth, that to establish and fortify the pope's cutting off, and transport, and the uniting of one kingdom with another, was forbidden all men whatsoever, save only the pope, who had first separated them: so, in like manner, these things like as they also be, so is it true that the pope, with the holy league, are bound to employ all their power against the arch-heretick, the Saxon³, and all those rebels, that depend upon him: that the sanctity of the apostolical stool⁴, and the antiquity of the Romish empire, in the transport of the prince-electors dignity, might be preserved and maintained.

The ninth Article.

After pope Leo, have other popes, also, only by the authority of their chair, very often

² *i. e.* Empire.

³ The Elector of Saxony, who first protected Luther, and continued, till of late years, the support of the Protestant interest in Germany.

⁴ *i. e.* The chair.

transported the said Western empire from one nation to another: wherefore then may not the pope, by the same authority of the chair of Rome, pluck the prince-electors' dignity out of the hands of the hereticks, and transport the same to the Catholic princes; to the end that the sacred essence of the Romish empire, by the extirpation of hereticks, be again established?

The tenth Article.

Whereas, in all right, pope Boniface the Eighth, unto whom the supreme authority in the church belonged, would not admit that Albert the first of that name, emperor of the Romans, by right of inheritance might come to the empire; like as he had sought both for himself and for his posterity and successors, but only by election: in like manner may the pope, the emperor, and the holy league, without violating the apostolical seat, which always, to be kept sacred in her antiquity, must be defended, not to suffer the Saxon and the Brandenburgher, that they should seek to draw the authority of the antiquity in the transport of the electorship from the chair of Rome, to bring the same to the college of the prince-electors.

The eleventh Article.

Philip, king of the Franks, sent ambassadors to Avignon⁵ unto pope Clement the First; that they very humbly should entreat him, that he would restore the empire again to the French, under whom before it had been. Then did the pope send ambassadors unto the prince-electors, by whom he commanded them, that they should choose Henry of Luxemburgh emperor: and that, if they did the contrary, that they should incur great danger, and should forfeit the empire, and the right of their election unto others for ever; whereupon they presently assembled, and elected Henry emperor. From all this very plainly appeareth, that the French assuredly knew, that it was in the pope's power to establish the imperial command in that kingdom; and to transport from the Germans the empire and the right of the election: and therefore may the pope, according to the plenitude of his power, no longer use connivance; when as, these arch-hereticks, the Saxon and the Brandenburgher, would throw down into hell the antiquity and order of the empire.

The twelfth Article.

It is in the pope's hands (as in all histories appeareth) to renew the emperor in the empire; to transport the authority of one nation unto another, and utterly to abolish the right of election. How wickedly and ungodly then doth the Saxon; in labouring to pluck the said power from the chair of Rome, and to unite the same unto the college of the prince-electors? By this means, the pope of Rome and the emperor may expect, that from this permission the rest of the arch-hereticks, the Saxon and the Brandenburgher, may change the essence of the holy church and of the empire, into an abominable and cursed monster.

The thirteenth Article.

Since that Wenceslaus, by reason of his follies, by the prince-electors, was deposed from the imperial seat, and contrarily Robert Palsgrave of the Rhine, by the command and authority of pope Boniface the Ninth, ascended to that high dignity: in like manner also is the Palsgrave, that arch-heretick, because he had committed high-treason, and had disturbed the common peace of the emperor and the empire, detruded from the prince-electors. And contrarily, for the recovering of the antiquity, the emperor, with the sacred and true prince-electors, as sons obedient to the church, and diligent in maintaining antiquity, by commission from the pope, hath promoted Maximilian duke of Bavaria in all right unto that high degree of prince-electors.

The fourteenth Article.

So that, by the authority of the apostolical seat, the power of electing an emperor, and

⁵ A city in France, where the pope, being banished Rome, kept his residence for about seventy years.

a prince-elect, is drawn into the number of seven princes. Yet whereas, according to the concession of Gregory the Fifth, it appertained unto all the princes of Germany: also, by the same plenitude of power, it is lawful for the pope to cut off the dignity of the prince-electship, from the Palsgrave and his heirs, and to transport the same unto the duke of Bavaria.

The fifteenth Article.

The plenitude of the power of the apostolical seat is proved by the public documents; as is the election of Rudolph, of Habsburgh, Adolph, Henry the Seventh, Charles the Fourth, Wenceslaus, and Rupertus; who had no other stability, but from the grant and consent of Nicholas the Third, Boniface the Eighth, Clement the Fifth, Clement the Sixth, Gregory the Eleventh, and Boniface the Ninth; which public documents are kept with the writings of the apostolical seat.

The sixteenth Article.

To the end that the antiquity of the empire may the better be manifested, that the pope and the church hath only the power to take notice, discern, and to dispose of the affairs of the empire: therefore, the emperor is crowned with the crown by the pope, who therein hath the highest authority; and, this work effected, then is he established in the imperial seat. Therefore, all doctors do agree herein, that he that is crowned by the pope, hath the power only to bear the title of Emperor and Augustus; to sign with the sign of the golden bull, and to take upon him the administration of the empire: and, when the prince is not crowned by the pope, he is rightly forbidden to use the same.

The seventeenth Article.

At what time a great contention was risen between Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, and his brother Lodowick, in behalf of the empire: then presently Charles posted unto Rome, and so with gifts and entreaties obtained the crown. And therefore, according to the form of antiquity, the pope only hath the power to take notice of matters of the empire: and therefore the German hereticks do very ill in saying, that the same belongeth to the college of the prince-electors.

The eighteenth Article.

Since that Frederick the First, by the bishop of Bamberg, required the crown of the empire from pope Adrian the Fourth, (where the words under-written are used and placed to express the same sense;) from whence very plainly appeareth, that he that receiveth not the crown out of the pope's hand, is in very deed no emperor. Therefore, most holy father, fulfil, without any longer delay, that which Maximilian, the duke of Bavaria, wanteth in the plenitude of the dignity of his prince-electship; that the same may be accomplished by your Holiness's liberality, to the end the empire may be reduced and brought into its old fashion again.

The nineteenth Article.

Since that, in the disposing and ordering of the affairs of the empire, the pope's respect only extendeth so far, that it now and then hath been vexed, suppressed, nay, hath been wholly and totally circumvented and defrauded; like as many histories do testify, what hath passed between pope Gregory the Seventh, and the emperor Henry the Fourth; between pope Alexander, and the emperor Frederick the First; between pope Innocent the Third, and the emperor Ottoman the Fourth; between pope Innocent the Fourth, and the emperor Frederick; between pope John the Twenty-first, and the emperor Lodowick the Fourth; between pope Boniface the Ninth, and the emperor Wenceslaus: by the same respect hath the pope that undoubted right to take notice of the affairs of the empire, and to discern thereof, and not the college of the prince-electors.

The twentieth Article.

Since that the power of the electing the emperor was not purchased for money by the prince-electors, nor obtained by force of arms, nor enjoyed by right of inheritance, nor befallen unto them by the hands of the emperor, but is descended from the authority of the apostolical seat: therefore, it is not lawful for the German arch-hereticks⁶, now at this present to believe any otherwise, thereby to molest the antiquity and sanctity of the empire.

The twenty-first Article.

Whenas, for a long time the custom of electing the emperor had been in use, according to the constitution of pope Gregory the Fifth, by the intercession of all the chiefs and princes of Germany, and that many troubles and divisions arose by the great diversity of voices in their election, the empire is at last come to nought; so that the chiefs and princes with one accord, according to the decree and approbation of the apostolical seat, were agreed, that all the power which was granted unto them all, of pope Gregory the Fifth, should descend unto six⁷ princes only, (*viz.* three spiritual and three temporal,) unto whom afterwards the seventh was adjoined, and solemnly concluded; that of these alone (without admitting any other thereunto), from henceforth, the emperor should be chosen, although they were of the faculty, power, and authority.

The twenty-second Article.

Like as in former time the election was performed by virtue of the grant of pope Gregory the Fifth: the same shall now at this present, by the same power proceeding from the good pleasure of the pope's transport, be effected by the Seven. And like as, in old time, the popes commanded all the chiefs and princes of Germany, that they should choose an emperor, even so at this time, when need requireth, it shall be lawful for the pope to command the seven prince-electors, who do represent the assembly of all the princes there. And like as the seven prince-electors do enjoy a like power and authority of right, which in old time the princes of Germany enjoyed; in like manner the pope doth enjoy wholly that authority, which they had in the time of that assembly, in regard through process of years, or length of time, the vigour of the church diminisheth not; nor the rights of the apostolical seat do wax decrepit. How great then is the ignorance of those doctors and counsellors of the German arch-hereticks, which neither know the antiquity nor the rights; but, according to their malicious conceit, are not ashamed to pervert the antiquity and sanctity of the empire into novelty, and to bring order into confusion?

The twenty-third Article.

Since then it hath been very amply proved, and shewed to his Holiness, that the power as well of the new as the old prince-electors, to elect emperors, hath been obtained by no other means, but from the most high apostolical seat, which may be proved by the writings of the most famous authors; as Jacob Winphilingus, Krantzius, Nauclerus, Carion, Aventinus, Cuspinianus, and other Transmontanian writings; omitting the Italian doctors, because that they, in this point of controversy, might peradventure come in suspicion to be corrupted, and by that means might be rejected of the German hereticks. Therefore it is,⁸ &c.

The twenty-fourth Article.

Since the seven prince-electors, by the public proofs of writings, subscribed with their own hands and seals, do not deny that the faculty of electing emperors is descended unto them from the apostolical seat; and if the ignorant counsellors of Saxony and Brandenburg will not believe the same, the writings themselves shall be produced and laid open

⁶ The Electors of Saxony and Bradenburgh.

⁷ Electors.

⁸ The rest, that should follow, must be taken from the former.

before them, which do approve the same, dated in the year 1279, (when Nicholas the Third was pope, and Rudolphus Habsburgensis was emperor,) which are whole and good, in parchment, remaining with the secretary of the castle of St. Angelo; where the seven prince-electors, most of them, use these words:

‘ The mother-church of Rome, in times past, as with a natural love embracing Germany, hath, as with a present of temporal dignities honoured the same, with that which is above all names, only as temporally upon the earth; planting princes therein as godly trees, and watering the same with a singular grace, and hath given unto them that growth of worldly power; that they, being supported by the authority of the same church, as a choice and famous plant, may cause to spring or grow up, by their election, him who hath the reins of the Roman empire in his hand. Therefore it is,⁹ &c.’

The twenty-fifth Article.

The seven prince-electors must confess to have this power from the apostolical seat, like as sufficiently is proved in the former article. And contrarily, no man can take away the same, without the authority and consent of the same apostolical seat. If it be taken from any, as being robbed thereof, it must not be esteemed as lawfully done; and that dignity which after that manner is so taken from one, and transported to another, without the pope’s consent and authority, hath no vigour; in regard the same is taken and given to them, to whom in all right it is forbidden. Therefore, if it be bestowed upon any man after this manner, in process of time, taking the right title, he shall not keep the same.

The twenty-sixth Article.

Since that the transport of the dignities of the prince-electorship unto this present line of Saxony, is not established by the most holy apostolical seat; therefore, the pope and the emperor, for the dealing of the transport of the electorship unto the duke of Bavaria, shall not once be moved, but his exception against the transport shall be esteemed for no exception; for that which is lawfully done, and simply is not done, is all one.

The twenty-seventh Article.

Since that the transport of the dignities of the prince-electorship is passed unto Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and is confirmed by the most holy father: therefore it is no longer in the emperor, nor in the king of Spain’s power, to place that arch-heretick the Palsgrave, or his heirs, in that dignity and dominion out of which their father is cast, nor to place him again in the electorship; in regard that these controversies do belong to the most holy apostolical seat, and neither to the emperor, nor the king of Spain.

The twenty-eighth Article.

Since that the pope hath confirmed the transport of the electorship; so is that demand (which the king of England, the king of Denmark, the Saxon, and the Brandenburgher, of the restitution of the Palsgrave into his dignities and electorship, which they seek of the emperor) very unreasonable; for the requiring thereof is nothing else, but the defrauding the apostolical seat from the right of her majesty; and to attribute unto the emperor the fundamental original, contrary to the antiquity and sanctity of the church and empire. And, therefore, the holy father shall be wary, that from such like connivance there ariseth not a greater discommodity to the farther ruin of the church.

The twenty-ninth Article.

To the end then that the essence of the Church may be preserved in her antiquity and sanctity: the most illustrious prelates, the Cardinals, with one consent and accord, have sworn that the holy father, having permitted the confirmation on Maximilian the duke of

⁹ Here lacketh something, which is to be conceived out of that which goeth before.

Bavaria, may not revoke the same, without prejudice of the most holy apostolical seat ; and are bound, by the laws of God, simply to maintain the aforesaid duke of Bavaria with one common hand, with conjoined power of the whole church, and with force of arms, in the dignities of the prince-electorship.

Here followeth the Censure, or Consideration, upon the aforesaid Articles.

HERE are presented unto us twenty-nine Articles, from the Prelates of the Romish church, whose elegance is not much to be commended, and do tend to the prejudice of Germany. For the better examination whereof, we will course through all the members or particulars ; and, to the end that no man may be bewitched therewith, we will administer unto the simple an antidote against this poison.

The beginning shall be of the three first Articles ; wherein the clergy of Rome do imagine unto themselves a most excellent growth, as well of the jurisdiction, as of the temporal goods.

To speak in order of both these : I say the pope, forasmuch as he is pope, hath no jurisdiction at all ; but, forasmuch as he is enriched by the liberality of princes, he hath also his own lands, and hath a certain jurisdiction, which is well to be understood in his own lands. But in the empire, where he hath no place amongst the princes of the empire, no jurisdiction may be allowed him, without diminishing of the imperial majesty. Let no man suffer himself once to be moved, for that which hath been so long said, ‘ That the pope of Rome is in the place of Christ here upon earth.’ Christ himself denied that his kingdom was of this world. The disciple is not mightier than his Master, nor the servant greater than his Lord.’

What is more evident and plain, than that which Christ himself saith ? ‘ Let the kings of the nations bear rule ; but with you it must not be so.’ Neither is that firmer, that they hope for the victory, from the triumph, and other proofs, wherewith they have always defended their cause, that Christ said, ‘ All power is given me in heaven and earth.’ Maldonatus¹⁰ refuteth this with these words ; ‘ Christ speaketh not here of all power, but of that which he gave to the Apostles ; that is, of the power to obtain and gather together his spiritual kingdom ; for which business he sent out the Apostles : like as temporal princes are careful of their temporal goods, so are they also of their jurisdictions.’ Here availeth that which the old father Bernard wrote to pope Eugenius, in his first book of Observations ; ‘ Your power is over offences or sins, and not over possessions. These base and earthly things have their judges, kings, and princes of the earth. Wherefore dost thou enter upon other men’s jurisdictions ? Wherefore dost thou thrust thy sickle or scythe into another man’s harvest ?’ Moreover, he saith in his eleventh book, ‘ Dominion was forbidden the Apostles : darest thou then use it (A Lord) the Apostleship, or an Apostolical person’s dominion ; verily, both these are forbidden you, if you will enjoy both these at once.’ Therefore asketh Hostiensis, ‘ What shall we say of that which concerneth the pope in worldly or temporal affairs ?’ Whereunto he maketh answer with his lord Innocentius, ‘ That unto him, viz. the pope, it concerned nothing at all.’ The same also may be read by John Parisiensis, in the tenth chapter of ‘ the Power of Kings and Popes.’ This is long ago told unto them, but they gave it no audience : from hence ariseth the English complaint by Mathew Paris, where he treateth of Henry the Third ; ‘ That it is sufficiently known and found, that the wrath of God is fallen upon the Romish church ; because their magistrates and regents do not diligently apply themselves for the devotion of the people, nor for the gaining of souls ; but to purchase revenues, and to scrape money together.’

¹⁰ A Jesuit-commentator of great note.

Other nations used very grievously to complain thereof, and that with good reason; especially Germany, whose princes long ago, seeking remedy hereof, were not very acceptable, who could never satisfy the Romish clergy, with riches and dignities. From this unsatiable gulph also ariseth, that they, in the third article, desire to cut off the conditions for their advantage; which, for the common peace-sake, were received about seventy years since at Passaw. But it is not in the pope's power, nor in the clergy, to break that which was concluded by a general council of the states, where the authority of Charles¹¹ was entertained.

Here followeth the censure upon the second part, which extendeth itself larger than the first; in regard that it not only sheweth the cardinalish prince¹², but that which lieth next under. This aforesaid part containeth twenty Articles, in which they, with the like proofs, do proceed, as yet seemeth: yet their object indeed is something else, more than in the former. In which it seemeth to be sufficient to Michael Longius: that, if the duke of Bavaria could but be persuaded, that he would seek for the consent of the pope, in those dignities where he was honoured. In such manner the chiefest cardinals do take the reins of good reason too long into their hands; nay, (as Phaëton,) upon the waggon of their avarice, to the danger of the world, and more especially of Germany, do ride out of the common route of the popes; like as if it were of no moment, to pronounce such an horrible sentence of the transport of the electorship of the Palsgrave, and the occasion thereof; whereof we will not now dispute: and so they fall a-board the prince-electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in the behalf of the rights of the election. What is it else but, with the like thunder-bolt, to dash the heads of the sacred empire? They say they are hereticks. It is now no time to enquire after heresy, but rather soundly to dispute, whether that a bishop, like as he, hath right to excommunicate a man for heresy? Whether, therefore, he hath the power also to rob and spoil a man of his dignities and means? Verily, therein is great difference. Christ commanded, that the excommunicated should be counted as an heathen or publican: but in no place willeth he, that men should rob the heathens or publicans of their authority, or should spoil them of their goods. Christ himself paid toll unto the publicans; and, by his example, hath shewed us the way what we should do. The Apostles lived under heathenish emperors, and were obedient to their laws; in like manner also were all their successors: nay, the Apostles, being obedient, used to pray to God for them: therefore, saith Tertullian in his Apology, in the thirtieth chapter, 'We invoke the Eternal God for the prosperity of the emperor; praying, that he may have a long life, a peaceful government, an established habitation, strong armies, faithful counsellors, and a peaceful world.' When Julian left Christianity, and betook himself to heathenism; did the Christians then detrude him forth of his empire? When they hear of this, then they will contend with latter examples, saying, 'Wherefore then may not the pope, by the same right, for heresy, transport the dignity of the prince-electorship unto another; since that pope Leo the Third, for the same occasion, transported the empire from the Grecians upon the Franks?' This is that Achilles which so boasts in the college of the cardinal; but yet he is not strong enough to take in our city of Elizeum. They abuse themselves exceedingly with this example: first, from the act of the pope, they conclude the justness of the act; if we may so drive our arguments, there is no act of any man, but it may be found fault withal: they err also herein, that they affirm that to be done, which was never done.

We know it, all of us, that the empire was transported, but withal, that it was done by the council of Rome¹³; as also all Italy, consented thereunto, either privately or publicly. Of the Western people, I will pass over in silence. They say again, that we have many writers, which make repetition of that which Leo did. Who denieth that? But they commend Leo, as being one of the chiefest citizens, and so had the greatest respect of any man in the city: they commend him also, as being bishop of Rome, who, with his

¹¹ The emperor.¹² The pope, being prince of his cardinals.¹³ The State, and not Church.

hands, was to set up the crown as being a sign or representation of the empire. Therefore these writers were in no heresy, because they meant that either Leo did the same alone; or else principally could have done it. Many others, who are no less in number, nor in respect than these, do relate unto us the clean contrary: they say expressly, that the same was done and performed, according to the decree and will, as is aforesaid, of the council of Rome. Sigibertus saith, in the year 801: 'The Romans now, who long ago had withdrawn their affections from the Constantinopolitan emperor, as then finding very good opportunity, because that a woman, when the emperor Constantine was deprived of his sight, governed them by his son: then proclaimed they with one accord the emperor Charles for their emperor; they crowned him by the hand of pope Leo, they styled him Emperor and Augustus.' A Popish writer, Theodoricus de Niem, who afterwards was bishop of Verden, saith, 'About the very time of the coronation, the people of Rome made a law, according to the old custom; but it was very troublesome to recollect all things that happened so often. Therefore, the sentence, right and power of the empire, was left unto the emperor, as we find it written: Then the people of Rome transported all this unto Charles, and gave unto him all that right and power.' Blondus also, in his first book, *Decad.* 2. and Æneas Silvius, or Pius the Second, in Blondus's short Relation; also Jacobus Wymphelingius, in his short Relation of the Pope of Rome, in the eleventh chapter, do affirm, 'That the coronation by Leo was performed and done with the knowledge and at the entreaty of the people of Rome.' These are the words of Onuphrius Panvinus in *Fastis*: 'Leo, by the consent of the people of Rome, and at the entreaty of the clergy of Rome, proclaimeth Charles emperor.' So that from those and others, who affirm, that it was done by the council, and the people of Rome; must those writers be interpreted, that they do not confirm, nor yet deny the same.

How much more is it to believe that which is confirmed by witnesses, which is denied by none; than not to believe those which do confirm the same, because that all of them do not affirm, although there be nobody that do deny the same: for, after this manner, writeth Michael Coccimus very well, in his book of the Transport of the Empire: 'We must believe that the same transport was performed, and had its power or operation from the consent and authority of the Romans, and other people of Italy.' That which Innocentius the Third wrote unto Barthold, duke of Zaringe, doth not contradict the same: 'That the apostolical seat of Rome transported the Roman empire unto the person of the famous Charles, from the Grecians unto the Germans; for in this we consent: that the apostolical seat, upon no other meaning, did transport the empire; but that they, who did transport the empire, did consent thereunto, or else made declaration that they should transport the same. But such a transport hath had its power from the uniform consent of the people.'

Hence may very plainly appear, in what manner the transport which Leo performed was done; and by this means that is very easily overthrown, which they say: 'that the empire was transported for heresy.' The occasion of the transport is here formerly related out of Sigibertus: 'The true cause thereof was, because the emperors of the East did neglect, or were careless of the Western empire and authority; and so, as is aforesaid, did let it pass.' This we can confirm and approve with very firm testimony. Lupoldus saith, in his fourth book of the Rights of the Authority of the Empire, in this manner: 'The Grecian emperor, in the time of Carolus Magnus, nay, before his time also, (*viz.* when his father Pepin, and his grandfather Carolus Mertellus lived) governed only with the name of the Western Empire; so that neither the Romish church, nor the other Christian congregations, nor those of the Longobards (who were, contrary to all law, suppressed), could either by the Eastern emperor, nor by their authority, obtain any right in the Western empire: so that the aforesaid emperor made no account nor reckoning of the Western empire, but held it loosely as a derelict, only commanding therewith the name, as appeareth in divers chronicles.' Of the same opinion is Johannes Parisiensis, in his sixteenth chapter, writing of the kingly and papal power: 'It was not done by the pope only, but that it was the people's desire, who may subject them-

‘ selves to whom they will, without prejudice to any other; and therefore that was done
 ‘ for a necessary reason, for to defend them against the heathens and infidels, because
 ‘ they could not be defended by any other; which rightly they might do, for the people
 ‘ make the king, and the army the emperor.’ Æneas Sylvius, in his book of the Rising
 and Authority of the Roman Empire, saith, in the ninth chapter: ‘ At the last, when the
 ‘ Grecians were careless of Rome, and leaving the same to be made a prey, and to be
 ‘ ransacked one while by the Barbarians, and also by others; the people of Rome, who
 ‘ with their blood had got such great riches, who by their valour had erected the monar-
 ‘ chy of the world, saluted, by the name of Emperor, Carolus Magnus, then king of the
 ‘ Franks, being a German born, who delivered the city and the holy place from the inva-
 ‘ sion of enemies; first greeting him with this title, *Patricius*, and afterwards *Augustus*,
 ‘ the pope’s good-will and pleasure hereunto concurring.’ Also, saith Nauclerus, in his
 twenty-seventh *Generat.*: ‘ In the year 800, upon the day of the birth of our Lord,
 ‘ good deliberation preceding, Leo the pope of Rome, considering that the Constantino-
 ‘ politan emperors did very carelessly defend that name, and held the Western empire
 ‘ as lost, declared, with the consent of the people of Rome, Charles emperor of the Ro-
 ‘ mans, and crowned him with the crown; when the commonalty of the Romans three
 ‘ times cried out aloud, *Carolo Augusto*, &c.’ Paulus Æmilius, in his History of the
 Franks, saith thus: ‘ The majesty of the emperors was now at this time, and before,
 ‘ very slight.’ And thereafter he saith: ‘ The principallest of the Romans, being of
 ‘ another courage and audacity, gave their voices, that the seat of the empire, being, as
 ‘ it were, void, and possessed of none, (as if it had been God’s will, and had been so
 ‘ ordained,) should be invested with the king of the Franks; because that he, by his ser-
 ‘ vice which he had done for the church, had well deserved the same; and that they
 ‘ were obliged and bound to him,’ &c.

Michael Coccimus speaks yet more plainly concerning the transport of the empire, say-
 ing: ‘ When the Romans, and almost all the people of Italy, by process of time,
 ‘ and the invasion of many nations, and pillagings, as being subject to the Goths,
 ‘ Vice-Goths, Hunns, and Longobards, and being not able with their own forces
 ‘ to defend themselves, and the Grecians taking no care at all of them, for the
 ‘ performance thereof; nay (that which is more) they themselves heaping evil upon
 ‘ evil, and using all diligence to suppress and spoil them; using too great avaricious-
 ‘ ness and desire of authority over them; they marking the excessive covetousness
 ‘ of the Grecians, and also their carelessness; observing also the worthiness, capacity,
 ‘ and equity of the Germans; they transported the empire from the Grecians unto the
 ‘ Germans, and recommended the same to Carolus Magnus. This transport of the em-
 ‘ pire, being effected by the Romans and other people of Italy, and that with the com-
 ‘ mon consent and authority of them all, without all doubt, had full power, and hath re-
 ‘ mained firm.’ Hence appeareth plain enough, that they are either fools, or else are
 much deceived, which think, that the empire was transported to the Franks for heresy.

This also is worthy consideration; that although the Eastern empire was transported
 by pope Leo to the Western, the pope hath now the same right to remove the empire,
 according to his will. In old time it was otherwise than it is now. Let us grant, that
 the pope of Rome had some right, as the best qualified citizen of the city; nay, that the
 city (which never yet was done,) had transported all her power unto him: what doth
 that concern these our present times, since that the pope hath driven the emperor out of
 the dominion of the city? After what manner (say I) hereafter, shall either Rome itself,
 or the pope of Rome, pretend any right in the electing of an emperor; since they do not
 acknowledge the emperor for their lord? Yea, since it is acknowledged, that the princes-
 electors are to be ordained by the consent and voices of the states, and this is by the ap-
 probation of Gregory the Fifth; hath not the pope lost his right, when he consented here-
 unto? So that hereby that authority, which the pope ascribeth to himself, is quite over-
 thrown. What a number of proofs might be produced against this power of the pope!
 Yea, the testimony of principal personages, who, by reason of their learning, are ex-
 ceeding famous.

Here followeth the third part, which falleth very grievously, both with tooth and nail, upon the bodies of all those that dislike the sentence of the pope; and that consisteth in the three last articles.

And, first, that is touched, which concerneth the election; that is, the right of voice is taken from the prince-elect, the duke of Saxony, under this pretext; because, forsooth, the pope of Rome hath not confirmed that dignity, wherewith that family, for these many years, hath been invested: nor is it confirmed by the pope; as if that illustrious family had not been so wise, as never to have required the same of the pope. It is but too well known unto them, that they, whom the pope glorieth to have honoured with the name of empire or authority, he taketh away from them the majesty of authority: so that his investing may well be called a disrobing, and his crowning a dethroning or deposing. For, I pray you, of what consequence is the confirmation of the pope unto those, whom he drives into a bodily fear; if he had no temporal power? It is such, as Origen long ago understood it to be, which he taught, as appeareth by his writings upon Matthew, in his twelfth homily: ‘ Among you, which are mine, these things shall not be: to the end that those, which have any power in the church, do not seem to domineer over their brethren, nor to use any authority. For, like as a necessity is imposed upon temporal matters, and not left to the will; and spiritual matters in will, and not in necessity; so shall the domination of spiritual princes be confirmed in love, and not in bodily fear.’ If, therefore, the power of the princes-electors be from the pope, because that the imperial power is from him, as our adversaries affirm; how can they prove, that the dignity of the prince-elect must proceed from the pope, if it be not needful that the emperor be confirmed by the pope? There is a text that saith, ‘ The army maketh an emperor.’ The gloss saith thereby, ‘ He is a right emperor, before he be confirmed by the pope.’ This they of Basil understood very well, who, after the death of Lodowick, where the lord of Bambergher was chief president, made this answer: ‘ That emperor, which the princes-electors shall ordain for us, him will we accept of, although he have no respect unto the pope.’ This appeareth in *Supplemento Urspergensis*. Nay, that which is more, the pope himself confesseth, ‘ that not the empire itself, but the imperial title rested only in him.’ Pope Adrian the Fourth, in his Epistle to the Archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, saith: ‘ The name of the emperor is from the pope, but the empire and authority cometh from the princes-electors.’ Hence, then, is confuted that, which is said in the twenty-seventh article; since that the pope hath confirmed the duke of Bavaria in the dignity of prince-elect, that then not only the king of Spain (who is there mentioned), but also the emperor is bereaved of the power to restore again unto the Palsgrave his hereditary possessions, and the dignity of the prince-electorship. For, if the pope hath no power in the affairs of the empire, then shall the emperor, by his doings, not lose his right; much less any other prince, if he, before the pope’s deed, had any right of suffrage.

I am forced to stop my ears, by reason of that extremely proud and ambitious affront, which is set down in the twenty-eighth article: that although the most puissant kings of Great-Britain and Denmark, or the two illustrious princes-electors of Saxon and Bambergher should require of the emperor that the Palsgrave of the Rhine might be restored again unto his hereditary possessions and dignity of prince-elect; that they then robbed the state of Rome of the right of its majesty, and did attribute the power of the princes-electors’ dignity unto the emperor. The pope of Rome doth very falsely attribute that majesty unto himself, which appertaineth to the emperor, and to the princes of the empire and the states. Very falsely is the pope of Rome called, here, the fountain and source of the princes-electors’ dignities; because that power is sprung out of the council of the German princes. Like as Nauclerus saith, *Generat.* 34: The writer Theodoricus Niemus uses these words: ‘ The princes of Germany have ordained it so.’ The very same also do other writers affirm. Neither do I deny that it was with the approbation of pope Gregory the Fifth. Therefore the temporal dignity is not chiefly from the pope; for not the pope, but the princes of the empire do represent the whole body and people of the empire, in whom immediately, as in the subject, the temporal power consisteth.

Nicholas Cusanus, in his third book of the Catholick Concordance, in the fourth chapter, who in my judgment judgeth very well thereof, writing in this manner, saith, 'The princes-electors, who elected in the place of others, were (in the time of pope Gregory the Fifth, being a German,) ordained of the natural kindred of Otho: and therefore it is not tolerable that the princes-electors should have their power of electing from the pope of Rome; (so that now, unless he consented, these should not have it; or, if he pleased, that he would take it from them.) I ask, Who hath given the people of Rome power to elect an emperor, but the law of God and nature? For by way of a voluntary subjection, and consent in precedency, all sorts of governments are well and holy instituted. And afterwards there he setteth down yet something else: The princes-electors that were constituted by the general uniformity of voices, of all Germans and others belonging to the empire, in the time of Henry the Second, had their fundamental power from the general consent of voices of all, who by the law of nature might choose themselves an emperor, not from the pope of Rome himself, in whose power it is not to give to every province a king or an emperor when it pleaseth him, and when it doth not please him.'

Lastly, the Articles were sealed up with this oath: 'That the pope himself, without prejudice to his seat, may not revoke the electorship from the duke of Bavaria, since that he hath confirmed him in that dignity: nay, that all the prelates of the Romish church are bound with force of arms to maintain the duke of Bavaria.' And yet more, 'that all those that are of the Romish church, are bound to bring all their force together to maintain the same.' So that the Romish clergy (disdaining the prerogative of kings and princes) do very boldly determine and decide those controversies, which arise in the empire; and threaten to force them by war, who are not content with the pope's sentence. How ill-savourily those things do suit and agree with the pope and clergy of Rome, is shewed unto us in that famous place of Peter Damianus, who lived in the year 1060; his words in his letter unto the bishop of Firminus are these:

'Like as the Son of God himself did overcome all obstacles of this raging world, not by any proof of vengeance, but by constant patience and invincible majesty: so fitteth it best that we rather suffer, and patiently endure the world's raging, with humility; than either by taking arms in hand, or requiring wounds with wounds. Especially since, that, between the empire and the priesthood, the offices are several; the king shall use the temporal arms, the priest shall put on a spiritual sword, which is the word of God. Paul saith of the princes of this world, that "he beareth not the sword in vain; being a minister of God, and his revenger in wrath, upon him that doeth evil." King Azarias, because he took upon him the priest's office, was stricken with leprosy: so that priest, which shall take up arms, (which is the work of the laity;) what deserveth he? If now any man would object, that pope Leo oftentimes thrust himself into wars, and yet for all that was a just pope: I tell you my opinion. Peter never obtained the apostleship, because he forsook his Master; nor David the gift of prophesying, because he defiled another man's bed. Here is not to be considered of good and evil things according to the desert of the possessors; but they are to be judged according to their own qualities. Do we read any where that pope Gregory, who endured so many robberies and pillages of the Longobards, either did or wrote the like? Do we read any where, that any of the holy and worthy popes did ever take up arms to make a war? No, never in no place: grant, then, that the laws of the civil magistrate may narrowly sift, pry, and determine any certain question, which arises in the church; or else determine and judge of that, which concerns not the judgment-seat of the civil magistrate, by an edict of the council, or an assembly of divines: to the end, that either by the judgment of the magistrate, or the jurisdiction of the pope, there arise no war, which might be accounted to our shame.'

The clergymen of Rome are altogether of another opinion, practising and endeavouring almost nothing else but war, not only with their arms, but also threatening others; and, whilst they are doing [this, they are not ashamed to affirm, that they are bound thereunto by the laws of God. Let them observe what Christ commanded the apostle Peter, to 'put up the sword into the sheath.' Where hath ever God commanded the

clergy, that they should intermeddle in matters of temporal dignities, or should undertake wars, much less that they should blow the trumpet, or beat alarms, as they do now? (Have I the desire of dominion, their god?) Observe diligently, I pray you, that bloody oath intended by all the prelates, to the end the fashion of the antient and holy church might be maintained entire: like as if the fashion of their church now were, as it was wont to be in former times: let us read that which Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, and other writers, who subject the clergy under the power of the temporal: pope Gregorius Magnus writeth himself unto the emperor Mauritius these words: 'I, the unworthy servant of your piety.' And a little after, he saith yet farther, 'To this end authority is given to me from Heaven above all men, that belong to my lord the emperor, for piety-cause.' Whenas the said Mauritius would have that pope Gregory should publish a law, which he had made: and this pope adjudging the same to be unreasonable, and opposing the liberty of the church: he therefore did not blaspheme against the empire, but was obedient unto the command of the emperor his master; not dissembling to speak his mind and opinion of the emperor's laws. These are the pope's own words: 'I, being subject to authority, have sent these laws into several quarters of the world; and, because they are not agreeable to Almighty God, I have communicated the same unto the illustrious lords, by a missive of my own opinion; so that I have fully discharged my duty on both sides: shewing, as I am bound, obedience to the emperor; and not concealing my opinion in that which concerneth God.'

Here ought we to observe, how cunningly and craftily the college of cardinals observe and aim at the example of the antient holy church, chiefly in the time of pope Gregory the Seventh; under which this lurketh, that this pope Gregory was the very first, who durst ascribe, and take upon himself, the right of the empire. At what time, I pray you, lived this pope? About the year 1100, is the antiquity whereof they boast. I may affirm, with Tertullian, that this is novelty. What holiness was there in those days, when all manner of factions, cozenings, frauds, deceits, and villainies, had their full swing? And to write much thereof would be too dangerous, and be no honour to Christendom: like as the writer of those times affirmeth, in the days of the emperor Henry the Fourth. It is very well known unto all men, what cardinal Benno hath written and translated of the pope; although cardinal Bellarmine judged that the same was written by a Lutheran. In like manner, it is also but too well known by other writers, who have painted out in lively colours this pope Gregory even to the life. A certain man, named Orthamus Gratosus, very much addicted to the Romish church, was the first publisher thereof in a book, wherein are contained very many remarkable observations. Out of the actions of this pope Gregory, the college of cardinals, in the nineteen articles, do conclude the pope's authority; and not out of these actions only, but also of other popes, who have dealt most tyrannically with the empire. One could also hit the cardinals in the teeth, with that which cardinal Bellarmine, in his second book of the Popes of Rome, saith, in the twenty-ninth chapter, upon the fourth argument, *viz.* 'That the Christian emperors have oftentimes been judges of the popes:' whereto, very subtly he inferred, or answered, 'That these things have been done; but how well they have done the same, and by what right, that they themselves shall answer.'

It is indeed much to be wondered at, that the clergymen are grown to that pass, that they so stoutly attempt that, which all the world hath in abomination; and, with such polluted hands, to lay hold upon the most famous state of the empire. We observe also, how shameless the college of cardinals are; willing that we, from the evil lives and wicked actions of deceased popes, should conclude how great the authority of the pope is; at least, they need not be so contumelious and arrogant against those emperors, which, in former times, the popes have acknowledged to be themselves servants of the emperors; the pope also ought to have in consideration, that he, by means of the empire, hath obtained so great riches; and now, by the greatness of his power, and all manner of sensualities, blindeth the eyes of many temporal princes.

How blind are the men of this age, when the sun shineth so bright? How little do they

know or think, what will fall out in the end? He hath got so great treasures from those of the empire, to the end that, he wanting nothing, might give the better lustre unto his religion: now abuseth he these gifts, by driving the empire into a great fear. He is enriched with earthly countries, to the end he should enrich us with the heavenly, and now they serve him to take away our earthly; he is enriched, to the end, that, by his religious care, he might live in great security in the empire: now he careth not for that, although there be trouble raised in the empire, so he may live bravely and lasciviously. This is the reward of perverted liberality: so that for many ages it has been very truly said, 'Religion brought forth riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother.'

You props and pillars of the empire, (most illustrious emperors, princes-electors, and states,) tolerate no longer this triumph, and pride of the Romish clergy. You see how boldly they violate the laws of the empire: they limit your established law, and prefer unto you that, which they do but think and invent; leaving unto you the bare name of the empire, but have drawn the majesty thereof long ago to themselves. What will this work in the end; if you be content any longer, with patience, to behold or look upon the same? Never think that they will omit to increase theirs, and decrease yours. You have heard how they threaten you, and what they intend, as enemies, to prosecute; and you know, that the abominable deeds, which the popes have performed against the emperors, do serve them now for very fair examples.

Since then it is not yet too late, take counsel providently; that the Romish cardinals, in the end, may be glad to leave their affronts, and their proud courage may quail. Undertake firm and substantial courses, that their dissolute and insolent desire of dominion may be restrained and bridled; then shall the majesty of the empire be preserved: whereunto Almighty God give you his blessing in all your consultations! from whom you have received the possession and government of the empire.

*A Vision, concerning his late pretended Highness, Cromwell the Wicked: Containing a Discourse in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the Confutation thereof, by the Author, Abraham Cowley.*¹

— *Sua cuique Deus fit dira libido.* Virgil.

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[Twelves; containing ninety pages.]

Advertisement

THIS Discourse was written in the time of the late Protector, Richard the Little; and was but the first book of three, that were designed by the author. The second, was to be a Discourse with the Guardian-angel of England, concerning all the late Confusions

¹ [This, says Bishop Hurd, is one of the best of Cowley's prose-works. The subject, which he had much at heart, raised his genius. There is something very noble, and almost poetical, in the plan of this Vision; and a warm vein of eloquence runs quite through it. Hurd's Cowley.]

and Misfortunes of it. The third, to denounce heavy Judgments against the three Kingdoms, and several places and parties in them; unless they prevented them speedily by serious repentance, and that greatest and hardest work of it, restitution. There was to be upon this subject the burthen of England, the burthen of Scotland, the burthen of Ireland, the burthen of London, the burthen of the Army, the burthen of the Divines, the burthen of the Lawyers, and many others; after the manner of prophetic threatenings in the Old Testament. But, by the extraordinary mercy of God, (for which we had no pretence of merit, nor the least glimpse of hope,) in the sudden restoration of reason, and right, and happiness to us; it became not only unnecessary, but unseasonable and impertinent to prosecute the work. However, it seemed not so to the author to publish this first part; because, though no man can justify or approve the actions of Cromwell, without having all the seeds and principles of wickedness in his heart; yet many there are, even honest and well-meaning people, who (without wading into any depth of consideration in the matter, and purely deceived by splendid words, and the outward appearances of vanity) are apt to admire him as a great and eminent person; which is a fallacy, that extraordinary, and, especially, successful villainies impose upon the world. It is the corruption and depravation of human nature, that is the root of this opinion, though it lie sometimes so deep under ground, that we ourselves are not able to perceive it: and when we account any man great, or brave, or wise, or of good parts, who advances himself and his family, by any other ways but those of virtue; we are certainly biassed to that judgment by a secret impulse, or, at least, inclination of the viciousness of our own spirit. It is so necessary for the good and peace of mankind, that this error (which grows almost every where, and is spontaneously generated by the rankness of the soil) should be weeded out, and for ever extirpated, that the author was content not to suppress this discourse; because it may contribute somewhat to that end, though it be but a small piece of that which was his original design.

IT was the funeral day of the late man who made himself to be called ‘Protector;’ and though I bore but little affection, either to the memory of him, or to the trouble and folly of all public pageantry; yet I was forced, by the importunity of my company, to go along with them, and be a spectator of that solemnity, the expectation of which had been so great, that it was said to have brought some very curious persons, (and no doubt singular virtuosos,) as far as from the Mount² in Cornwall, and from the Orcades. I found there had been much more cost bestowed, than either the dead man, or indeed death itself could deserve.³ There was a mighty train of black assistants; among which, too, divers princes in the persons of their ambassadors, being infinitely afflicted for the loss of their brother, were pleased to attend: the hearse was magnificent, the idol crowned, and (not to mention all other ceremonies which are practised at royal interments, and therefore by no means could be omitted here) the vast multitude of spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the spectacle itself. But yet, I know not how, the whole was so managed, that, methought, it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; much noise, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory: briefly, a great show, and yet, after all this, but an ill sight. At last, (for it seemed long to me, and, like his short reign too, very tedious,) the whole scene passed by; and I retired back to my chamber, weary; and, I think, more melancholy than any of the mourners: where I began to reflect upon the whole life of this prodigious man; and sometimes I was filled with horror and detestation of his actions, and sometimes I inclined a little to reverence and admiration of his courage, conduct, and success; till, by these

² [St. Michael's.]

³ [The ceremonial which had been used at the death of Philip II. king of Spain, was chosen as a model for the funeral of the deceased Protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. The charges of it are said to have amounted to sixty-thousand pounds.]

different motions and agitations of mind, rocked as it were asleep, I fell at last into this vision: or, if you please to call it but a dream, I shall not take it ill; because the father of poets tells us, even dreams, too, are from God.

But sure it was no dream: for I was suddenly transported afar off, (whether in the body, or out of the body, like St. Paul, I know not,) and found myself upon the top of that famous hill in the island Mona, which has the prospect of three great, and not-long-since, most happy kingdoms. As soon as ever I looked upon them, 'the not-long-since' struck upon my memory, and called forth the sad representation of all the sins, and all the miseries that had overwhelmed them these twenty years. And I wept bitterly for two or three hours; and, when my present stock of moisture was all wasted, I fell a-sighing for an hour more: and as soon as I recovered, from my passion, the use of speech and reason, I broke forth, as I remember, (looking upon England,) into this complaint:

I.

Ah! happy Isle! how art thou chang'd, and curs'd,
 Since I was born, and knew thee first!
 When Peace, which had forsook the world around,
 (Frighted with noise, and the shrill trumpet's sound,)

 Thee, for a private place of rest,
 And a secure retirement, chose
 Wherein to build her Halcyon-nest;
 No wind durst stir abroad, the air to discompose.

II.

When all the riches of the globe beside
 Flow'd into thee, with every tide;
 When all that nature did thy soil deny,
 The growth was of thy fruitful industry;
 When all the proud and dreadful sea,
 And all his tributary streams,
 A constant tribute paid to thee;
 When all the liquid world was one extended Thames:

III.

When Plenty in each village did appear,
 And Bounty was its steward there;
 When gold walk'd free about in open view,
 Ere it one conquering party's prisoner grew;
 When the Religion of our state
 Had face and substance with her voice,—
 Ere she by' her foolish loves of late,
 Like Echo (once a nymph) turn'd only into noise:

IV.

When men to men respect and friendship bore,
 And God, with reverence, did adore;
 When upon earth no kingdom could have shown
 A happier Monarch to us than our own;
 And yet his subjects by him were
 (Which is a truth will hardly be
 Receiv'd by any vulgar ear,
 A secret known to few) made happier ev'n than he.

V.

Thou dost a chaos, and confusion, now,
 A Babel, and a Bedlam, grow;

And, like a frantick person, thou dost tear
The ornaments and clothes which thou should'st wear,—
And cut thy limbs;—and, if we see
(Just as thy barbarous Britons did)
Thy body with hypocrisy
Painted all o'er, thou think'st thy naked shame is hid.

VI.

The nations, which envied thee erewhile,
Now laugh (too little 'tis to smile);
They laugh, and would have pitied thee, alas!
But that thy faults all pity do surpass.
Art thou the country which didst hate,
And mock the French inconstancy?
And have we, have we seen of late
Less change of habits there, than governments in thee?

VII.

Unhappy Isle! no ship of thine at sea
Was ever toss'd and torn like thee;—
Thy naked hulk loose on the waves does beat,
The rocks and banks, around her, ruin threat;
What did thy foolish pilots ail,
To lay the compass quite aside?
Without a law or rule to sail,
And rather take the winds, than Heaven to be their guide!

VIII.

Yet, mighty God! yet, yet, we humbly crave,
This floating Isle from shipwreck save;
And though, to wash that blood which does it stain,
It well deserves to sink into the main;
Yet, for the Royal Martyr's prayer,
(The Royal Martyr prays, we know,)
This guilty, perishing, vessel spare;
Hear but his soul, above; and not his blood, below!

I think I should have gone on, but that I was interrupted by a strange and terrible apparition; for there appeared to me (arising out of the earth⁴, as I conceived) the figure of a man taller than a giant, or indeed than the shadow of any giant in the evening. His body was naked; but that nakedness adorned, or rather deformed, all over with several figures, after the manner of the Britons, painted upon it: and I perceived that most of them were the representations of the late battles in our civil wars, and, if I be not much mistaken, it was the battle of Naseby⁵ that was drawn upon his breast. His eyes were like burning brass, and there were three crowns of the same metal (as I guessed), and that looked as red-hot too, upon his head⁶. He held in his right-hand a sword that was yet bloody, and nevertheless the motto of it was, *Pax queritur bello*; and in his left-hand a thick book, upon the back of which was written in letters of gold, 'Acts, ordinances, protestations, covenants, engagements, declarations, remonstrances,' &c. Though this sudden, unusual, and dreadful object, might have quelled a greater courage than mine;

⁴ [*i. e.* from a low and plebeian original. Hurd.]

⁵ [Of the battle of Naseby, in which, says lord Clarendon, the king and the kingdom were lost; an authentic account may be gathered from the official letters communicated by Horace Walpole, earl of Orford, to Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell.]

⁶ [The idea of this gigantic figure seems taken from the frontispiece to Hobbes' Leviathan. Hurd.]

yet so it pleased God, (for there is nothing bolder than a man in a vision,) that I was not at all daunted, but asked him resolutely and briefly, "What art thou?" And he said, "I am called The North-west Principality, His Highness, the Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions belonging thereunto; for I am that angel to whom the Almighty has committed the government of those three kingdoms, which thou seest from this place." And I answered and said, "If it be so, sir; it seems to me, that for almost these twenty years past, your Highness has been absent from your charge: for not only if any angel, but if any wise and honest men had, since that time, been our governor, we should not have wandered thus long in these laborious and endless labyrinths of confusion; but either not have entered at all into them, or at least have returned back, before we had absolutely lost our way: but, instead of your Highness, we have had since such a Protector as was his predecessor Richard the Third, to the king his nephew; for he presently slew the commonwealth, which he pretended to protect, and set up himself in the place of it: a little less guilty indeed in one respect, because the other slew the innocent, and this man did but murder a murderer⁷. Such a Protector we have had, as we would have been glad to have changed for an enemy, and rather received a constant Turk, than this every-month's apostate; such a Protector as man is to his flocks, which he sheers, and sells, or devours himself; and I would fain know, what the wolf, which he protects him from, could do more. Such a Protector——" and, as I was proceeding, methought his Highness began to put on a displeased and threatening countenance, (as men use to do when their dearest friends happen to be traduced in their company,) which gave me the first rise of jealousy against him; for I did not believe that Cromwell, amongst all his foreign correspondences, had ever held any with angels. However, I was not hardened enough yet to venture a quarrel with him then: and therefore, as I had spoken to the Protector himself in Whitehall, I desired him that his Highness would please to pardon me, if I had unwittingly spoken any thing to the disparagement of a person, whose relations to his Highness I had not the honour to know." At which he told me, "that he had no other concernment for his late Highness, than as he took him to be the greatest man that ever was of the English nation, if not (said he) of the whole world; which gives me a just title to the defence of his reputation, since I now account myself, as it were, a naturalized English angel, by having had so long the management of the affairs of that country. And pray, countryman, (said he, very kindly and very flatteringly,) for I would not have you fall into the general error of the world, that detests and decries so extraordinary a virtue; what can be more extraordinary than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body (which have sometimes), or of mind (which have often raised men to the highest dignities), should have the courage to attempt, and the happiness to succeed in so improbable a design, as the destruction of one of the most ancient, and, in all appearance, most solidly founded monarchies upon earth? That he should have the power or boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death: to banish that numerous and strongly allied family: to do all this under the name and wages of a parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleased, and spurn them out of doors when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard-of monster out of their ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England; to oppress all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice; to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriously at last; to over-run each corner of the three nations, and overcome with equal facility both the riches of the South, and the poverty of the North; to be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth; to call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth; to be humbly and daily petitioned to, that he would please to be hired, at the rate of two millions a year, to be the master of those who had hired him before to be their servant; to have the estates and lives of three

⁷ [Meaning the Commonwealth. Hurd.]

kingdoms as much at his disposal, as was the little inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and, lastly, (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory,) to bequeath all this with one word to his posterity; to die with peace at home, and triumph abroad; to be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguished, but with the whole world; which, as it is now too little for his praises, so might have been too for his conquests, if the short line of his human life could have been stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?"⁸

By this speech I began to understand perfectly well what kind of angel his pretended Highness was; and having fortified myself privately with a short mental prayer, and with the sign of the cross, (not out of any superstition to the sign, but as a recognition of my baptism in Christ⁹;) I grew a little bolder, and replied in this manner; "I should not venture to oppose what you are pleased to say in commendation of the late great, and (I confess) extraordinary person, but that I remember Christ forbids us to give assent to any other doctrine but what himself has taught us, even though it should be delivered by an angel: and if such you be, sir, it may be you have spoken all this rather to try than to tempt my frailty. For sure I am, that we must renounce or forget all the laws of the New and Old Testament, and those which are the foundation of both, even the laws of moral and natural honesty, if we approve of the actions of that man, whom, I suppose, you commend by irony.

"There would be no end to instance in the particulars of all his wickedness; but to sum up a part of it briefly: What can be more extraordinarily wicked, than for a person, such as yourself, (qualify him rightly,) to endeavour not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his equals and betters? To pretend freedom for all men, and, under the help of that pretence, to make all men his servants? To take arms against taxes of scarce two-hundred-thousand pounds a year, and to raise them himself to above two millions? To quarrel for the loss of three or four ears, and strike off three or four hundred heads? To fight against an imaginary suspicion of I know not what two-thousand guards to be fetched for the king, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himself no less than forty-thousand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to dissolve all, even of his own calling and almost choosing? To undertake the reformation of religion, to rob it even to the very skin, and then to expose it naked to the rage of all sects and heresies? To set up councils of rapine, and courts of murder? To fight against the king under a commission for him; to take him forcibly out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him; to draw him into his net, with protestations and vows of fidelity; and when he had caught him in it, to butcher him, with as little shame, as conscience, or humanity, in the open face of the whole world? To receive a commission for king and parliament, to murder (as I said) the one; and destroy, no less impudently, the other? To fight against monarchy, when he declared for it; and declare against it, when he contrived for it in his own person? To abase perfidiously, and supplant ungratefully, his own general¹⁰ first, and afterwards most of those officers, who with the loss of their honour, and hazard of their souls, had lifted him up to the top of his unreasonable ambitions? To break his faith with all enemies, and with all friends equally; and to make no less frequent use of the most solemn perjuries, than the looser sort of people do of customary oaths? To usurp three kingdoms without any shadow of the least pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them? To set himself up as an idol (which we know,

⁸ [Mr. Hume has inserted this character of Cromwell, but 'altered (as he says) in some particulars from the original,' in his History of Great-Britain. I know not why he should think any alterations necessary. They are chiefly in the style, which surely wanted no improvement: or, if it did, posterity would be more pleased to have this curious fragment transmitted to them in the author's own words, than in the choicest phrase of the historian. Hurd.]

⁹ [In virtue of which, he was bound to fight against sin, the world, and the devil. Hurd.]

¹⁰ [Sir T. Fairfax.]

as St. Paul says, ‘in itself is nothing’,) and make the very streets of London, like the valley of Hinnon, by burning the bowels of men as a sacrifice to his Moloch-ship?¹¹ To seek to entail this usurpation upon his posterity, and with it an endless war upon the nation; and lastly, by the severest judgment of Almighty God, to die hardened, and mad, and unrepentant, with the curses of the present age, and the detestation of all to succeed.”

Though I had much more to say, (for the life of man is so short, that it allows not time enough to speak against a tyrant,) yet because I had a mind to hear how my strange adversary would behave himself upon this subject, and to give even the devil (as they say) his right, and fair play in a disputation; I stopped here, and expected, not without the frailty of a little fear, that he should have broke into a violent passion in behalf of his favourite; but he on the contrary very calmly, and with the dove-like innocency of a serpent that was not yet warmed enough to sting, thus replied unto me:

“It is not so much out of my affection to that person whom we discourse of, (whose greatness is too solid to be shaken by the breath of any oratory,) as for your own sake, honest countryman, whom I conceive to err, rather by mistake than out of malice, that I shall endeavour to reform your uncharitable and unjust opinion. And in the first place I must needs put you in mind of a sentence of the most ancient of the heathen divines, that you men are acquainted withal,

Οὐκ ὄσιον κταμένοισιν ἐπ’ ἀνδράσιν εὐχεταῖσθαι,

’Tis wicked, with insulting feet to tread
Upon the monuments of the dead.

And the intention of the reproof there, is no less proper for this subject; for it is spoken to a person who was proud and insolent against those dead men, to whom he had been humble and obedient whilst they lived.”

“Your Highness may please (said I) to add the verse that follows, as no less proper for this subject:

Whom God’s just doom and their own sins have sent
Already to their punishment.

But I take this to be the rule in the case; that when we fix any infamy upon deceased persons, it should not be done out of hatred to the dead, but out of love and charity to the living; that the curses which only remain in men’s thoughts, and dare not come forth against tyrants, (because they are tyrants,) whilst they are so, may at least be for ever settled and engraven upon their memories, to deter all others from the like wickedness; which else, in the time of their foolish prosperity, the flattery of their own hearts, and of other men’s tongues, would not suffer them to perceive. Ambition is so subtle a tempter, and the corruption of human nature so susceptible of the temptation, that a man can hardly resist it, be he never so much forewarned of the evil consequences: much less if he find not only the concurrence of the present, but the approbation too of following ages, which have the liberty to judge more freely. The mischief of tyranny is too great, even in the shortest time that it can continue; it is endless and insupportable, if the example be to reign too, and if a Lambert must be invited to follow the steps of a Cromwell, as well by the voice of honour, as by the sight of power and riches. Though it may seem to some fantastically, yet was it wisely done of the Syracusians, to implead with the forms of their ordinary justice, to condemn and destroy even the statutes of all their tyrants; if it were possible to cut them out of all history, and to extinguish their very names, I am of opinion that it ought to be done; but, since they have left behind them too deep wounds to be ever closed up without a scar, at least let us set such a mark upon their memory, that men of the same wicked inclinations may be no less affrighted with their lasting ignominy, than enticed by their momentary glories. And, that your Highness may perceive that I speak

¹¹ [He only means, that some persons suffered the customary death of traitors, under the Protector’s government. But why then this tragical outcry on I know not what ‘sacrifice to Moloch?’ Cromwell was a tyrant, no doubt; but surely not a cruel, or sanguinary tyrant. In this, and some other instances, the author’s resentment gets the better of his discretion. Hurd.]

not all this out of any private animosity against the person of the late Protector, I assure you upon my faith, that I bear no more hatred to his name, than I do to that of Marius or Sylla, who never did me or any friend of mine the least injury; and with that, transported by a holy fury, I fell into this sudden rapture:

I.

Curs'd be the man, (what do I wish? As though
The wretch already were not so;
But curs'd on, let him be,) who thinks it brave
And great his country to enslave;
Who seeks to overpoise alone
The balance of a nation:
Against the whole, but naked state,
Who in his own light scale makes up with arms the weight:

II.

Who of his nation loves to be the first,
Though at the rate of being worst;
Who would be rather a great monster, than
A well-proportion'd man:
The Son of Earth, with hundred hands,
Upon this three-pil'd mountain stands,
Till thunder strikes him from the sky;
The Son of Earth again in his earth's womb does lie.

III.

What blood, confusion, ruin! to obtain
A short and miserable reign!
In what oblique, and humble creeping wise,
Does the mischievous serpent rise!
But even his forked tongue strikes dead,
When he's rear'd up his wicked head:
He murders with his mortal frown,
A basilisk he grows, if once he get a crown.

IV.

But no guards can oppose assaulting fears,
Or undermining tears;
No more than doors, or close-drawn curtains keep
The swarming dreams out, when we sleep:
That bloody conscience, too, of his,
(For oh! a rebel Red-coat 'tis)
Does here his early hell begin;
He sees his slaves, without; his tyrant feels, within.

V.

Let, gracious God! let never more thine hand
Lift up this rod against our land!
A tyrant is a rod, and serpent, too,
And brings worse plagues than Egypt knew.
What rivers stain'd with blood have been!
What storm and hail-shot have we seen!
What sores deform'd the ulcerous state!
What darkness, to be felt, has buried us of late!

VI.

How has it snatch'd our flocks and herds away !
 And made even of our sons a prey !
 What croaking sects and vermin has it sent
 The restless nation to torment !
 What greedy troops, what armed power,
 Of flies and locusts, to devour
 The land, which every where they fill !
 Nor fly they, Lord ! away ; no, they devour it still.

VII.

Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be ;
 Come sink us rather in the sea :
 Come rather pestilence, and reap us down ;
 Come God's sword rather than our own :
 Let rather Roman come again,
 Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane ;
 In all the bonds we ever bore,
 We griev'd, we sigh'd, we wept ; we never blush'd before.

VIII.

If by our sins the Divine justice be
 Call'd to this last extremity,
 Let some denouncing Jonas first be sent,
 To try if England can repent :
 Methinks, at least some prodigy,
 Some dreadful comet from on high,
 Should terribly forewarn the earth,
 As of good princes' deaths, so of a tyrant's birth."

Here the spirit of verse beginning a little to fail, I stopped, and his Highness smiling, said : " I was glad to see you engaged in the inclosures of metre ; for if you had staid in the open plain of declaiming against the word Tyrant, I must have had patience for half a dozen hours, till you had tired yourself as well as me. But pray, countryman, to avoid this sciomachy, or imaginary combat with words, let me know, sir, what you mean by the name of Tyrant ; for I remember that, among your ancient authors, not only all kings, but even Jupiter himself (your *juvans pater*) is so termed ; and perhaps as it was used formerly in a good sense, so we shall find it upon better consideration to be still a good thing for the benefit and peace of mankind ; at least it will appear whether your interpretation of it may be justly applied to the person who is now the subject of our discourse."

" I call him (said I) a Tyrant, who either intrudes himself forcibly into the government of his fellow citizens without any legal authority over them ; or who, having a just title to the government of a people, abuses it to the destruction, or tormenting of them. So that all tyrants are at the same time usurpers, either of the whole, or at least of a part of that power which they assume to themselves ; and no less are they to be accounted rebels, since no man can usurp authority over others, but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those laws which were his superiors : and in all these senses, no history can afford us a more evident example of tyranny, or more out of all possibility of excuse, or palliation, than that of the person whom you are pleased to defend ; whether we consider his reiterated rebellions against all his superiors, or his usurpation of the supreme power to himself, or his tyranny in the exercise of it : and if lawful princes have been esteemed tyrants, by not containing themselves within the bounds of those

laws which have been left them, as the sphere of their authority by their forefathers; what shall we say of that man, who, having by right no power at all in this nation, could not content himself with that which had satisfied the most ambitious of our princes? Nay, not with those vastly extended limits of sovereignty, which he, disdainng all that had been prescribed and observed before, was pleased (but of great modesty) to set to himself; not abstaining from rebellion and usurpation, even against his own laws as well as those of the nation."

"Hold, friend, (said his Highness, pulling me by my arm,) for I see your zeal is transporting you again; whether the Protector were a tyrant in the exorbitant exercise of his power, we shall see anon; it is requisite to examine, first, Whether he was so in the usurpation of it. And I say, that not only he, but no man else ever was, or can be so; and that for these reasons. First, because all power belongs only to God, who is the source and fountain of it, as kings are of all honours in their dominions. Princes are but his viceroys in the little provinces of this world, and to some he gives their places for a few years, to some for their lives, and to others (upon ends or deserts best known to himself, or merely for his undisputable good pleasure) he bestows, as it were, leases upon them, and their posterity, for such a date of time as is prefixed in that patent of their destiny, which is not legible to you men below. Neither is it more unlawful for Oliver to succeed Charles in the kingdom of England, when God so disposes of it, than it had been for him to have succeeded the lord Strafford in the lieutenancy of Ireland, if he had been appointed to it by the king then reigning. Men are in both the cases obliged to obey him whom they see actually invested with the authority by that sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without disputing or examining the causes, either of the removal of the one, or the preferment of the other. Secondly, because all power is attained either by the election and consent of the people, and that takes away your objection of forcible intrusion; or else by a conquest of them, and that gives such a legal authority as you mention to be wanting in the usurpation of a tyrant: so that either this title is right, and then there are no usurpers, or else it is a wrong one, and then there are none else but usurpers, if you examine the original pretences of the princes of the world. Thirdly, (which, quitting the dispute in general, is a particular justification of his Highness,) the government of England was totally broken and dissolved, and extinguished by the confusions of a civil war, so that his Highness could not be accused to have possessed himself violently of the ancient building of the commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the ruins and ashes of the former; and he, who after a deplorable shipwreck, can, with extraordinary industry, gather together the dispersed and broken planks and pieces of it, and with no less wonderful art and facility, so rejoin them, as to make a new vessel, more tight and beautiful than the old one, deserves, no doubt, to have the command of her, even as his Highness had, by the desire of the seamen and passengers themselves. And, do but consider, lastly, (for I omit a multitude of weighty things that might be spoken on this noble argument,) do but consider seriously and impartially with yourself, what admirable parts of wit and prudence, what indefatigable diligence and invincible courage must of necessity have concurred in the person of that man, who, from so contemptible beginnings, as I observed before, and through so many thousand difficulties, was able, not only to make himself the greatest and most absolute monarch of this nation, but to add to it the entire conquest of Ireland and Scotland; which the whole force of the world, joined with the Roman virtue, could never attain to, and to crown all this with illustrious and heroical undertakings, and successes upon all our foreign enemies: do but (I say again) consider this, and you will confess, that his prodigious merits were a better title to imperial dignity, than the blood of an hundred royal progenitors; and will rather lament, that he lived not to overcome more nations, than envy him the conquest and dominion of these."

"Whoever you are, (said I, my indignation making me somewhat bolder,) your discourse, methinks, becomes as little the person of a tutelar angel, as Cromwell's actions did that of a Protector. It is upon these principles that all the great crimes of the world

have been committed, and most particularly those which I have had the misfortune to see in my own time, and in my own country. If these be to be allowed, we must break up human society, retire into the woods, and equally there stand upon our guards against our brethren mankind, and our rebels the wild beasts. For, if there can be no usurpation upon the rights of a whole nation, there can be none, most certainly, upon those of a private person; and if the robbers of countries be God's vicegerents, there is no doubt but the thieves, and bandittis, and murderers, are his under-officers. It is true which you say, that God is the source and fountain of all power; and it is no less true, that he is the creator of serpents as well as angels; nor does his goodness fail of its ends, even in the malice of his own creatures. What power he suffers the devil to exercise in this world, is too apparent by our daily experience, and by nothing more than the late monstrous iniquities which you dispute for, and patronize in England; but would you infer from thence, that the power of the devil is a just and lawful one, and that all men ought, as well as most men do, obey him? God is the fountain of all powers; but some flow from the right-hand (as it were) of his goodness, and others from the left-hand of his justice; and the world, like an island between these two rivers, is sometimes refreshed and nourished by the one, and sometimes over-run and ruined by the other; and, to continue a little farther the allegory, we are never overwhelmed with the latter, till either by our malice or negligence, we have stopped and dammed up the former.

“ But to come a little closer to your argument, or rather the image of an argument, your similitude; If Cromwell had come to command in Ireland in the place of the late lord Strafford, I should have yielded obedience, not for the equipage, and the strength, and the guards which he brought with him, but for the commission which he should first have shewed me from our common sovereign that sent him; and, if he could have done that from God Almighty, I would have obeyed him too in England: but that he was so far from being able to do, that, on the contrary, I read nothing but commands, and even public proclamations from God Almighty, not to admit him. Your second argument is, that he had the same right for his authority, that is the foundation of all others, even the right of conquest. Are we then so unhappy as to be conquered by the person, whom we hired at a daily rate, like a labourer, to conquer others for us? Did we furnish him with arms, only to draw and try upon our enemies (as we, it seems, falsely thought them), and keep them for ever sheathed in the bowels of his friends? Did we fight for liberty against our prince, that we might become slaves to our servant? This is such an impudent pretence, as neither he, nor any of his flatterers for him, had ever the face to mention. Though it can hardly be spoken or thought of, without passion, yet I shall, if you please, argue it more calmly than the case deserves. The right, certainly, of conquest, can only be exercised upon those, against whom the war is declared, and the victory obtained: so that no whole nation can be said to be conquered but by foreign force. In all civil wars, men are so far from stating the quarrel against their country, that they do it only against a person, or party, which they really believe, or at least pretend, to be pernicious to it; neither can there be any just cause for the destruction of a part of the body, but when it is done for the preservation and safety of the whole. It is our country that raises men in the quarrel, our country that arms, our country that pays them, our country that authorizes the undertaking, and by that distinguishes it from rapine and murder: lastly, it is our country directs and commands the army, and is, indeed, their general. So that to say in civil wars, that the prevailing party conquers their country, is to say, the country conquers itself. And if the general only of that party be the conqueror, the army, by which he is made so, is no less conquered than the army which is beaten; and have as little reason to triumph in that victory, by which they lose both their honour and liberty. So that, if Cromwell conquered any party, it was only that against which he was sent; and what that was, must appear by his commission. It was (says that) against a company of evil counsellors, and disaffected persons, who kept the king from a good intelligence and conjunction with his people. It was not then against the people. It is so far from being so, that, even of that party which was beaten, the

conquest did not belong to Cromwell, but to the parliament which employed him in their service; or rather indeed to the king and parliament, for whose service, (if there had been any faith in men's vows and protestations,) the wars were undertaken. Merciful God! did the right of this miserable conquest remain then in his Majesty; and didst thou suffer him to be destroyed with more barbarity than if he had been conquered even by savages and cannibals? Was it for king and parliament that we fought, and has it fared with them just as with the army which we fought against; the one part being slain, and the other fled? It appears therefore plainly, that Cromwell was not a conqueror, but a thief and robber of the rights of the king and parliament, and an usurper upon those of the people. I do not here deny conquest to be sometimes, though it be very rarely, a true title; but I deny this to be a true conquest. Sure I am, that the race of our princes came not in by such a one. One nation may conquer another sometimes justly; and, if it be unjustly, yet still it is a true conquest, and they are to answer for the injustice only to God Almighty, having nothing else in authority above them, and not as particular rebels to their country; which is, and ought always to be, their superior and their lord. If perhaps we find usurpation instead of conquest in the original titles of some royal families abroad, as no doubt there have been many usurpers before ours, though none in so impudent and execrable a manner; all I can say for them is, that their title was very weak, till by length of time, and the death of all juster pretenders, it became to be the true, because it was the only one.

“Your third defence of his Highness (as your Highness pleases to call him) enters in most seasonably after his pretence of conquest, for then a man may say any thing. The government was broken: who broke it? It was dissolved: who dissolved it? It was extinguished: who was it but Cromwell, who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the house, because it is better that he, than that only rats should live there. Jesus God! (said I; and at that word I perceived my pretended angel to give a start and trembled, but I took no notice of it, and went on,) this were a wicked pretension, even though the whole family were destroyed; but the heirs, blessed be God! are yet surviving, and likely to outlive all heirs of their dispossessors, besides their infamy. *Rode, caper, vitem, &c.* There will be yet wine enough left for the sacrifice of those wild beasts that have made so much spoil in the vineyard. But, did Cromwell think, like Nero, to set the city on fire, only that he might have the honour of being founder of a new and a more beautiful one? He could not have such a shadow of virtue in his wickedness; he meant only to rob more securely and more richly in the midst of the combustion: he little thought then, that he should ever have been able to make himself master of the palace, as well as plunder the goods of the commonwealth. He was glad to see the public vessel, the sovereign of the seas, in as desperate a condition as his own little canoe; and thought only, with some scattered planks of that great shipwreck, to make a better fisher-boat for himself. But, when he saw that by the drowning of the master (whom he himself treacherously knocked on the head as he was swimming for his life), by the flight and dispersion of others, and cowardly patience of the remaining company, that all was abandoned to his pleasure, with the old hulk and new mis-shapen and disagreeing pieces of his own, he made up with much ado that piratical vessel which we have seen him command; and, which how tight indeed it was, may best be judged by its perpetual leaking.

First, then, (much more wicked than those foolish daughters in the fable who cut their old father into pieces, in hope by charms and witchcraft to make him young and lusty again,) this man endeavoured to destroy the building, before he could imagine in what manner, with what materials, by what workmen, or what architect it was to be rebuilt. Secondly, If he had dreamed himself to be able to revive that body which he had killed, yet it had been but the insupportable insolence of an ignorant mountebank: and thirdly, (which concerns us nearest,) That very new thing, which he made out of the ruins of the old, is no more like the original, either for beauty, use, or duration, than an

artificial plant raised by the fire of a chymist is comparable to the true and natural one which he first burnt, that out of the ashes of it he might produce an imperfect similitude of his own making.

“ Your last argument is such, when reduced to syllogism, that the major proposition of it would make strange work in the world, if it were received for truth; to wit, that he who has the best parts in a nation, has the right of being king over it. We had enough to do here of old with the contention between two branches of the same family; what would become of us when every man in England should lay his claim to the government? And truly, if Cromwell should have commenced his plea, when he seems to have begun his ambition, there were few persons besides, that might not at the same time have put in theirs too. But his deserts, I suppose, you will date from the same term that I do his great demerits, that is, from the beginning of our late calamities; (for, as for his private faults before, I can only wish, and that with as much charity to him as to the publick, that he had continued in them till his death, rather than changed them for those of his latter days;) and therefore we must begin the consideration of his greatness from the unlucky æra of our own misfortunes, which puts me in mind of what was said less truly of Pompey the Great; *Nostrâ miserâ magnus es*. But, because the general ground of your argumentation consists in this, that all men, who are the effecters of extraordinary mutations in the world, must needs have extraordinary forces of nature by which they are enabled to turn about, as they please, so great a wheel; I shall speak first a few words upon this universal proposition, which seems so reasonable, and is so popular, before I descend to the particular examination of the eminencies of that person which is in question.

“ I have often observed, with all submission and resignation of spirit to the inscrutable mysteries of Eternal Providence, that, when the fulness and maturity of time is come that produces the great confusions and changes in the world, it usually pleases God to make it appear by the manner of them, that they are not the effects of human force or policy, but of the Divine justice and predestination; and though we see a man, like that which we call Jack of the clock-house, striking, as it were, the hour of that fulness of time, yet our reason must needs be convinced, that his hand is moved by some secret, and, to us who stand without, invisible direction. And the stream of the current is then so violent, that the strongest men in the world cannot draw up against it; and none are so weak, but they may sail down with it. These are the spring-tides of public affairs which we see often happen, but seek in vain to discover any certain causes:

————— *Omnia fluminis*
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos,
Stirpésque raptas, & pecus & domos
Volventis unâ, non sine montium
Clamore, vicinæque sylvæ;
Cùm fera diluvies quietos
Irritat amnes, —————

HOR. *Carm.* iii. 29.

And one man then, by maliciously opening all the sluices that he can come at, can never be the sole author of all this, though he may be as guilty as if really he were, by intending and imagining to be so; but it is God that breaks up the flood-gates of so general a deluge, and all the art then and industry of mankind is not sufficient to raise up dikes and ramparts against it. In such a time it was as this, that not all the wisdom and power of the Roman senate, nor the wit and eloquence of Cicero, nor the courage and virtue of Brutus, was able to defend their country or themselves against the unexperienced rashness of a beardless boy, and the loose rage of a voluptuous madman¹². The valour and pru-

¹² [Octavius and Antony.]

dent counsels on the one side are made fruitless, and the errors and cowardice on the other harmless, by unexpected accidents. The one general saves his life, and gains the whole world, by a very dream; and the other loses both at once by a little mistake of the shortness of his sight¹³. And though this be not always so, for we see that, in the translation of the great monarchies from one to another, it pleased God to make choice of the most eminent men in nature, as Cyrus, Alexander, Scipio, and his contemporaries, for his chief instruments and actors in so admirable a work, (the end of this being not only to destroy or punish one nation, which may be done by the worst of mankind, but to exalt and bless another, which is only to be effected by great and virtuous persons); yet, when God only intends the temporary chastisement of a people, he does not raise up his servant Cyrus (as he himself is pleased to call him), or an Alexander (who had as many virtues to do good, as vices to do harm); but he makes the Massanellos, and the Johns of Leyden, the instruments of his vengeance; that the power of the Almighty might be more evident by the weakness of the means which he chooses to demonstrate it. He did not assemble the serpents and the monsters of Africa to correct the pride of the Egyptians, but called for his armies of locusts out of Ethiopia, and formed new ones of vermin out of the very dust; and, because you see a whole country destroyed by these, will you argue from thence that they must needs have had both the craft of foxes, and the courage of lions?

“It is easy to apply this general observation to the particular case of our troubles in England; and that they seem only to be meant for a temporary chastisement of our sins, and not for a total abolishment of the old, and introduction of a new government, appears probable to me from these considerations, as far as we may be bold to make a judgment of the will of God in future events: first, because he has suffered nothing to settle or take root in the place of that which hath been so unwisely and unjustly removed; that none of these untempered mortars can hold out against the next blast of wind, nor any stone stick to a stone, till that which these foolish builders have refused be made again the head of the corner. For, when the indisposed and long-tormented Commonwealth has wearied and spent itself almost to nothing, with the chargeable, various, and dangerous experiments of several mountebanks, it is to be supposed it will have the wit at last to send for a true physician; especially when it sees (which is the second consideration) most evidently (as it now begins to do, and will do every day more and more, and might have done perfectly long since) that no usurpation, under what name or pretext soever, can be kept up without open force; nor force without the continuance of those oppressions upon the people, which will at last tire out their patience, though it be great, even to stupidity. They cannot be so dull, when poverty and hunger begin to whet their understanding, as not to find out this no extraordinary mystery, that it is madness in a nation to pay three millions a year for the maintaining of their servitude under tyrants, when they might live free for nothing under their princes. This, I say, will not always lie hid even to the slowest capacities; and the next truth they will discover afterwards, is, that a whole people can never have the will, without having at the same time the power to redeem themselves. Thirdly, it does not look, methinks, as if God had forsaken the family of that man, from whom he has raised up five children, of as eminent virtue, and all other commendable qualities, as ever lived, perhaps, for so many together, and so young, in any other family in the whole world. Especially, if we add hereto this consideration, that by protecting and preserving some of them already through as great dangers as ever were passed with safety, either by prince or private person, he has given them already, as we may reasonably hope it to be meant, a promise and earnest of his future favours. And, lastly, (to return closely to the discourse from which I have a little digressed,) because I see nothing of those excellent parts of nature, and mixture of merit with their vices, in

¹³ [It was owing to a ‘dream’ of his physician, that Octavius ‘saved his life’ (by quitting his tent where he was sick, in a critical moment), and assisted at the battle of Philippi, which ‘gained him the whole world:’ Cassius’ death, and the ill success at Philippi, was owing to a mistake, which this general fell into, by ‘the shortness of his sight.’]

the late disturbers of our peace and happiness, that uses to be found in the persons of those who are born for the erection of new empires.

“ And, I confess, I find nothing of that kind, no not any shadow, (taking away the false light of some prosperity) in the man whom you extol for the first example of it. And certainly, all virtues being rightly divided into moral and intellectual, I know not how we can better judge of the former than by men’s actions; or of the latter, than by their writings or speeches. As for these latter (which are least in merit, or rather which are only the instruments of mischief, where the other are wanting), I think you can hardly pick out the name of a man who ever was called Great (besides him we are now speaking of), who never left the memory behind him of one wise or witty apophthegm, even amongst his domestic servants or greatest flatterers. That little in print, which remains upon a sad record for him, is such, as a satire against him would not have made him say, for fear of transgressing too much the rules of probability. I know not what you can produce for the justification of his parts in this kind, but his having been able to deceive so many particular persons, and so many whole parties; which, if you please to take notice of for the advantage of his intellectuals, I desire you to allow me the liberty to do so too, when I am to speak of his morals. The truth of the thing is this, that if craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit, assisted both and improved with hypocrisies and perjuries, I must not deny him to have been singular in both; but so gross was the manner, in which he made use of them, that, as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last: neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought he gained as much by that dissembling, as he did by his. His very actings of godliness grew at last as ridiculous as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think he represented excellently a woman, though his beard, at the same time, were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me, why they did not hiss and explode him off of the stage? I can only answer, that they durst not do so; because the actors and the door-keepers were too strong for the company. I must confess, that by these arts, how grossly soever managed, as by hypocritical praying, and silly preaching¹³, by unmanly tears and whinings, by falsehoods and perjuries, even diabolical, he had, at first, the good fortune, as men call it, (that is, the ill fortune,) to attain his ends; but it was, because his ends were so unreasonable, that no human reason could foresee them; which made them who had to do with him believe, that he was rather a well-meaning and deluded bigot, than a crafty and malicious impostor. That these arts were helped by an indefatigable industry (as you term it), I am so far from doubting, that I intended to object that diligence as the worst of his crimes. It makes me almost mad, when I hear a man commended for his diligence in wickedness. If I were his son, I should wish to God he had been a more lazy person, and that we might have found him sleeping at the hours when other men are ordinarily waking, rather than waking for those ends of his when other men were ordinarily asleep: how diligent the wicked are, the Scripture often tells us; ‘ Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood.’ Isai. lix. 7. ‘ He travels with iniquity.’ Psal. vii. 14. ‘ He deviseth mischief upon his bed.’ Psal. xxxiv. 4. ‘ They search out iniquity, they accomplish a diligent search.’ Psal. lxiv. 6. And in a multitude of other places. And would it not seem ridiculous to praise a wolf for his watchfulness, and for his indefatigable industry, in ranging all night about the country, whilst the sheep, and perhaps the shepherd, and perhaps the very dogs too, are all asleep?

The Chartreux wants the warning of a bell

To call him to the duties of his cell;

There needs no noise at all t’awaken sin,

Th’ adulterer and the thief his ’larum has within.

And if the diligence of wicked persons be so much to be blamed, as that it is only an emphasis and exaggeration of their wickedness, I see not how their courage can avoid the same censure. If the undertaking bold, and vast, and unreasonable designs, can deserve

¹³ [See Harl. Misc. Vol. IV. p. 176.]

that honourable name, I am sure, Faux, and his fellow gunpowder-friends, will have cause to pretend, though not an equal, yet at least the next place of honour; neither can I doubt, but if they too had succeeded, they would have found their applauders and admirers. It was bold unquestionably for a man, in defiance of all human and divine laws, and with so little probability of a long impunity, so publicly and so outrageously to murder his master; it was bold, with so much insolence and affront, to expel and disperse all the chief partners of his guilt, and creators of his power; it was bold to violate so openly and so scornfully all acts and constitutions of a nation, and afterwards even of his own making; it was bold to assume the authority of calling, and bolder yet of breaking so many parliaments; it was bold to trample upon the patience of his own, and provoke that of all neighbouring countries: it was bold, I say, above all boldnesses, to usurp this tyranny to himself; and impudent above all impudences, to endeavour to transmit it to his posterity. But all this boldness is so far from being a sign of manly courage (which dares not transgress the rules of any other virtue), that it is only a demonstration of brutish madness, or diabolical possession. In both which last cases, there use frequent examples to appear of such extraordinary force, as may justly seem more wonderful and astonishing than the actions of Cromwell; neither is it stranger to believe that a whole nation should not be able to govern him and a mad army, than that five or six men should not be strong enough to bind a distracted girl. There is no man ever succeeds in one wickedness, but it gives him the boldness to attempt a greater. It was boldly done of Nero to kill his mother, and all the chief nobility of the empire; it was boldly done to set the metropolis of the whole world on fire, and undauntedly play upon his harp, whilst he saw it burning. I could reckon up five-hundred boldnesses of that great person, (for why should not he too be called so?) who wanted, when he was to die, that courage which could hardly have failed any woman in the like necessity.

“It would look, I must confess, like envy or too much partiality, if I should say that personal kind of courage had been deficient in the man we speak of; I am confident it was not; and yet I may venture, I think, to affirm, that no man ever bore the honour of so many victories, at the rate of fewer wounds or dangers of his own body; and though his valour might perhaps have given him a just pretension to one of the first charges in an army, it could not certainly be a sufficient ground for a title to the command of three nations. What then shall we say; that he did all this by witchcraft? He did so indeed in a great measure, by a sin that is called like it in the Scriptures. But truly and unpassionately reflecting upon the advantages of his person, which might be thought to have produced those of his fortune, I can espy no other but extraordinary diligence and infinite dissimulation; and believe he was exalted above his nation, partly by his own faults, but chiefly for ours.

“We have brought him thus briefly, (not through all his labyrinths) to the supreme usurped authority; and because, you say, it was great pity he did not live to command more kingdoms, be pleased to let me represent to you in a few words, how well I conceive he governed these. And we will divide the consideration into that of his foreign and domestic actions. The first of his foreign was a peace with our brethren of Holland, who were the first of our neighbours that God chastised for having had so great a hand in the encouraging and abetting our troubles at home: who would not imagine, at first glimpse, that this had been the most virtuous and laudable deed that his whole life could make any parade of? But no man can look upon all the circumstances without perceiving, that it was the sale and sacrificing of the greatest advantages that this country could ever hope, and was ready to reap, from a foreign war, to the private interests of his covetousness and ambition, and the security of his new and unsettled usurpation. No sooner is that danger past, but this *Beatus Pacificus* is kindling a fire in the Northern world, and carrying a war two thousand miles off westward. Two millions a year, besides all the vails of his Protectorship, is as little capable to suffice now either his avarice or prodigality, as the two-hundred pounds were that he was born to. He must have his prey of the whole Indies, both by sea and land, this great alligator. To satisfy our anti-Solomon,

who has made silver almost as rare as gold, and gold as precious stones in his New Jerusalem, we must go, ten-thousand of his slaves, to fetch him riches from his fantastical Ophir. And, because his flatterers brag of him as the most fortunate prince, the Faustus as well as Sylla of our nation, whom God never forsook in any of his undertakings; I desire them to consider, how, since the English name was ever heard of, it never received so great and so infamous a blow, as under the imprudent conduct of this unlucky Faustus.— And herein let me admire the justice of God in this circumstance, that they who had enslaved their country, though a great army, (which, I wish, may be observed by ours with trembling,) should be so shamefully defeated by the hands of forty slaves. It was very ridiculous to see, how prettily they endeavoured to hide this ignominy under the great name of the conquest of Jamaica; as if a defeated army should have the impudence to brag afterwards of the victory, because, though they had fled out of the field of battle, yet they quartered that night in a village of the enemies. The war with Spain was a necessary consequence of this folly; and how much we have gotten by it, let the Custom-house and Exchange inform you; and if he please to boast of the taking a part of the silver fleet, (which indeed nobody else but he, who was the sole gainer, has cause to do,) at least let him give leave to the rest of the nation, which is the only loser, to complain of the loss of twelve-hundred of her ships. But because it may here perhaps be answered, that his successes nearer home have extinguished the disgrace of so remote miscarriages, and that Dunkirk ought more to be remembered for his glory, than St. Domingo for his disadvantage; I must confess, as to the honour of the English courage, that they were not wanting upon that occasion; excepting only the fault of serving at least indirectly against their master, to the upholding of the renown of their warlike ancestors. But for his particular share of it, who sat still at home, and exposed them so frankly abroad, I can only say, that, for less money than he in the short time of his reign exacted from his fellow subjects, some of our former princes (with the daily hazard of their own persons) have added to the dominion of England not only one town, but even a greater kingdom than itself. And this being all considerable as concerning his enterprises abroad, let us examine in the next place, how much we owe him for justice and good government at home.

“ And first, he found the Commonwealth (as they then called it) in a ready stock of about eight-hundred thousand pounds; he left the Commonwealth (as he had the impudent raillery still to call it) some two millions and an half in debt. He found our trade very much decayed indeed, in comparison of the golden times of our late princes: he left it as much again more decayed than he found it; and yet not only no prince in England, but no tyrant in the world, ever sought out more base or infamous means to raise money. I shall only instance in one that he put in practice, and another that he attempted, but was frightened from the execution, even he, by the infamy of it. That which he put in practice was decimation¹⁵, which was the most impudent breach of all public faith that the whole nation had given, and all private capitulations which himself had made, as the nation’s general and servant, that can be found out, I believe, in all history, from any of the most barbarous generals of the most barbarous people. Which, because it has been most excellently and most largely laid open by a whole book¹⁶ written upon that subject, I shall only desire you here to remember the thing in general, and to be pleased to look upon that author, when you would recollect all the particulars and circumstances of the iniquity. The other design of raising a present sum of money, which he violently pursued, but durst not put in execution, was by the calling in and establishment of the Jews at London; from which he was rebutted by the universal outcry of the divines, and even of the citizens too, who took it ill that a considerable number at least

¹⁵ [By decimation is here meant, not the putting to death of every tenth man (which is the usual sense of the term), but the levying of the tenth-penny on the estates of the Royalists. The word is so used by Sir J. Denham. Hurd. See Hist. of the Rebellion, folio, vol. iii. from p. 429 to 444. and Lord Clarendon’s Life, vol. i. p. 206, 8vo.]

¹⁶ [I cannot tell what book is here meant. Hurd.]

amongst themselves were not thought Jews enough by their own Herod. And for this design, they say, he invented (Oh Antichrist! Πονηρὸν and ὁ Πονηρὸς!) to sell St. Paul's to them for a synagogue, if their purses and devotions could have reached to the purchase. And this indeed, if he had done only to reward that nation which had given the first noble example of crucifying their King, it might have had some appearance of gratitude; but he did it only for love of their mammon; and would have sold afterwards for as much more St. Peter's (even at his own Westminster) to the Turks for a moschetto. Such was his extraordinary piety to God, that he desired he might be worshipped in all manners, excepting only that heathenish way of the Common-Prayer-book.

“But what do I speak of his wicked inventions for getting of money? when every penny, that for almost five years he took every day from every man living in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was as much robbery, as if it had been taken by a thief upon the highways. Was it not so? Or can any man think, that Cromwell, with the assistance of his forces and moss-troopers, had more right to the command of all men's purses, than he might have had to any one's whom he had met, and been too strong for, upon a road? And yet, when this came, in the case of Mr. Coney¹⁷, to be disputed by a legal trial, he (which was the highest act of tyranny that ever was seen in England) not only discouraged and threatened, but violently imprisoned the council of the plaintiff; that is, he shut up the law itself close prisoner, that no man might have relief from, or access to it. And it ought to be remembered, that this was done by those men, who a few years before had so bitterly decried, and openly opposed the king's regular and formal way of proceeding, in the trial of a little ship-money. But, though we lost the benefit of our old courts of justice, it cannot be denied that he set up new ones; and such they were, that as no virtuous prince before would, so no ill one durst erect. What, have we lived so many hundred years under such a form of justice as has been able regularly to punish all men that offended against it? and is it so deficient just now, that we must seek out new ways how to proceed against offenders? The reason, which can only be given in nature for a necessity of this, is, because those things are now made crimes, which were never esteemed so in former ages; and there must needs be a new court set up to punish that, which all the old ones were bound to protect and reward. But I am so far from declaiming, as you call it, against these wickednesses, (which if I should undertake to do, I should never get to the peroration,) that you see I only give a hint of some few, and pass over the rest as things that are too many to be numbered, and must only be weighed in gross. Let any man shew me, (for though I pretend not to much reading, I will defy him in all history,) let any man shew me, I say, an example of any nation in the world, though much greater than ours, where there have in the space of four years been made so many prisoners only out of the endless jealousies of one tyrant's guilty imagination. I grant you that Marius and Sylla, and the accursed triumvirate after them, put more people to death; but the reason I think partly was, because in those times that had a mixture of some honour with their madness, they thought it a more civil revenge against a Roman to take away his life, than to take away his liberty. But truly, in the point of murder too, we have little reason to think that our late tyranny has been deficient to the examples that have ever been set it in other countries. Our judges and our courts of justice have not been idle; and to omit the whole reign of our late king (till the beginning of the war), in which no drop of blood was ever drawn but from two or three ears, I think the longest time of our worst princes scarce saw many more executions than the short one of our blessed reformer. And we saw, and smelt in our open streets, (as I marked to you at first,) the broiling of human bowels, as a burnt-offering of a sweet savour to our idol; but all murdering, and all torturing, though after the subtlest invention of his predecessors of Sicily, is more human and more supportable, than his selling of Christians, Englishmen, gentlemen: his selling of them, oh monstrous! oh incredible! to be slaves in America. If his whole life could be reproached with no other action, yet this alone

¹⁷ [See an account of the trial of Mr. Coney, in Clarendon's Hist. of Reb. vol. iii. page 984. edit. 1807.]

would weigh down all the multiplicity of crimes, in any of our tyrants; and I dare only touch, without stopping or insisting upon so insolent and so execrable a cruelty, for fear of falling into so violent, though just a passion, as would make me exceed that temper and moderation which I resolve to observe in this discourse with you.

“ These are great calamities; but even these are not the most insupportable that we have endured: for so it is, that the scorn and mockery, and insultings of an enemy, are more painful than the deepest wounds of his serious fury. This man was wanton and merry, unwittily and ungracefully merry, with our sufferings; he loved to say and do senseless and fantastical things, only to shew his power of doing or saying any thing. It would ill besit mine, or any civil mouth, to repeat those words which he spoke concerning the most sacred of our English laws, the petition of right, and Magna Charta¹⁸. To-day you should see him ranting so wildly, that nobody durst come near him; the morrow flinging of cushions, and playing at snow-balls, with his servants. This month he assembles a parliament, and professes himself with humble tears to be only their servant and their minister; the next month he swears by the living God, that he will turn them out of doors; and he does so, in his princely way of threatening, bidding them turn the buckles of their girdles behind them. The representative of a whole, nay of three whole nations, was in his esteem so contemptible a meeting, that he thought the affronting and expelling of them to be a thing of so little consequence, as not to deserve that he should advise with any mortal man about it. What shall we call this? Boldness, or brutishness? rashness, or phrensy? There is no name can come up to it, and therefore we must leave it without one. Now a parliament must be chosen in the new manner, next time in the old form, but all cashiered still after the newest mode. Now he will govern by major-generals, now by one house, now by another house, now by no house; now the freak takes him, and he makes seventy peers of the land at one clap (*extempore*, and *stans pede in uno*): and, to manifest the absolute power of the potter, he chose not only the worst clay he could find, but picks up even the dirt and mire, to form out of it his ‘vessels of honour.’ It was said anciently of Fortune, that when she had a mind to be merry and to divert herself, she was wont to raise up such kind of people to the highest dignities. This son of Fortune, Cromwell, who was himself one of the primest of her jests, found out the true *haut-gout* of this pleasure, and rejoiced in the extravagance of his ways, as the fullest demonstration of his uncontrollable sovereignty. Good God! what have we seen? and what have we suffered? What do all these actions signify? what do they say aloud to the whole nation, but this, even as plainly as if it were proclaimed by heralds through the streets of London, ‘You are slaves and fools, and so I will use you?’

“ These are briefly a part of those merits which you lament to have wanted the reward of more kingdoms; and suppose that, if he had lived longer, he might have had them; which I am so far from concurring to, that I believe his seasonable dying to have been a greater good fortune to him than all the victories and prosperities of his life. For he seemed evidently, methinks, to be near the end of his deceitful glories; his own army grew at least as weary of him as the rest of the people; and I never passed of late before his palace—his do I call it? I ask God and the king pardon,—but I never passed of late before Whitehall without reading upon the gate of it, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*¹⁹. But it pleased God to take him from the ordinary courts of men, and juries of his peers, to his own high-court of justice, which being more merciful than ours below, there is a little room yet left for the hope of his friends, if he have any; though the outward unrepentance of his death afford but small materials for the work of charity; especially, if he designed even then to entail his own injustice upon his children, and by it, inextricable confusions and civil wars upon the nation. But here’s at last an end of him: and where’s now the fruit of all that blood and calamity which his ambition has cost the world? Where is it? Why, his son (you will say) has the whole crop: I doubt he will find it quickly blasted. I have nothing to say against the gentleman²⁰, or any living of his family; on

¹⁸ [In the case of Coney, before mentioned.]

¹⁹ [Vide Dan. v. 25.]

²⁰ [A remarkable testimony to the blameless character of Richard Cromwell. Hurd.]

the contrary, I wish him better fortune than to have a long and unquiet possession of his master's inheritance. Whatsoever I have spoken against his father, is that which I should have thought, though decency perhaps might have hindered me from saying it, even against mine own; if I had been so unhappy, as that mine, by the same ways, should have left me three kingdoms."

Here I stopped, and my pretended Protector, who, I expected, should have been very angry, fell a-laughing; it seems at the simplicity of my discourse, for thus he replied: "You seem to pretend extremely to the old obsolete rules of virtue and conscience, which makes me doubt very much whether from this vast prospect of three kingdoms you can shew me any acres of your own. But these are so far from making you a prince, that I am afraid your friends will never have the contentment to see you so much as a justice of peace in your own country. For this I perceive, which you call virtue, is nothing else but either the frowardness of a Cynic, or the laziness of an Epicurean. I am glad you allow me at least artful dissimulation, and unwearied diligence in my hero; and I assure you that he, whose life is constantly drawn by those two, shall never be misled out of the way of greatness. But I see you are a pedant, and Platonical statesman, a theoretical Commonwealth's-man, an Utopian dreamer. Was ever riches gotten by your golden mediocrities? or the supreme place attained to, by virtues that must not stir out of the middle? Do you study Aristotle's politicks, and write, if you please, comments upon them; and let another but practise Machiavel; and let us see then, which of you two will come to the greatest preferments. If the desire of rule and superiority be a virtue, as sure I am, it is more imprinted in human nature than any of your lethargical morals; and what is the virtue of any creature, but the exercise of those powers and inclinations which God has infused into it? If that, I say, be virtue, we ought not to esteem any thing vice, which is the most proper, if not the only means of attaining of it.

It is a truth so certain, and so clear,
That to the first-born man it did appear:
Did not the mighty heir, the noble Cain,
By the fresh laws of nature taught, disdain
That (though a brother) any one should be
A greater favourite to²¹ God than he?
He struck him down; and, "So (said he) so fell
The sheep which thou didst sacrifice so well.
Since all the fullest sheaves which I could bring,
Since all were blasted in the offering;
Lest God should my next victim, too, despise,
The acceptable priest I'll sacrifice."
Hence! coward fears! for the first blood so spilt,—
As a reward, he the first city built.
'Twas a beginning generous and high,
Fit for a grand-child of the Deity:
So well advanc'd, 'twas pity there he stay'd;
One step of glory more he should have made,
And to the utmost bounds of greatness gone;
Had Adam, too, been kill'd, he might have reign'd alone.
One brother's death what do I mean to name?
A small oblation to revenge and fame!
The mighty-soul'd Abimeleck, to shew
What for high place, a higher spi'rit can do,
A hecatomb almost of brethren slew;
And seventy times in nearest blood he dy'd
(To make it hold) his royal-purple pride.

A Vision, concerning his pretended Highness, &c.

Why do I name the lordly creature, man?
 The weak, the mild, the coward woman can,
 When to a crown she cuts her sacred way,
 All that oppose, with manlike courage slay :
 So Athaliah, when she saw her son,
 And, with his life, her dearer greatness gone,
 With a majestic fury slaughter'd all,
 Whom high birth might to high pretences call :
 Since he was dead who all her power sustain'd,
 Resolv'd to reign alone ; resolv'd, and reign'd.
 In vain her sex, in vain the laws, withstood,
 In vain the sacred plea of David's blood ;
 A noble and a bold contention she
 (One woman) undertook with Destiny ;
 She to pluck down, Destiny to uphold,
 (Oblig'd by holy oracles of old,)
 The great Jessæan race on Judah's throne,
 Till 'twas at last an equal wager grown ;
 Scarce Fate, with much ado, the better got by one. }
 Tell me not, she herself at last was slain ;
 Did she not first seven years (a life-time) reign ?
 Seven royal years, t' a publick spi'rit, will seem
 More than the private life of a Methusalem.
 'Tis godlike to be great ; and as, they say,
 A thousand years to God, are but a day :
 So to a man, when once a crown he wears,
 The coronation-day's more than a thousand years."—

He would have gone on, I perceived, in his blasphemies, but that, by God's grace, I became so bold as thus to interrupt him : " I understand now perfectly, (which I guessed at long before,) what kind of Angel and Protector you are ; and, though your style in verse be very much mended, since you were wont to deliver oracles, your doctrine is much worse, than ever you had formerly (that I heard of) the face to publish : whether your long practice with mankind has increased and improved your malice, or whether you think us in this age to be grown so impudently wicked, that there needs no more art or disguises to draw us to your party."

" My dominion (said he hastily, and with a dreadful furious look) is so great in this world, and I am so powerful a monarch of it, that I need not be ashamed that you should know me ; and that you may see I know you too, I know you to be an obstinate and inveterate Malignant, and for that reason I shall take you along with me to the next garrison of ours ; from whence you shall go to the Tower, and from thence to the court of justice, and from thence you know whither." I was almost in the very pounces of the great bird of prey ;

When, lo ! ere the last words were fully spoke,
 From a fair cloud, which rather op'd, than broke,
 A flash of light, rather than lightning, came,
 So swift, and yet so gentle was the flame :
 Upon it rode, (and, in his full career,
 Seem'd to my eyes, no sooner there than here,)
 The comeliest youth of all th' angelic race ;
 Lovely his shape, ineffable his face ;
 The frowns, with which he struck the trembling fiend,
 All smiles of human beauty did transcend.
 His beams of locks fell part dishevel'd down,
 Part upwards curl'd, and form'd a natu'ral crown,

Such as the British monarchs us'd to wear,
If gold might be compar'd with angels' hair;
His coat and flowing mantle were so bright,
They seem'd both made of woven silver light;
Across his breast an azure riband went,
At which a medal hung, that did present,
In wond'rous living figures, to the sight
The mystic champion's, and old dragon's fight,
And, from his mantle's side, there shone afar
A fix'd, and I believe, a real star.
In his fair hand (what need was there of more?)
No arms, but th' English bloody cross he bore;
Which when he tow'rd's th' affrighted tyrant bent,
And some few words pronounc'd, (but what they meant,
Or were, could not, alas! by me be known;
Only, I well perceiv'd, 'JESUS' was one,)
He trembled, and he roar'd, and fled away,
Mad to quit thus his more than hop'd-for prey.

Such rage inflames the wolf's wild heart and eyes,
(Robb'd, as he thinks, unjustly of his prize,)
Whom unawares the shepherd spies, and draws
The bleating lamb from out his ravenous jaws;
The shepherd, fain, himself would he assail,
But fear above his hunger does prevail;
He knows his foe too strong, and must be gone;
He grins as he looks back, and howls as he goes on.

The Marquis of Huntley's¹ Reply to certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, Covenanters of Scotland; sent from their Associates, to signify unto him, that it behoved him either to assist their Designs, or to be carried to Prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, the 20th of April, 1639. Now published, because of a false Copy thereof lately Printed without Authority, or his own Consent.

[Quarto; containing four pages.]

TO be your prisoner is by much the less displeasing to me, that my accusation is for nothing else but loyalty; and that I have been brought into this estate by such unfair means, as can never be made to appear honourable in those who used them.

Whereas you offer liberty, upon condition of my entering into your covenant; I am

¹ [George Gordon, second Marquis of Huntley, one of the very few nobles in Scotland, who had uniformly adhered to the King, from the very beginning of the troubles. He was beheaded by the sentence of the parliament of Scotland (so calling themselves) upon the 22d of March, 1649.]

not so bad a merchant, as to buy it with the loss of my conscience, fidelity, and honour which, in so doing, I should make account to be wholly perished.

I have already given my faith to my prince, upon whose head this crown, by all law of nature and nations, is justly fallen; and will not falsify that faith by joining with any in a pretence of religion, which my own judgment cannot excuse from rebellion: for it is well known, that in the primitive church, no arms were held lawful, being lifted by subjects against their lawful prince, though the whole frame of Christianity was then in question.

Whereas you would encourage me to be a partaker with you by your hopes of supply from France and other foreign nations, together with your so good intelligence in England, as that no danger will come from thence, let me tell you, that in my opinion, the reasons are but vain, the French being now more strictly tied, than before, to uphold the authority of our sacred Sovereign, by a new-cemented league of marriage, whereby their interest in his Majesty's progeny will overbalance you, though your cause were better. Other foreigners are merely unable by their own distractions, and the English have been ever strong enough for us, when only their own king, and not our's did lead them.

For my own part, I am in your power, and resolved not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance upon my posterity; you may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my Sovereign.

The Lieutenant¹ of the Tower's Speech and Repentance, at the Time of his Death, who was executed upon Tower-hill, on the 20th Day of November, 1615; for the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

London, Printed by G. Eld for Na. Butter, and are to be sold at his Shop near St. Austin's Gate.²

[Quarto; containing thirty-six pages.]

To the Reader.

TO satisfy the world, which, in a cause of this nature, is commonly distracted into various opinions; adding or detracting from the truth, according to the humorous disposition with which it meets; and to do right to the dead gentleman, who (albeit his offence

¹ [A very different relation of the confession of Sir Gervase Ellwis, was given in a tract intitled 'Truth brought to Light: The Proceedings touching the Divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, and Robert Earl of Essex,' &c. which Mr. W. Scott has introduced into the second volume of Somers' Tracts. The tragical affair of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder gave rise to a large series of tracts upon the subject; many of which were written for party-purposes, and sometimes erred widely from the truth: we must not therefore expect to find these temporary historians always agreeing as to facts; much less as to words.—It would be needless here to dwell upon the disgusting circumstances attending the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. They may be perused in every historical work which treats of the age in which they took place; and the readers who wish for a more particularized account, are referred to the eighth volume of this Work, where they may fully satisfy their curiosity with Sir Fulk Grevill's 'Discourse of the five Years of King James.']

² See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 21.

was foul to God and man, and hateful to himself) deserved both love and pity, for the Christian end he made; have I, Reader, for thy sake, collected the substance of that speech, delivered by him before his execution, though I may fail in circumstance perhaps in his order. Many false copies of it pass from hand to hand, and many untrue rumours of him: this, if thou art not too much given over to misbelief, will stay both; as being with much labour gotten together, and confirmed by approbation of such judgments as were then present, and nearest and best understood him: though I confess it falls short of that grace and life wherewith he delivered it, who, I must needs say, did it more exactly, even beyond ordinary report. And so praying unto Almighty God, that thou mayest make that good use of this discourse, as he meant thee that made it, and as I do that relate it, I commit thee to God.³

‘ I SEE many faces in this place, which I know right well, both lords and gentlemen, whom I have honoured, and do still love; with many others of several dispositions. All you being thus assembled to see me finish my days, the number of which I summed up, for the very minutes of my life may now be reckoned: your expectation is to have me say something, to give satisfaction to the world: and I will do it so far as I can; albeit in that speech of mine, I shall (as it was spoken unto me the last night) but chatter like a crow. But, whatsoever I deliver, I beseech you to take from a wounded bosom; for my purpose is to rip up my very heart, and to leave nothing there, which may prove any clog to my conscience.

‘ Hither am I come to perform a work, which, of all others, is to man the most easy, and yet to flesh and blood is the hardest; and that is, to die. To hide, therefore, any thing for any worldly respect, were to leave a blot upon my own soul; which I trust shall be presented, through the mercies of my Maker and merits of my Saviour, acceptable before God’s high tribunal.

‘ And, first, I will labour to satisfy some, who, before my apprehension, were well conceited of me, but since my arraignment, as I understand, carried of me but hard opinions; for that, at the bar, I stood stiffly upon the justice of my innocence: and this they impute as a great fault, seeing afterwards that I was found guilty of the crime. To which I answer, that I did it ignorantly: nay, I was so far from thinking myself foul in the fact, that until these two gentlemen, doctor Felton and doctor Whiting, the physicians for my soul, told me how deeply I had imbrued my hands in the blood of that gentleman; (making me, by God’s law, as guilty in the concealing, as if I had been a personal actor in it:) till then, I say, I held myself so ignorant of the deed, and my conscience so clear, that I did never ask God forgiveness, nor once repent me of the fact; such was my blindness. So that it was not only an error, or rather a horrible sin, in me to consent, but a worse, to deny it; so bloody, so treacherous, so foul, so filthy a fact as that was; for which, I must confess the king and the state have dealt honourably, roundly, and justly, with me, in condemning me unto this death. And thus I have laboured, and done my best, to clear this point; being willing, by all good means, to reduce your

³ [The writer of ‘Truth brought to Light,’ &c. before-mentioned, prefaces Sir Gervase’s confession by the following relation.

‘ On Monday, 20 November, 1615, he was executed at Tower-hill upon a gibbet there set of purpose, about six of the clock in the morning; he being arrayed in a black suit, and black jerkin, with hanging sleeves; having on his head a crimson sattin cap, laced from the top downward, and round about; under that a white linnen night-cap with a border, and over that a black hat, with a broad ribbon, and ruff-band, thick couched with a lace, and a pair of three-soled shoes. He came on foot to the gibbet, from sheriff Goare’s house, between Dr. Whiting and Dr. Felton, two of his Majestie’s chaplains, and coming to the ladder’s foot, he talked a word or two to the executioner. Then he went up the ladder four or five steps, the executioner sitting over his head upon the top of the gibbet. Sir Jervas, finding the ladder to stand too upright for his ease, spake to have it amended, which forthwith (he coming down) was done, being fastened in the ground; and then he went up again six steps, where after a while sitting easily he uttered words to this or the like effect,’ &c.]

‘ first opinions of me: that, as formerly you conceited well of me, so you would now, with a charitable affection, perform the last duty of your Christian loves towards me; praying to God both with me, that this cup, whereof I am to drink, may not be grievous unto me, but that and for me, to the intent, that it may be a joyful conveyance to a better and more blessed comfort.

‘ Some, perhaps, will think it to be a rigour of the state, or aggravation of my judgment, that I should die in this place; but this do I take as an honour unto me, and herein do I acknowledge myself to stand much bound to the state, in that I have this favour vouchsafed me, to suffer death in sight of my charge, even where I had sinned, on the Tower-hill, rather than in the place of common execution⁴, where every base malefactor dieth. Many do I see here whom I know well, and of whom I am likewise well known: and now am I a spectacle for them to be looked on, whom, in former times, and in all men’s accounts, they held never likely to come to such an end. But herein, behold the justice of God, who is so opposed against sin, because, that if we forget to seek him whilst we may, he will find us out when we would not be found of him.

‘ It is expected I should say something of the fact which I have committed: and hither am I come, resolved to clear my conscience, before I depart this world, of all matters which I either know or can now remember: and so much I have already delivered in writing to my lord-chief-justice; and, to prove that which I wrote is true, I yesterday confirmed it with the receiving of the blessed sacrament; wishing unto you all as much comfort by those holy mysteries, as I took by them. And I do here, though not with such a blood, yet with my own blood, seal that which I have written. For myself, I will hide nothing to make my fault seem less, but will rip open this very heart of mine, and confess before God mine own uncleanness.

‘ I have sinned exceedingly against thee, O my Maker! and in this am I most faulty, that I did not reveal it to the king, so soon as I myself had knowledge of the business. But, alas! fear to lose these worldly pleasures, and the love to promotion, made me forget my duty to my sovereign, and not to regard my God, who is a swift avenger of blood: and would to heaven! I had trusted to his Providence, and set the things of this world at nought, for heaven’s sake, and a good conscience. You see, gentlemen, promotion cannot rescue us from the justice of God, which always pursues after sin; and therefore I exhort you not to trust in men, how great soever, for they cannot hide themselves, when God is angry; neither can they protect you from shame, when God will consume you. He that sitteth in heaven, will deride and scorn their foolish inventions. As for me, I will not spare to lay open my own shame. Think you I care for the reputation of this world? No, I weigh it not. Thus my soul shall receive more comfort from God in my upright dealing.

‘ My sin, in this foul fact, was great; for upon me lay all the blood, shed, and to be shed. I have made many children fatherless, many wives husbandless, many parents childless; and I myself have a comfortless wife, and eight children behind me for it too: for, if I had revealed it when I might, I had freed much blood from being spilled, insomuch as I could wish (God’s justice and charity reserved) I might hang in chains, till I rot away by piecemeal; nor cared I what tortures my body were put unto, so I might expiate, or free the blood of so many, some in one place, and some in another, which is both like to be shed, and is already shed, and the Lord knows when it will have an end.

‘ Concerning myself, I will aggravate the crime, by speaking of every circumstance I can remember. And now it comes into my mind, what trust that gentleman put into me. He reputed me to be most faithful unto him; O the vileness of my heart! I proved unfaithful, and was his deadly deceitful friend.

‘ And here, gentlemen, I exhort you all, that you would take notice of this, ever to be faithful to those who put you in trust. Sir Thomas Overbury trusted me, and I was

♦ [viz. Tyburn.]

‘ unfaithful and treacherous to him, in drawing tickets for him to his disadvantage. I
‘ promised him secrecy, yet betrayed him, only to satisfy greatness. But God, who sees
‘ the secret thoughts of man’s heart, will disclose all unjust actions at last. Nay, I am
‘ persuaded, that whosoever they be that commit sin in their childhood, at one time or
‘ other it will be revealed.

‘ In this place it cometh to my mind, that in my younger days, as well beyond the seas
‘ as here, I was much addicted to that idle vein of gaming; I was bewitched with it in-
‘ deed. And I played not for little or for small sums neither, but for great ones; yet ever
‘ haunted with ill luck. And, upon a time, being much displeased at my loss, I said, not
‘ in a careless manner, “ Would I might be hanged !” but seriously, and advisedly, be-
‘ tween God and myself, clapping my hands upon my breast, I spake thus, “ If ever I
‘ play again, then let me be hanged.” Now, gentlemen, here you may behold the justice
‘ of God, paying me my wish and imprecation home. Be careful, therefore, I exhort
‘ you, that you vow nothing but that unto which you will give all diligence to perform;
‘ for the powerful God, before whom you make such vows, will otherwise be avenged.’

In this place, doctor Whiting putting him in mind to satisfy the world, touching his religion, thus he went on:

‘ The matter you speak to me of, (saith he) is well thought upon; for I hear that
‘ abroad have been some murmuring and questions made about me for my religion; some
‘ giving out, that I was infected with anabaptism; a fond, ridiculous, foolish, and phan-
‘ tastical opinion, which I never affected, but rather despised.

‘ Many may think, that the manner of my death doth much discourage me, that I should
‘ die in a halter: I would have you all to think, that I scorn all such worldly thoughts:
‘ I care not for it, I value not any earthly shame at all; so as I may have honour and
‘ glory anon in heaven. And I make no doubt, but I shall suddenly be more happy
‘ than you all, and that I shall see God face to face; and, if there be any point of inno-
‘ cency in me at all, I do utterly cast it from me, and I do commit it wholly to God. And,
‘ for any matter of glory, I do, with the saints of God, expect it through the merits of
‘ Christ at the resurrection; yea, it is my glory to die thus. I might have died in my
‘ bed, or shooting the bridge, or else have fallen down suddenly, in which death I should
‘ have wanted this space to repent; being the sweet comfort, and assured hope of God’s
‘ favour, which, of his mercy, he hath vouchsafed me; so that it swalloweth up all fear
‘ of death, or reproach of the world: wishing unto all you, gentlemen, who now behold
‘ me, that wheresoever you shall die, (either in your beds, or elsewhere howsoever,) you
‘ may feel such comfort and resolution, as God in his mercy hath bestowed upon me and
‘ my wounded soul, for this and the rest of my grievous sins.

‘ But methinks I hear some of you conjecture and say, that I express no great argu-
‘ ments or signs of sorrow. You think my heart should rather dissolve and melt into tears,
‘ than to appear so insensible of fear as I may seem: but I must tell you, tears were never
‘ common in me; I may therefore fear, though I do not weep. I have been courageous
‘ both beyond the seas and here in my own country; but, gentlemen, that was when there
‘ was no peril before me. But now the stroke of death is upon me, it affrights me, and
‘ there is cause to fear: yet, notwithstanding, my heart seemeth unto you to be rather of
‘ stone than of flesh. But I would have you understand, that this boldness doth not pro-
‘ ceed from any manly fortitude, for I am a man, frail as you are, and dare as little look
‘ death in the face as any other. The terrors of death do as much trouble my human
‘ sense, as any man’s whatsoever; but that which swalloweth up all manner of fear in
‘ me, and maketh me to glory and to rejoice, is the full assurance which I conceive of
‘ the unspeakable love of God to those who are his; of which number I persuade myself
‘ to be one, and that I shall presently enjoy it.

‘ I confess I have sinned exceedingly, against thee, O God! many ways: in pro-
‘ faning thy holy sabbaths, in taking thy glorious Name in vain, in my concupiscence,
‘ in turning all thy graces into wantonness, in my riotous wasting so many of thy good

‘ creatures, as would have relieved many poor people, whose prayers I might have had this day. I have sinned against thee in my childhood ; but children’s sins are childishly performed : but I confirmed them in my manhood ; there was my sin. I am persuaded, there is no sin that a man committeth in his life, knowing it to be a sin, and not repenting of it, but the Lord will judge it.

‘ I admonish you, therefore, that are here assembled, to take good notice of your sins, and let none escape you unrepented : and yet, when you have done the best you can, there will lie buried some one sin or other, sufficient to condemn you. O Lord ! cleanse me from my secret sins, which are in me so rife. I abused the tender education of my parents. You, perhaps, that knew me, will say no : I lived in an honest form, and was not bad in my life. But I know best myself what I was ; and if I, who was so esteemed of amongst men, shall scarcely be saved, what will become of those whom you point at for notorious livers ?

‘ The last night God put into my mind the remembrance of one sin of mine, which here I will lay open, that others may take heed. I took a vain pride in my pen ; and some of my friends would tell me, I had some endowments and special gift that way, though I say not so myself ; but mark the judgment of God in this : that pen, which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead, and like Absalom’s hair hath hanged me : for there hath dropped a word or two from my pen, in a letter of mine, which, upon my salvation, I am not able to answer, or to give any good account of. At my arraignment I pleaded hard for life, and protested my innocency ; but, when my own pen came against me, I was forthwith not able to speak any thing for myself ; for I stood as one amazed, or that had no tongue.⁵

‘ See, gentlemen, the just judgment of God, who made that thing, of which I was most proud, to be my bane. Take notice how strangely sin is punished, and learn every one to strive against it. I have heard the word of God, and often read it, but without use ; for I must tell you, these two worthy gentlemen (to whom I am so much bounden, God reward them for their love !) even they begot me very lately ; for I am not ashamed to confess that I was to be begotten unto Christ within these three days : yea, I have often prayed against sin, and made many vows to forsake it ; but, upon the next occasion, my foul heart hath been ready to run with the wicked.

‘ Had I learned but this one lesson in the hundred-and-nineteenth Psalm, “ Depart from me, ye wicked ; I will keep the commandments of my God,” &c. I had been likely to have enjoyed many days here on earth ; whereas now, you all see me ready to be cut short by reason of my sin. But, O Lord ! albeit thou slayest me, yet will I put my trust in thee ; let the Lord do to me what he will, I will die upon this hand of trusting in him ; if I fail, many a soul hath missed, but I have sure hope of mercy in him ; he hath sufficed and succoured me, I am sure, ever since the sentence of death hath passed upon me ; such comfort flowing from the godly endeavours of these gentlemen, the divines, that neither the reproach of this death, nor the torment of it, hath any whit discouraged me : nay, let me tell you, the last night when I heard the time was appointed, and saw the warrant in master sheriff’s hand for my death, it no whit daunted me. But what put this courage into me ? Only the hope which I had in God’s mercies. This hope was a seed, and this seed must come from a root ; I looked upon myself, and there was rather cause to despair ; and just cause that I should not approach God’s presence. Thus then I disputed with God : this hope being a seed must have a root, and this root is not any thing in man ; no, it is *præscientia*, thy foreknowledge, O God ! who hast elected me from eternity.

‘ I will tell you, I received more comfort this morning coming along the streets, than ever I did in all my life. I saw much people gathered together, all the way as I came,

⁵ [This alludes to the following circumstance, which occurred on his trial. ‘ Being asked what he meant by these words, *Rochester’s part I shall greatly fear, untill I see the event to be clearly carried* ; in this he staggered and wavered much, and gave his answer, “ It was long since I wrote this letter, and for the particular circumstances that induced me to this speech, I cannot now call to memory,” &c.]

‘ to see me brought to this shameful end ; who, with their hearty prayers and well-wishings, gladdened and comforted my very soul ; insomuch as I could wish that I had come from Westminster hither. I protest unto you, I think I could never have died so happily in my bed.

‘ But you will say, these are but speeches, and that I, being so near death, my heart cannot be so free, as I seem in my speech. I confess, there are in my breast frailties which do terrify me, and will still be busy with me ; but I beseech you, when I am at the stroke of death, that you will pray to God, with me, that neither Satan’s power, nor my weakness, may hinder my confidence. And I beseech God, that amongst all who this day hear me, some may profit by my end. If I get but one soul, I shall have much comfort in that ; for that one soul may beget another, and that other another. I have held you too long, but I will draw to an end ; entreating you all to join in prayer to God for me.’

The Sum of his Prayer.

‘ **O** LORD GOD Omnipotent, who sittest in heaven, and seest all things which are done on earth ; to whom are known all occasions of men, and who dost deride and laugh to scorn their foolish inventions ; thou, Lord, who art powerful to save at an instant, bow down the heavens, and behold me (wretched sinner !) unworthy to look up, or lift up my hands unto Thee. Remember not, O Lord, the sins which I have committed. Drive away this mist which is before me ; and break those thick clouds which my sins have made, and may hinder my request to come into thy presence. Strengthen me, in the midst of death, in the assurance of thy mercies ; and give me a joyful passage into thy heavenly rest, now and for ever. Amen.’

After he had thus prayed, he took his leave of all with these words :

‘ Gentlemen, I shall see your faces now no more :’ and, pulling down his cap on his eyes, said some private prayer ; in which time the doctors prayed, and called to him, that he would remember his assurance, and not be dismayed at the cup he was to drink of.—He answered, ‘ I will drink it up, and never look what is in it.’ And, after a little time more spent in private prayer, he said, ‘ Lord, receive my soul !’ and so yielded up the ghost.⁶

His Meditation and Vow, not long before his Death.

‘ **W**HEN I considered Herod’s state, who, though he heard John Baptist gladly, yet was he entangled with Herodias ; and how Agrippa liked so well of Paul, as he was persuaded “ almost to become a Christian ;” and, how the young man’s will was good to follow Christ, yet there was one thing wanting ; methought the state of a sinful man was not unlike. So also how the angler, though having caught a fish but by the chaps, accounts it as his own ; the bird taken but by the heel, is a prey unto the fowler ; the jailer also holds his prisoner by one joint, as safe as cast in iron chains : then did I think, what do these motions good, if not effected to the full ? What though not notoriously evil, one sin sufficeth to condemn ; and is he guilty of all, that is guilty of one ? Then said I unto the Lord, “ I will freely cleanse my ways and wash my hands in innocency ; I will take heed that I offend not with my tongue.” Lord ! let my thoughts be such as I may always say, Try and examine me if there be any unrighteousness in me.’

Sir GERVASE ELLWIS.

⁶ [In the tract before mentioned, intitled ‘ Truth brought to Light,’ the author adds, that the executioner having turned him off the ladder, ‘ the executioner’s man caught hold of one of his feet, his own man on the other foot, whereby they suddenly weighed his life ; where hanging a small distance of time, his body not once stirred ; only his hands a little stirred and moved, being tied only with a little black ribbon, which, a little before, he had reached to the executioner, putting up his hands to him for that purpose ; all which being ended, both corpse and high gibbet were from thence removed.’]

A Discourse touching Tangier. In a Letter to a Person of Quality.¹ To which is added, The Interest of Tangier : by another Hand.

London, Printed in the Year 1680.

[Quarto; containing forty-eight pages.]

Honoured SIR,

I REMEMBER at our parting I made you a promise to gratify your curiosity, the best I could, with an abstract of my judgment and observations touching his Majesty's city and port of Tangier; and had obeyed you long since, had not my head been rather oppressed than employed, by the unexpected difficulties of my toilsome charge; which, to this day, render me so little master of my resolutions, that the few minutes I borrow, like broken slumbers, scarce afford me leave to reflect seriously on any other subject. Be pleased therefore to take this short account only, as an earnest of what you may further expect, when with more freedom of thought I shall be enabled to send you a present of the same kind, better worth your acceptance.

TANGIER, according to remotest accounts, I find to have been a colony of the Romans; which conquering people did from thence lead their armies, by which they subdued all that part of Africa. They called a great province by that name; and thought it so well worth their labour, that they planted, peopled, and built it to the magnitude of the greatest cities; as we find by the fragments of their structures, where-ever we have occasion to break ground in the fields; and by the noble aquæducts, some whereof to this day supply the town with water, said to be the best in the world. But, by the declension of that monarchy, it shrunk by degrees to the dimension it now bears.

It was here the Moors formed, and from hence prosecuted, their great design of conquering Spain; the advantageous situation whereof is thought to have not only encouraged those infidels to the attempt, but lent them such aids as mainly conduced to their success.

At length, about the year 1474, (while the princes of Barbary were at war amongst themselves,) this, with other towns upon the coast, fell into the hands of the Portuguese, &c. Upon his Majesty's marriage with our present Queen, Tangier was given in part of her dowry: a capitulation much opposed by the Spanish ministers, and gave that government so much apprehension, that upon his Majesty's sending so great a garrison as he did upon our first possessing it, jealous what design there might be, withdrew a great part of their army from the frontiers of Portugal, and quartered them along the coast of Andalusia, to have an eye upon our motions. By which state-contrivance (as is thought) of the Portuguese, they got the respite of one whole campaign from the incursions of the Spaniard. This I the rather mention, to excite our own value for Tangier, which barely our possession of, gives other princes so much caution.

This, sufficing for the historical part of Tangier, to the time of his Majesty's possessing it; I will now proceed, with the brevity of letter, to treat upon the four following heads, *viz.*

The service Tangier has already rendered the crown.
What service it may render it, if improved.

¹ [Another edition of this tract occurs in Osborne's Harl. Catal. with the following title: 'The present State of Tangier, in a Letter to his Grace the Lord-chancellor of Ireland. [Mich. Boyle, Archbp. of Armagh.] 1680.']

The mischief it may do us, if possessed by any other powerful prince.
Some general observations touching trade.

Tangier is, as I have observed, so advantageously situated, that it surveys the greatest thoroughfare of commerce in the world; having in one view almost the whole sea comprehended between the four capes of Trafalgar, Gibraltar, Spartel, and Ceuta; those on the European, these on the African shore: so that no ship or vessel can pass in or out of the Mediterranean, unobserved from thence.

It comes therefore to pass, by means of this narrow gap or inlet, that men-of-war, pirates and corsairs of all nations, covet to ply and cruise in and about that station, where they are sure to speak with all ships that pass. Here it was, that a squadron of the Dutch on two several occasions, during that war, lay in wait for our Newfoundland fleet, who had no recourse for safety but to Tangier, where they were protected and secured, till the danger was over: the greatest part whereof had otherwise demonstrably fallen into the enemy's hands.

It was on this station that sir Thomas Allen, during the first Dutch war, encountered their Smyrna fleet; and here, in the last war with Algier, a whole squadron of Turks fell into our hands at once, and were all destroyed. And both then, and since, by Sir John Narbrough, there has been by a manifold degree more mischief done to that enemy on this station, than in all the ocean besides; and we have frequent examples of single ships being chased into this port for shelter.

To this port, upon the breaking out of the last Dutch war, was sent us advice of a squadron of their merchant-ships, that were bound from Malaga homeward, but ill guarded, with an exact account when they were to depart: which squadron we encountered; and had the affair been more fortunately managed, they had all fallen into our hands; though, as it was, the greatest part were destroyed and taken. To this place, on divers occasions, both by sea and land, we have received notice from Sallee, and other places on the coast, of proper seasons wherein to attack that enemy, and have often succeeded in our attempts upon those intimations. And, I think, I may with good assurance aver, that (by the advantage of this place) we have destroyed more of those pirates, than all nations besides put together, who have been industrious, to their power, to prejudice them; especially the French, Dutch, and Portuguese. And yet farther to shew you how this place has been already useful, let it be remembered, that during the plague in England, when it was penal in the highest degree in Spain, to hold the least commerce with us; notwithstanding the hazard they ran, the Spaniards themselves came over by stealth, and by degrees, did here supply their wants, without paying custom either here or there; this place being the general magazine to all the coast along.

What quantities of French commodities were lodged here, during their war with Spain, and were by little and little in Spanish vessels fetched over, and put on-board their galleons when they were ready to receive them, without ever landing them? With what ease and expedition did Sir John Narbrough, the last year, careen and refit the ships under his command within the mole; where we had neither hulk, nor any sort of provision for that service? When I often heard him say, with great satisfaction, that he would undertake to refit a squadron in half the time, and with half the charge, that it could be done any where else out of England: and I think I do not give him more than his due, if I presume to say, he is as qualified for credit in that particular, as any man whatever of his profession.

How many merchant-ships, in peril by distress of weather, have been relieved and preserved by the assistance they have received from hence? I could also insist on the damages done on the French, from this place, during our war with them. Nor have the advantages been small, arising from considerable quantities of English merchandise, manufactures, &c. disposed of hence into Barbary: but having an eye to my promise of writing you only a letter, I shall, in a word, as to this first head, only say, that Tangier may be justly reckoned to have gone far towards the recompensing to the government the

charge, his Majesty has been at, in its preservation and improvement. And if, while in its infancy, when there could be no just regulation of the charge, nor the place framed and cultivated fully up to the uses and ends of the government, we can demonstrably make such a calculation; what may be hoped from it, when, besides the large retrenchment it has already admitted in its charge to the king, we shall be able to demonstrate so many farther extraordinary services, it is capable of rendering the crown; as I doubt not to prove in the following section? Which is to shew wherein, and to what degree, Tangier is applicable to the ends and uses of the government.

I think I may challenge mankind to point me out, in the whole globe of the earth, a spot of ground so improvable of the honour and interest of the English nation, as Tangier. What is it has rendered England so formidable, so rich, and so renowned a kingdom; but the strength of our navies, and universality of our commerce? For our fleets might grow till they rot, and our mines remain in the bowels of their mother; our people rust into the barbarity of their ancestors, and our nation become a prey to every aspiring monarch; did not this mighty machine set all heads and hands at work, quicken our understandings, and polish our manners, and from an object otherwise of pity, or contempt, render us the greatest pattern in the world of the power of industry, the fountain of all the blessings we enjoy; and because there are many various wheels and motions therein, why should not Tangier be esteemed among the principal of those movements, which keep this vast engine going?

First, in respect of Spain, in case of a war with that people: he, who knows any thing, is not ignorant, that the damages we sustain by such a war, are more through the embargo of a free and open commerce with them, (so useful and profitable to this nation,) that it becomes a doubt, whether it be not of more account, than one half of the trade we have with all Europe besides: I say, the mischief, in such case, will be more by a suspension of our commerce, than any great damage can accrue to us by their hostilities. If so; then I undertake to say, that Tangier is able in a good degree, if not totally, to answer this great objection: for, by virtue of our vicinity with Spain, especially the five principal ports of Seville, Cadiz, St. Lucar, Port St. Mary's, and Malaga; and, by the convenience of a good harbour here, (which, by the success of the mole, is now well-nigh effected,) our nation there, in case of a war, may remove and settle their factories here; which, both for the safety of their persons, as well as estates, they need not be invited to do; having (to my certain knowledge) sundry times been upon the point of taking that resolution, like one man, by some jealousies they have had of misunderstandings likely to ensue betwixt us and that people; and, affairs being once so settled, the Spaniards themselves, as their occasions press them, will take care to be supplied from hence; as in the instance I have given, during the plague in England. By this means our estates run no hazard of seizure, or confiscation; we shall be able to put off our commodities at better rates, and the king of Spain wholly deprived of his customs; Tangier itself becomes a proportionable gainer by the bargain, and his Majesty's subjects rest under the protection of their own country, laws, and government, and in the liberty of the exercise of their own religion.

Thus, as, on the one hand, Tangier renders a war with Spain less burthensome to us, by so preserving the commerce unbroken; so, by its advantageous situation, and improvement to a good port, it would prove so great a thorn in their sides, by the incessant hostilities we should commit upon them, (for it is not two hours sail from Tangier to the coast of Spain,) the hazard and obstruction of their West-India trade, the ruining their commerce one with another all along the coast of Andalusia, which would certainly ensue; and the sundry other damages, by the help of Tangier, too long to enumerate, or not at present occurring to my observation. All this, I say, put together, seems to me to yield matter sufficient to furnish us with the highest sentiments of estimation for Tangier; though no other consideration were put into the scale. For, if this whole theory, or *postulata*, be true, (as a good deal is proved by matter of fact, and the rest not to be dis-

proved, but as time must try,) then I may undertake to say, that our nation seems, by Tangier, to have gained this great point, which is, that if heretofore, the reasons touching the importance of preserving our commerce with Spain have, for the most part, been found superior to the motives, though great, which that people may, by their affronts and injuries, have given his Majesty of resentment; those arguments, I say, are, by means of Tangier, removed, and his Majesty in a better state of demanding satisfaction, or doing himself right; or the Spaniard (hereby become conscious of the disadvantage) deterred from those provocations. And, that they are apprehensive of the benefits thus accruing by our possession of Tangier, is every day visible, from the pains they take to discourage its prosperity; by obstructing, by all ways possible, our supplies of whatever kind from thence, especially of materials for carrying on the mole, &c. whereof they are in great fear; so that, if positive arguments in our favour were less cogent, the bare opinion they have, of the use that may be made of Tangier to their prejudice, ought to beget in any reasonable man, who loves and has any regard to the honour and welfare of his country, proportionable wishes for its encouragement.

But, leaving Spain, let us proceed to observe what may be of remark touching Tangier, with respect to France. The French commerce with Spain, and their interest in the Spanish galleons and flota, has been universally concluded equivalent to half the nations of Europe beside; and they have more business in and about this station, and frequent the Straights-mouth with more shipping, of one sort or another, than any two nations in Christendom; from whence our ships, riding at anchor, may weigh, or slip, and speak with all that pass in, or out. Now, what an awe will Tangier bear on such a people? And what greater blessing can a maritime nation, as England is, (so justly jealous of their honour and authority abroad,) ask of God Almighty, than to be possessors of a place productive of so many eminent services? a place capable of yielding so many good offices to ourselves and friends, and so much annoyance to its most powerful enemy? This I mean, who, in our age, has succeeded so far in its design of rivalling us in the darling privilege and prerogative of our dominion upon the sea; and, how far it behoves us to cherish the means, that Providence affords, and nature seems to mark out for our improvement, towards the attaining of so important an end, let every honest Englishman judge. And, from France, let us proceed to Holland.

During the first Dutch war, Tangier was in its infancy, the mole of little benefit, nor were the ministers then so much enlightened in its usefulness; insomuch that, during that war, the Hollanders, especially towards the latter end of the war, did, with a small squadron of ships, scour the whole Mediterranean: and what with that, and the preference they then found in the Spanish ports, they gained much upon us in those parts. But in the last war it was quite otherwise; for, upon the damage we did their Malaga fleet from Tangier, (as I have already observed,) and the care then taken to have ships upon that station, it is observable, they scarcely had any trade within the Mediterranean afterwards, during the war; for the Dutch are a frugal and wise people, and when the charge of their convoys grows in any degree burthensome, they choose rather to suspend their trade, than prosecute it with any extraordinary expence or hazard, especially that of the Mediterranean.

Now, if Tangier can produce such effects in our favour, in case of a war with Holland, as it has done, and may yet do, in a much greater degree; and if it can be in the like manner of use to the Dutch, in case of a war betwixt them and Spain, as it has been to France during that war; then let us allow it an additional share in our praise and estimation, and cherish it in proportion to these farther benefits.

And now for Algier.

Algier is a den of sturdy thieves formed into a body, by which, after a tumultuary sort, they govern, having the grand-signior for their protector, who supplies them with native Turks for their soldiery, which is the greatest part of their militia; and they, in acknowledgment, lend him their ships, when his affairs require it. They are grown a rich and powerful people, and, by a long practice of piracy, become good seamen; and, when pressed by our men of war, as of late we have experimented, they fight

and defend themselves, like brave men, inferior, I am persuaded, to no people whatever. They have no commerce, and so are without any taste of the benefits of peace; whence their life becomes a continual practice of robbery, and, like beasts of the desert, they only forbear to worry, where by fear, not honesty, they are deterred; and yet, when hunger pinches, and a good morsel lies in their way, they will venture hard for their prey, as may appear by the occasions given by them for this and the last wars.

The Algerines, I say, having no merchant-ships, nor any trade of their own with other nations, know nothing of the motives, Christian princes generally have, of war and peace; so that their polity and rule is, whom and how they may rob and plunder with greatest impunity. Therefore, with some nations they will have no peace at all, because they can despoil them without hazard; with others, as ourselves, they will sometimes listen to proposals of peace, but not so long as they can reimburse themselves upon our merchantmen what they suffer by our men-of-war. Now it is worth one's while to consider how this wild beast may be tamed, (so pernicious to the trade of the kingdom,) and how far Tangier may lend a helping hand in the bringing it to pass.

I have already given you an account of the advantage we have of situation, and how improvable towards the obtaining dominion in and about these seas; and of the damage the ships of Algier have already received on this station, by the help of Tangier. The Algerines, above all others, when at peace with us, do infest these seas; this station being seldom without some or other of them cruising in sight of the port; where they frequently come to an anchor, and water, and supply themselves with necessaries, sell their prizes, and reap great benefits by the place.

They have it also in their instructions from the government, to call here, and observe how the mole advances, and the place thrives; and I have been told by the captains themselves, who protest, that nothing gives them so much dread as the apprehension they have of the use we may make of Tangier against them: insomuch, that when the galley arrived that was presented to his Majesty, the Algerines looked upon themselves as half undone; as the captain of the *Mary-gold*, the last Turks prize, who was taken off of Tangier this war, assured me. Our galley-frigates likewise gave them great awe, as they still do; being a sort of vessels which, by the help of Tangier, may be much improved to their annoyance. And if his Majesty would please farther to order the building of vessels of war proper and peculiar to this service and these seas, he would quickly see the good effect it would produce, in bringing that people to know themselves. For though some of our English vessels sail as well as the Algerines, when clean; yet such are yet but a few; and we must also sail a good deal better than they, to do our business upon them. Nor is it less demonstrable to me than a problem in geometry, (however it may seem not so much our present subject,) that we may build ships that shall in a manifold degree out-sail our best sailers. These ships need be but few, and of little charge, and should be always kept in those seas, both in war and peace. For it is the occasion makes the thief; and a coast or place unguarded is neglected. What signify the strongest walls unmanned; or all the advantages of nature, if industry be wanting in their application?

Tangier, well managed, may be rendered the greatest scourge to the Algerines in the world; and may afford them the best effects of friendship. For, if in time of war we can force them from this so beloved station, and attack them or their prizes bound in or out; and in time of peace, which we cannot refuse them, they can be admitted to make use of Tangier, and the port, as their occasions require: they may perform their voyages in half the time, and with half the trouble of returning home to refit and victual. For these foxes prey remote from their holes; and, for one prize they take in the Mediterranean, take ten in the wide ocean. So that in their return homewards, if they can dispose of their purchase at better rates here than they can have there, and refit again cheaper; what should discourage their embracing the advantage, which will be great to them, and proportionably so to us, by the sale of their purchase amongst us, &c.? But, says an honest man, and a good Christian, 'This would be a scandal to Christendom.' To which I reply, It is not thought so by the most-Christian king; nor must we think so,

if we consider them a government, qualified to treat with Christian princes, as we do; for do not we enter into articles of peace with them, which are formally agreed to, and mutually ratified? If so; how can we refuse them any thing to which friendship may give them a title?

Now, if what I have observed, touching the government of Algier, bear any weight, then this must follow; that upon conviction of the premisses, they will always esteem peace with England more eligible than war; and no temptation whatsoever, as heretofore, can be believed will supersede arguments of so much force as those we have noted. If so, then upon this single bottom, separate from any of the foregoing remarks, we may build reason sufficient to fortify my position, for the cherishing and encouraging of this important place by all means possible. For, if Tangier shall appear so materially instrumental in preserving a perpetual peace with Algier; then, hence alone, the expence of keeping it is abundantly defrayed to the government. For the charge of one Algier war, abstracted from the consideration of the spoils they commit upon our commerce during such war; I say, the money expended for carrying on, and supporting of one such war, being put into bank, would at 6 *per cent.* produce more than the annual charge of maintaining the place. If so; how may we then reckon of Tangier, considered conjunctively of all the foregoing calculations of benefit that have been produced in its favour?

Then as for Sallee: Sallee is a government depending on the emperor of Fez and Morocco. They have but small ships; the bar before the port not affording depth for vessels of above ten or twelve feet draught of water. All the winter they lie still. For, after the south-west winds have blown, there comes in so great a swell of a sea upon the bar, that it is not passable. So that this is a summer-enemy, and a very poor one too; if we would be persuaded to have an eye to them, as we ought. For I'll undertake, with three or four small frigates, such as the Drake, Lark, &c. which on occasion of neap-tides, when they (I mean the Sallee men) have not water to go in and out, should clean and re-victual at Tangier, and so return upon that station; those inconsiderable rogues would by such care be soon reduced to nothing: and yet, when left to their liberty, they do a great deal of mischief to small merchant-men.

The benefit arising, by thus awing those people, besides that of our small craft, will be, that it will in two or three years bring the greatest part of the trade of Barbary to Tangier; as by reason of the plague has been already made good. For, while the infection of those countries kept people from trading thither, all, or the greatest part of their commerce was by Tangier; and a war, diligently managed by those small frigates, may produce the same effect. Besides, it will teach them to value our friendship, and help us to a better understanding with them at Tangier, and in all likelihood gain us a point of great advantage; which is, to treat and conclude a peace with them on equal terms. For, to buy a peace, as hath been the practice hitherto, is so mean and dishonourable, and gives them so much contempt for our friendship, that it is not to be supported. Now, if these ends are to be obtained, as I am truly convinced they may, it will be wholly owing to Tangier. Which having said, I proceed to my third and last head.

If Tangier be a jewel of so many extraordinary virtues, and so peculiar to the use and service of the English nation, it were a great deal of pity it should adorn any prince's crown but his who wears it. For, it is but inverting the argument, and the artillery is traversed upon ourselves, and all these cordials become so many corrosives. For, though the bare loss, or want of these benefits, to a nation in our circumstances, would be misfortune enough: yet, when out of this privation of good, which is a consequential damage, shall be propagated so many more and greater positive evils to us, than its possession promises of service, (for such will be the consequence, if Tangier, which God forbid, should come into the possession of the French,) with what care and tenderness ought the government to cherish it, and labour to secure it, and the nation, against such a hazard? The trade of England into the Mediterranean is equal, if not exceeding all other nations put together. Can any thing then challenge a greater share in our esteem,

than the means which insure this mighty benefit to us? Shall princes war one upon another for the sake of a paltry town, upon the pass of a simple river; and shall not we think it worth our while to preserve a place of this importance; so productive of good on the one hand, or evil on the other? A place so improveable of the ambitious purposes of the French, that, were it in their hands, it would wound us in so many tender places, that as we should be always groaning under the weight, so we should never wipe off the imputation such a loss would fasten upon us. We are just now alarmed with the news of Tangier's being to be sold to the French. But we have a wise prince, learned beyond his predecessors in the interests and advantages of navigation and commerce, and a great promoter thereof: nor is his royal Highness, who has signalized himself so much, to the nation's, and his own glory, by his singular applications to the like study, so ill-possessed of the value of this place, to concur in any deliberations of that kind. So that I reckon this rumour but amongst the other libels against the government.

How clamorous was our nation upon the disposing of Dunkirk to the French, though the charge of keeping it was scarcely supportable; and, in case of a war with that people, hardly tenable. Though the use of it was only, in some degree, privative of benefit to an enemy in case of war, but of no positive profit to us in time of peace; and yet, whensoever a privateer or two, sailing out of that port, shall annoy us but never so little in time of war, the complaint is renewed, and that proceeding censured a-fresh. How would that minister then be absolved with the people, who should advise the parting with Tangier; where our little finger would be more felt, than our loins here?

But I have heard grave men say, Tangier is a great charge to the nation. It is a charge, it is true: but I shew what it has already done towards the defraying it; and, to what an abundant degree it will hereafter come to discount the expence. A first-rate ship, in time of war, is as great a charge to the king, as Tangier is; and yet, did ever any body complain that our ships were a burthen, or our fleets too numerous, when there was occasion for their service? Does not Tangier live principally upon the growth and product of England; and the money, for the most part, circulate amongst ourselves? Is the king's treasure misemployed there? Do not we see every day the place improve; the mole in a good forwardness? Which expence, too, will soon be at an end. Are there not many useful provisions made, for the encouraging of shipping and commerce? And are we not sensible of it, by the increase and improvement thereof? For I remember the time, when a boat from Spain would draw down half the town to the water-side; whereas, now, a squadron of ships scarcely excites that curiosity.

Leghorn, now a famous port, and scale of trade, was, in this duke of Florence's grandfather's time, a poor fisher-town. Maturity is the child of time; and though God Almighty may blast the best formed purposes, yet nothing, humanly speaking, can prevent our fruition of the great benefits I have enumerated, if we but apply the means; which, in a few words, are these:

To prosecute vigorously the works of the mole; which, in two or three years, may render it a noble and safe port.

To fortify the town to the landward; which work should go hand in hand with the mole; lest, when it shall appear worth a conquest, our weakness should betray us.

To have a garrison consisting of two-thousand foot, in two regiments, and three-hundred horse, to be well and duly paid, and to be recruited once in three or four years by draughts out of the guards. By which means we should always have a strong, orderly, and well-disciplined soldiery; and not vagabonds, and raw, miserable, shiftless wretches, such as raised men, for the most part, prove; whereof, scarcely the one half survive their seasoning. The punctuality of relieving the garrison, as has been of late resolved, will also keep them in heart, cheerful in their duty, and not put them upon such desperate courses, as many of them, in melancholy drunken fits, have taken by running to the Moors; where, to the scandal of our religion, they either turn renegadoes, or remain in perpetual slavery. The health of the garrison will also, by this practice, be preserved: for the soldiers' diet being salt meat, disposes them, in two or three years, to inveterate ill

habits of body, obstructions, scurvies, fluxes, &c. Whereof, by reason of returning to the same diet again, when a little mended by the care of the physician, they relapse; and nothing, but removing them to a better, can recover them.

By this course, I say, Tangier would be the desirablest place, for a soldier, in the world; where they neither feel hunger, or cold, nor excess of heat; the duty easy, unless now and then, when the garrison is thin of men; where an industrious man can never want work, and is no where better rewarded. In brief, it is a place that, instead of a sepulchre (as some call it), will, by this method, become a nursery of brave men; where, if they die in the field, as some now and then do, they have their reward in heaven. If they survive to see their country, they will be cherished and considered at home, as men of honour and merit, who have drawn their swords, and served their king and country, against the enemies of our religion, and of God himself.

The use of horse is of so great importance, to the safety and tranquillity of the place, that I take it for granted we shall never be free from the insults of the Moors, till our horse shall be augmented to the aforesaid number. The strength of all the Christian garrisons, upon this coast, principally consists in horse: which example alone might suffice for our instruction, for we are but of yesterday; and their practice the result of some ages of experience, which is the best guide.

This town was once preserved, or rather recovered, by the bravery and opportune service of the horse; for, the castle being surprized in the night, by the enemies privately getting in, over a low and defective part of the wall, the horse (taking the alarm in the town) mounted, and before they could get possession of the draw-bridge, got in, attacked, and defeated them; who had otherwise demonstrably remained with victory.

I am bold also to say, and it is the opinion of others, who were upon the place, that had our horse, the day the earl of Tiviot was lost, performed their duty; that great man, and the major part of those with him, had escaped the fatal slaughter.

With such a strength of horse as this I propose, we shall not be only able to perform with ease what is yet wanting for the fortifying and securing the ground we have gained, but deprive the enemy of the profit they make by the tillage and pasture of the country round about us. For they will be necessitated either to keep an army constantly in the field, which we know they cannot; to lose the benefit and fruits of one of the fertilest spots of ground in the world; or allot us such conditions, as shall render us in a safe, easy, and plentiful estate; which I take assurance to affirm we shall, in such case, easily obtain. As the benefits we shall reap by such a number of horse, prudently managed, will be very great; so the hardships we shall suffer, without them, will be insuperable. For the ground about Tangier being uneven, broken, and proper for ambushes; our foot will never be able to do any thing to the purpose, but in conjunction of a proportionable number of horse, to discover and clear the ground, relieve and succour them when pressed, and secure their retreat when out-numbered, and forced to retire. Our fortifications also, relieving our forts, and many other eminent services, will be but very imperfectly performed, without the assistance of a good body of horse.

The fruits of this care and charge will be reaped, in the benefits resulting by the trade and commerce it will beget and establish here; for, upon a secure prospect of safety to goods and merchandize, both by sea and land, exemption from public charges and duties, and a general concurrence of all circumstances of ease and expedition in importing and exporting of goods; it will, in time, render Tangier the general magazine of all the merchandize from the Levant appointed for the trade of the Spanish Indies, as it will of our Northern commodities of greatest value. For the exorbitant, or rather insupportable duties upon goods in Spain, put all people upon by-ways, and secret hazardous practices, in the shipping and disposing of their commodities; and while Tangier can yield so good encouragement, considered with the benefits of its vicinity with Spain, all people will covet to lodge their estates there, where the whole charge (besides their being out of the reach of danger of seizure) of register-money, which is our quarter *per cent.* there col-

lected, commission, portorage, freight to Cadiz, &c. will not amount to the charge of half-freight, guard-money, national duties, and warehouse-room, for two months.

But there occurs one great and dangerous impediment to the establishing this benefit at Tangier; and that is, the disputes that may arise betwixt the English consuls in the Spanish ports, and such as shall so transport goods from Tangier, upon which they may expect a benefit. But this must be forbidden by all means possible, by the strictest significations of his Majesty's pleasure in that behalf, to his respective consuls upon the coast: for there are so many inconveniences accompanying such a permission, as would quite destroy all hopes of success in this affair. And indeed, it is to be feared, this very objection, or rather imposition, has already administered no small discouragement. But, as the interest of private men must submit and give place to public utility; so, in case it appear that this proceeding shall, in any considerable degree, affect the consuls in the respective profits and emoluments of their office, it may be recompensed to them some other way. But I do humbly propose it (as fundamental and irrevocable), that no consul whatsoever, of the English nation, be permitted to exact or demand a penny for any goods exported from Tangier, to any of the Spanish ports; but that a bare certificate from the government there, of such goods shipped either in English or foreign vessels, shall serve as an ample acquitment, and entitle them to exemption from all scrutinies and demands of the consuls, of any kind whatsoever.

It is also humbly proposed, that all ships and vessels of war, as shall by appointment attend the garrison and port of Tangier, may have special leave and permission from the lord-high-admiral of England, to receive on-board, and transport such goods to Cadiz, or any where in the neighbourhood, as the merchants shall have occasion to embark; but not unless such ship or vessel be bound to such and such a place for his Majesty's service. By this means, merchandize will go safer and cheaper, and obtain quicker dispatch; and the trader, consequently, another good encouragement to prosecute this way of commerce.

It is farther humbly proposed, that all convoys outward-bound, which touch not at Cadiz, as the Turkey ships, &c. may have order to call at Tangier; as also all such as are homeward-bound. Which, being once become an established practice, people, as well foreigners, as others, will lodge their money there, to be embarked for Turkey, &c. And, from the Levant, merchants will load their commodities designed for Cadiz, or the Spanish Indies, in English bottoms, to be deposited in Tangier, from whence they may require them as their affairs shall govern: by which means our shipping also will be much encouraged. This I urge not, but with submission to the sense of the Turkey company, who are the fittest judges how far such a practice may influence their trade. And thus much touching trade in general, with respect to Tangier.

There is no position (as I have observed) that bears more of the evidence of a demonstration, than that of the reduceableness and extirpation (by the help of Tangier) of the piracy of Sallee, and all the coast of Barbary: which, besides the main benefit of relieving the general commerce, will bring, as a consequence, the greatest part of that trade to Tangier. For those small frigates as shall be employed against Sallee (with whom it is presumed we are never to have a peace, upon no consideration whatsoever) shall have it in their instructions (as the French proceeded during their war with Tunis) to obstruct all commerce with that people, but by way of Tangier; which may be done without any great offence, by compelling such as they find trading upon the coast, to go to Tangier, there to unload, in order to the searching after contraband goods; where, if they are found guilty (as most traders thither are), the forfeiture of their goods, and the trouble that in such case will be given them, will be sure to deter them from a second attempt. If they are innocent, the vexation of being carried out of their way, their detention at Tangier, the incident charge, expence of time, hazard, and one incumbrance of another, will incline them either to forbear trading to Barbary at all, or by way of Tangier; where they will not fail of encouragement: for, by thus obstructing the trade

of Sallee, the Moors (pinched through the want of our commodities) will make their next recourse to Tangier; where finding good reception and dispatch, the commodities of the country which were wont to be carried to Sallee, having no vent there, will fail; and the stream of commerce of course be diverted hither: and when once the road is beaten, it will not be easily broken. This too, as it brings the Moors to seek us, will consequently draw such as were wont to trade to Sallee, to Tangier.

But it must be the care of the government here, to discourage to the utmost the residence of English factories any where upon the coast, but at Tangier. By which means, men's persons and estates are secure against the insolence and caprice of that barbarous people; who, upon trivial and unjust "pretences, make seizure of all; whereof we have recent instances, the effect whereof we yet feel, and we at Tangier often become as it were hostages, and compelled (neither to the praise of our honour, or politicks) to make such concessions as are both dangerous and scandalous, and all out of a tenderness to a stubborn, opinionative people; who, like some animals, rather than make a step out of their way, will go over a house.

And here I may not omit to observe, that, as generous a people as we are, there are yet among us a sort of men of the most degenerate abandoned principles, who continue that sordid, or rather impious practice of supplying these infidels with powder, guns, and all sorts of warlike stores, even while we are in effectual war with them both by sea and land; against not only the law of nations, but even humanity itself. Which guilty, scandalous, and unchristian proceeding, I trust to see punished, as it deserves; and if our laws prove defective, in that particular, our legislators may be humbly moved to find expedients in this behalf.

The next useful consideration, towards the improvement of the place, is to encourage, by all means possible, the magistracy and civil government; and this will invite people of substance to settle and abide here. The reputation of our justice and probity will be a means of supplying us with a greater number of able and honest citizens; and those will support the honour of our courts, and maintain the dignity of a corporation. This is very essential to the establishment of new beginners, as we are; and, of all points, the hardest to compass.

In the next place, it is my humble opinion, that his Majesty might be prevailed with to let leases to the inhabitants, for such a term of years as might encourage them to rebuild their dwellings, which are much decayed, and will fall to the ground, unless some such provision be made to prevent it: and this, in time, will also much increase the public revenue.

I do farthermore humbly observe, that the want of a positive decision, touching the freedom of the port, has occasioned much contention and inconvenience amongst us; and great hurt to the place. For unless it be understood to be a free port, as Leghorn, Marseilles, &c. which places ought to be our rule and example in that particular; we shall be rather a trap and a snare to people, than an encouragement and protection. For many an honest man's misfortunes have reduced him to poverty; and when invited hither, by a notion of that freedom and liberty which other ports, bearing that title, yield to such as put themselves under their protection, in hopes of a peaceable application to the repairing their broken fortunes, they shall be here vexed and molested with suits and imprisonments; people will shun us, as an infected place; and that great benefit which other ports of this sort reap, and is so essential to the growth and prosperity of this, is forfeited. I would not here be understood to make Tangier a den of thieves, where Barataria, and other infamous practices of ill men, should have encouragement; but humbly propose only, that our superiors would please to inform themselves, wherein those ports which are called *free* differ from others; and what those exemptions and privileges are which give them that name; and from thence form and establish such a constitution, as may for ever put us out of pain. For this constructive, or rather equivocal freedom, as I may call it, which we have hitherto been under, can never turn the place to account.

I might farther multiply instances, wherein, in time, by the wisdom and favour of authority, and the care and industry of the people, this place may be rendered productive of sundry profitable improvements, touching trade, manufactures, fisheries of tunny, anchovies, &c. which in the end would support the government. But I here put an end to your trouble, summing up all in this short animadversion:

That Tangier, like the usefulest elements, as it may be made an admirable servant; so it may be rendered a severe master. 'Tis an outwork of the nation, which you know is a principal strength of a fortress; 'tis a safe port, a magazine, a scale of trade, and a community of brave and loyal men, where there is no appearance of faction against either church or state. 'Tis a place improveable to the utmost degree of the interest and honour of the English nation, of vexation and damage to our enemies, and service to our friends; and consequently of influencing our treaties and alliances, with the most powerful of our neighbours. I have often heard the earl of Sandwich observe all this, and more of Tangier; with whom it had so superlative an esteem, that he was wont to say, if it could be walled and fortified with brass, it would repay the charge. And I doubt not, if our misfortunes or sins do not prevent it, but posterity, in the annals of our history, shall read the acquisition and improvement of Tangier among the felicities of his Majesty's reign; whom God Almighty prosper! and send us a happy meeting; which is the constant prayer of,

Tangier, October 20, 1679.

Honoured SIR,

Your most humble and faithful Servant.

The Interest of TANGIER.

TANGIER is as pleasant a city as any in the world, in a most wholesome air, pure and free from all infection, situate in a most rich and fruitful soil, able to yield all things needful to the life of man. There is no pleasure or delight, but this country, if open, would afford to the inhabitants, without the assistance of foreign nations. The air is temperate, and cooled with the annual breezes in the summer, called Etesian winds; and often purged from the distempers, which might otherwise reign there, by the easterly and westerly winds. By this means it happens that it is neither very hot in the summer, nor excessive cold in the winter; but temperate, and agreeable with the disposition of our human bodies. The Moors thereabouts live commonly to a great age. I have seen many amongst them about eighty or ninety years of age, very lusty. And, since Tangier belonged to England, none can say that ever the plague hath been in that city, or that there hath been any infection to carry away the inhabitants, proceeding from the air or country. I confess many have died in this place, but most through their own follies, debaucheries, and lust; which have destroyed here many of his Majesty's good subjects. If we could beg such a wind from Almighty God, as to drive from thence these infections; our English bodies would be very healthy, and Tangier would not be so odious to the nation.

It was built by the Phœnicians, if Procopius may be believed: for he tells us of a pillar near Tingi, where these words were engraven in the Phœnician language: *Nos fugimus à facie Josuæ filii Nun.* They were then the greatest traders of the world; they chose this place for that purpose, to enrich themselves by that art. Of all the cities of the world, I know none better situate for command and trade than this. It lies at the mouth and passage of all the Levant trade. No ship can go in or out of the Streights, but Tangier must see it in the day; and in the night four or five men-of-war cruising to and fro, some in, others out of the Mediterranean, may take all the ships that sail that way. None can escape, without a strong convoy, which would be too chargeable for the Dutch, French, and other Northern merchants. If Algier were situate where Tangier is now, all its enemies must forbear trading; and if Tangier were in the hands of the Moors, or of the French, or some other prince strong at sea; our

nation were undone, and our merchants must bid farewell to the Streights in time of war. It is an easy matter for the prince of Tangier therefore to command our Northern world, and to give laws to Europe and Africa. The situation of Rome, of Carthage, of Constantinople, of London, Paris, and other imperial cities, is nothing near so advantageous for that purpose as Tangier, if all things be considered.

The country and soil is fruitful in corn, honey, cattle, beef, sheep, goats, camels, horses, and buffles. The woods are full of bees, and wild beasts that have excellent furs. The earth would bear good wines of all sorts; for there are the sweetest grapes of the world.

Here are all manner of Eastern fruits, pomegranates, oranges, melons, lemons, figs, &c. So that, if our English did husband the ground about Tangier, there is nothing that we fetch from Spain, Italy, Greece, or France, but we might have it there. It is the nearest plantation that belongs to England, within a fortnight or three weeks sailing from the Downs. So that, if all things be considered, it seems no little wonder that Tangier hath not flourished, since it is in the hands of such a powerful nation as the English. But our unhappiness there is not to be ascribed to the place, the air, or country, but to several other things, which I shall here set down; not only for the public satisfaction, but that we may understand the true causes of the people's aversion for Tangier, and be better able to remove them for the future.

First, I shall begin with religion. It was never there truly encouraged, but in the short governments of the earl of Tiviot and colonel Norwood. We can never expect a city will flourish, when all manner of debaucheries, profaneness, irreligion, and idolatry, shall have the liberty to appear without a check; when the governors themselves have been the examples to encourage the contempt of virtue and piety; when either openly or privately they have made it their business to ruin the Protestant interest, and to call those persons in question for their lives, who have been the greatest supporters of it. Let profane men think what they will, there was never yet a city or a nation that ever prospered since the beginning of the world, that slighted the religion of the country. The Romans' prosperity is ascribed by St. Austin to their sincere profession of their idolatries. In Tangier too many have cast off all respects due to the God that hath made them, and mind nothing but debauchery and lewdness: others have hearkened to the solicitations of some popish priests, and make profession of that religion, that they might, by the means of their absolutions, enjoy their vices and filthiness without remorse of conscience. For the benefit of trade, and the encouragement of strangers, all sorts of religions should be allowed; but it is against all policy, that the English subjects and officers, that receive from the king their livelihood, should be suffered to change their religions as often as their garments, and want only to profess which they please. Not only from hence but from several other passages, religion hath received great discouragement; to the open scandal of the Protestant profession, and the dishonour of the church of England in the eyes of the nations round about.

The second cause of Tangier's unhappiness is, that most of the persons, that have been sent thither, have never intended to inhabit there, but have been needy and greedy; and have only designed to live there a while to fill their purses, and then to return for England with their gains. By this means the sober inhabitants of Tangier, from whose industry and good behaviour only we can reasonably expect prosperity, impoverish the city, and discourage the rest. And many other inconveniences proceed from hence; to his Majesty's prejudice, and of the place. To remedy this inconveniency, such laws should be enacted as might encourage men to live there, and discourage their departure upon such unhandsome terms as they commonly leave the garrison.

The third cause is, the difference and variance between traders and soldiers, encouraged too much by the rulers' covetousness, and the citizens' poverty and wants; and the unreasonableness of both, unwilling to comply with one another. For this discourageth all wealthy persons from inhabiting there, because they are not countenanced, nor have those liberties which it hath pleased his Majesty to grant them. Some in a late governor's

time, for frivolous accounts, have been called in question for their lives, condemned contrary to all law and reason to gratify his displeasure, and others of the female sex. These, and such like proceedings, ruin Tangier, and hinder it from that prosperity and wealth which it might easily attain to.

Fourthly, Tangier's ill fate, since it is in the English hands, is due to the ill reports spread abroad of the place by the vulgar sort, encouraged by the many persons dead there through their own miscarriages, and the ill usages of popish officers, who to my knowledge have valued more ten or twelve shillings at pay-day, than the lives of their soldiers; and have not treated them like men, much less like Christians. I have saved the lives of a great many of my neighbours, when they have wanted necessaries. For which good deeds I have been reproved by some Irish officers, who expected their pay between their death and the following muster. The meanest soldier must be encouraged, and not suffered to want when fallen into a sickness, though most times through his own intemperance. I dare affirm, and will offer to prove, that the unmercifulness of the officers, and the neglect of physicians and apothecaries, who, though paid for that purpose by his Majesty, have killed three parts of those that are dead in Tangier. I have sometimes buried three or four in a day, dead for want of that, which his Majesty hath provided for them in case of sickness.

Fifthly, Another cause of Tangier's unhappiness, is the strange victories of the Moors, and the sad massacre of the English, when they have gone out against them in the open field; with the vast opinion of valour, they have gained amongst us, through our unadvisedness, and their successes. The defeat of Fines's party on the first and third of May; and of my lord Tiviot, and his company, on the second; have struck a great terror into our English hearts, and caused us to look upon a Moor as an excellent soldier. But truly we are mistaken; I know their valour, and the strength of their country, more than any that hath yet been in Tangier; for, when I have been amongst the Moors, I have enquired many things concerning their order, militia, numbers, &c. which I perceive we are ignorant of.

The greatest strength of the Moors' army, is in the horse and lance foot they have, armed partly with guns, and partly with lances; but they have no great guns, neither do they know how to manage them, nor carry them into the field. They fight in disorder, without rank or files, the horse by themselves, and the foot by themselves. In set battles, which have seldom been seen in this country, the horse make up the van and the rear, and the foot the main body; so that many times the foot have nothing for them to do, but to destroy the defeated enemy, when the horse hath routed and terrified them. But they are for ambushes and surprises, because their country is very proper for that purpose. Muley Arxid overcame Gayland in this manner, as he had before ruined Bembouka. In this country they have but little or no standing army; all is made up of their several divisions, or companies of Arabs scattered about, who know their distinct Monkadems, or colonels, under whom they are to fight, and to whom they are to repair in all alarms. But they cannot subsist long in one place, because they have no purveyors, nor other provisions, but what every man brings with him; unless it be some small quantity, which the place where they lie may afford them, in case of necessity. They fight in the same manner as the Roman authors have represented the ancient Mauri; neither are they better skilled in marshalling an army, or fighting. Let any man, that knows the art of war, compare them with us, and judge whether we may not be able to encounter them. If they have had successes against us, it is through our weakness and unpreparedness. We have marched against them only with muskets and swords, and they have come against us with horse and lance. Before our men had time to discharge their muskets, the horse and the lance had disordered our men, broken their ranks, and cut them all to pieces on a sudden. Had we a wall of pikes to oppose against them, lined with muskets, all the horse of Barbary could do us no mischief, and we might safely march through their whole country. An example we have lately had of a worthy commander, Sir Palmes Fairbourne, who made his retreat with his party

without any considerable loss, only with the assistance of a stand of pikes, which kept off the Moors' horse, whilst his foot fired upon them. Their foot signify nothing; their horse have no guns, or very few, only pistols. For their infantry, they are unskilful in the managing of a gun, neither have they the courage to stand a shot. The Portuguese seldom encountered with the Moors, but they had the victory; therefore, we must ascribe all our losses to the unadvisedness of our commanders, and the disorder of our men, and their want of those defensive weapons, which were able to keep off the fury of the Moors' horse. I dare engage with five or six-thousand English, against above twenty-thousand Moors; if the English may have those arms and provisions that become them. Such is the weakness of this country, that they can scarce bring together, under one commander, twenty-thousand men; for they are all divided under several heads of families, since the death of the last emperor of Morocco, and will not consent to set up a monarch again. He, therefore, that hath the longest sword, gets the victory, and the chief command. In this case, it is an easy matter for us to make an interest for ourselves, by encouraging some party; and imitating the Roman policy, who never ventured against a nation or people, but with the assistance of some of their own soldiers. But it is our unhappiness, that we know not what is done amongst the Moors; we live in Tangier within the walls and lines, and unless we send a flag of truce for some pitiful business, we scarcely see the face of a Moor in a year's time, but at a distance; unless some of them come to bring provisions to us. But we have never sent any to understand their country, to search into their strength and dependencies, to examine their interests, their inclinations, and those other things which we might improve to the advantage of Tangier. If any be sent for that purpose, he must not be a nobleman, for they care not to see any greater state amongst them than they observe. Their greatest princes live as king Evander, in Virgil. As they have a great respect for clergymen, I think such a one, if ingenious, and acquainted with the language of the country, might do much good; either to persuade them to a peace and trade with us, or to understand those particulars, which might cause us to secure the interest of Tangier: that may be done either by peace or war. But let us be well assured of this, that whilst we keep only the walls of Tangier, we shall only spend money; it will never bring any profit to our king, unless the country be opened for us, which may be easily done, with little or no expence; and, instead of several thousand pounds which his Majesty spends in the maintaining of Tangier, it shall not only maintain itself, but yield a considerable revenue to the crown of England. For the future, it may be rendered a dreadful city to the Moors, Spaniards, Turks, and French, and keep-in the incursions of those of Algier.

If Tangier were in that condition, men would desire to go over and inhabit there, for the conveniency of trade: some neighbour factories would settle there, and we should vend all commodities of wool which lie upon our hands, amongst the Africans; for now the Dutch and French furnish them. We should secure our merchants from the pirates of Algier; for then they would not dare to break with us upon every slight occasion. When the Vandals conquered Africa, it was stronger than it is now, and they had not the advantage of guns as we have; yet they found but little difficulty to subdue the inhabitants, who were then assisted by the Romans and Grecians.

I could offer many things for the good of Tangier, from my knowledge of the country since the beginning of the world: but I know not how acceptable these things will be. I am certain, if a right course was taken, the mole, which hath been long building, might be speedily finished; Tangier might be made the most prosperous and hopeful city that belongs to England; and it should repay to his Majesty all that has been expended in the keeping of it since it was ours. If I be required, I shall be willing, not only to give a further account, but also to be instrumental in the promoting of the good of Tangier.

The Accusation and Impeachment of John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal of England; by the House of Commons.¹

Printed, *Anno Domini* 1640.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

Imprimis, **T**HAT the said John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, Lord-keeper, &c. hath traitorously and wickedly endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws, and established government of the realm of England; and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary tyrannical government against law: which he hath declared by traitorous and wicked words, counsels, opinions, judgments, practices, and actions.

II. That, in pursuance of those his traitorous and wicked purposes, he did, in the third and fourth years of his Majesty's reign, or one of them, being then Speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament, contrary to the commands of the House then assembled and sitting, deny and hinder the reading of some things, which the said House of Commons required to be read for the safety of the king and kingdom, and preservation of the religion of this realm; and did forbid all the members of the House to speak; and said, that if any did offer to speak, he would rise and go away; and said, nothing should be then done in the House; and did offer to rise and go away; and did thereby, and otherwise, as much as in him lay, endeavour to subvert the ancient and undoubted rights and course of parliaments.

III. That he, being of his Majesty's council, at the justice-seat held for the county of Essex, in the month of October, in the tenth year of his now Majesty's reign, at Strafford-Langton in the same county, being then of his Majesty's council, in that service did practise, by unlawful means, to enlarge the forest of that county many miles beyond the known bounds thereof, as they had been enjoyed near three-hundred years; contrary to the law and to the charter of the Liberties of the Forest, and other charters, and divers

¹ [Sir John Finch, knight, son and heir of sir Henry Finch, serjeant at law to James I. was born September 17, 1584, and educated in the common-law at Gray's-Inn. In 1628 he was chosen speaker of the House of Commons; appointed chief-justice of the Common-pleas in 1634; and, upon the death of lord Coventry, raised to the dignity of lord-keeper of the great-seal, *anno* 1639. His last promotion was on January 23, 1640, when he was created baron Finch of Fordwich in Kent.]

Upon reviewing his character, it will be found far less exalted than his situation. From possessing some parts, and more vanity, he fancied himself qualified for the highest offices, without the due methods of study and preparation. He was exceedingly obnoxious to the people, on account of the active part he took in the levying of ship-money, in which he was said to have wrested the laws to a perverse meaning, in order to answer the purposes of a despotic court; and being looked upon as a pernicious counsellor to the king, and one of the principal authors of the national grievances, it was determined by the Commons to bring him to exemplary punishment. In a debate on the subject, lord Finch was named as 'an avowed factor and procurer of the odious judgment' in Mr. Hampden's affair; and a committee having formally prepared an accusation of high-treason, he was declared a traitor by a vote of the House of Commons, December 21, 1640; notwithstanding the exculpatory speech he was permitted to make at the bar of that House. But the Commons being tardy in their measures, the accusation was not carried up to the Lords till the morning after; and the Lord-keeper, in the mean time, withdrew to Holland, from an apprehension of being brought to severe justice. It is said that he some time after obtained leave to return, that he lived privately at the Mote near Canterbury, and dying November 20, 1660, was buried in St. Martin's church.]

acts of parliament²; and, for effecting the same, did unlawfully cause and procure undue returns to be made of jurors, and great numbers of other persons, who were unsworn, to be joined to them of the jury; and threatened and awed the said jurors to give a verdict for the king; and by unlawful means did surprize the county, that they might not make defence; and did use several menacing wicked speeches and actions to the jury, and others, for obtaining his unjust purpose aforesaid; and after a verdict obtained for the king in the month of April following, (at which time the said justice-seat was called by adjournment,) the said John lord Finch, then lord-chief-justice of his Majesty's court of Common-pleas, was one of the judges assistants for them, and continued, by further unlawful and unjust practices, to maintain and confirm the said verdict; and did then and there, being assistant to the justice in eyre, advise the refusal of the traverse offered by the county, and all their evidences, but only what they should verbally deliver; which was refused accordingly.

IV. That he, about the month of November, 1635, being then lord-chief-justice of the court of Common-pleas, and having taken an oath for the due administration of justice to his Majesty's liege people, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, contrived an opinion *in hæc verba*: 'When the good and safety, &c.' and did subscribe his name to that opinion; and by persuasions, threats, and false suggestions, did solicit and procure sir John Bramston, then and now lord-chief-justice of England; sir Humfrey Davenport, knight, lord-chief-baron of his Majesty's court of Exchequer; sir Richard Hutton, knight, late one of the justices of his Majesty's court of Common-pleas; sir John Denham, knight, late one of the barons of his Majesty's court of Exchequer; sir William Jones, knight, late one of the justices of the said court of King's-bench; sir George Crooke, then and now, one of the judges of the said court of King's-bench; sir Thomas Trevor, knight, then and now, one of the barons of the Exchequer; sir George Vernon, knight, late one of the justices of the said court of Common-pleas; sir Robert Barkley, knight, then and now, one of the justices of the said court of King's-bench; sir Francis Crawley, knight, then and now, one of the justices of the said court of Common-pleas; sir Richard Weston, knight, then and now, one of the barons of the said court of Exchequer; some or one of them, to subscribe with their names the said opinion presently, and enjoined them severally, some or one of them, secrecy upon their allegiance.

V. That he the ***** day of ***** then being lord-chief-justice of the said court of Common-pleas, subscribed an extrajudicial opinion in answer to questions in a letter from his Majesty, *in hæc verba*, &c. And that he contrived the said questions, and procured the said letter from his Majesty: and whereas the said Justice Hutton and Justice Crooke declared to him their opinions to the contrary; yet he required and pressed them to subscribe, upon his promise that he would let his Majesty know the truth of their opinions, notwithstanding such subscriptions; which nevertheless he did not make known to his Majesty, but delivered the same to his Majesty as the opinion of all the Judges.

VI. That he, being lord-chief-justice of the said court of Common-pleas, delivered his opinion in the Exchequer-chamber against master Hampden in the case of ship-money; that he the said master Hampden, upon the matter and substance of the case, was charge-

² [Lord Finch, expecting that this business would be introduced in his impeachment, expressed himself as follows, in the very eloquent speech which he made in vindication of his conduct, December 21, 1641.

'It fell out afterwards, that the king commanded me, (and all this before I was chief-justice) to go into Essex, and did then tell me he had been informed, that the bounds of the forest were narrower, than in truth ought they to be; and I did according to his command. I will here profess that which is known to many, I had no thought or intention of enlarging the bounds of the forest, further than that part about it, which there was a perambulation about, 26 Edw. IV. I desired the country to confer with me about it, if they were pleased to do it; and then, according to my duty, I did produce these records which I thought fit for his Majesty's service, knowing them to discharge themselves as by law and justice they might do. I did never in the least kind, go about to overthrow the Charter of the Forest: and did publish and maintain *Charta de Forestis*, as a sacred thing and no man to violate it, and ought to be preserved for the king and common-wealth.']

able with the money then in question; a copy of which proceedings the Commons will deliver to your Lordships; and did solicit and threaten the said judges, some or one of them, to deliver their opinions in like manner against master Hampden; and, after the said baron Denham had delivered his opinion for master Hampden, the said lord Finch repaired purposely to the said baron Denham's chamber, in Serjeants-Inn in Fleet-street; and after the said master baron Denham had declared and expressed his opinion, urged him to retract the said opinion; which he refusing, was threatened by the said lord Finch, because he refused.

VII. That he, then being lord-chief-justice of the court of Common-pleas, declared and published in the Exchequer-chamber, and Western-circuit where he went judge, that the king's right to ship-money, as aforesaid, was so inherent a right to the crown, as an act of parliament could not take away; and with divers malicious speeches inveighed against and threatened all such as refused to pay ship-money; all which opinions, contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, are against the law of the realm, the subjects' right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right: which said resolutions and petition of right were well known to him, and resolved and enacted in parliament, when he was Speaker of the Commons' house of parliament³.

VIII. That he, being lord-chief-justice of the court of Common-pleas, did take the general practice of that court to his private chamber; and that he sent warrants into all or many shires of England to several men, as to Francis Giles of the county of Devon, Robert Benson of the county of York, attorneys of that court, and to divers others, to release all persons arrested on any outlawry about forty shillings fees; whereas, none by law so arrested can be bailed or released, without a *supersedeas* under seal, or reversal.

³ [The Lord-keeper endeavoured to justify his conduct with regard to ship-money in the following manner:

'For the shipping business, my opinion in that cause hath lain heavy upon me, and I shall clearly and truly present unto you what every thing is; with this protestation, (that if in reckoning up mine own opinion, what I was of, or what I delivered, any thing of it be displeasing, or contrary to the opinion of this House,) that I am far from justifying of it; but submit that and all other my actions, to your wisdom and goodness.

'Master Speaker; the first writs that were sent out about shipping business, I had no more knowledge of it, and was as ignorant as any one member of this House, or any man in the kingdom; I was never the author or deviser of it, and will boldly say, from the first hour, I did never advise or counsel the setting forth of any ship-writs in my life. It is true, that I was made chief-justice of the Common-pleas some four days before the ship-writs went out to the ports and maritime places (as I do remember) the 13th of October, 1634, they do bear test: and I was sworn chief-justice the 16th of October, so as they went out in that time, but without my knowledge or privity; the God of Heaven knows this to be true! Afterwards, his Majesty was pleased to command my lord-chief-justice of the King's-bench, that then was (sir Thomas Richardson), and chief-baron of the Exchequer that now is [sir H. Davenport], and myself (then chief of the Common-pleas), to take into consideration the precedent then brought unto us, which we did, and after returned to his Majesty what we had found out of these precedents. It is true, that afterwards his Majesty did take into consideration, that if the whole kingdom were concerned, that it was not reason to lay the whole burthen upon the Cinque Ports and maritime towns. Thereupon, upon what ground his Majesty took that into his consideration, I do confess I do know nothing of it. His Majesty did command my lord-chief-justice [lord Littleton] that now is, my lord-chief-baron, and myself, to return our opinions; whether, when the whole kingdom is in danger, and the kingdom in general is concerned, it be not according to law and reason, that the whole kingdom, and his Majesty and all interested therein, should join in defending and preserving thereof. This was in time, about 1634. In Michaelmas Term following, his Majesty commanded me to go to all the Judges, and require their opinions in particular. He commanded me to do it to every one, and to charge them upon their duty and allegiance, to keep it secret. It was never intended by his Majesty (so professed by him) at that time, and so declared to all the Judges, that it was not required by him, to be such a binding opinion to the subject, as to hinder him from calling it in question; nor to be binding to themselves; but that upon better reason and advice, they may alter it; but desired their opinions, for his own private reason. I know very well, that that extrajudicial opinion of the Judges ought not to be binding; but I did think, and speak my heart and conscience freely; myself, and the rest of the Judges being sworn, and by our oaths tied, to counsel the king when he should require advice of us, that we were bound by our oaths and duties to return our opinions. I did obey his Majesty's command, and do here before the God of Heaven avow it. I did never use the least promise of preferment or reward to any, nor did use the least menace; I did leave it freely to their own consciences and liberty; for I was left the liberty of my own by his Majesty, and had reason to leave them the liberty of their own consciences. And I beseech you be pleased to have some belief, that I would not say this, but that I know the God of Heaven will make it appear.' Vide Speech before quoted.]

IX. That he, being lord-chief-justice of the court of Common-pleas, upon a pretended suit begun in Michaelmas-term in the eleventh year of his Majesty's reign, (although there was no plaint or declaration against him,) did notoriously and contrary to all law and justice, by threats, menaces, and imprisonment, compel Thomas Laurence, an executor, to pay nineteen pounds twelve shillings; and likewise caused Richard Barnard, being only overseer of the last will of that testator, to be arrested for the payment of the said money, contrary to the advice of the rest of the judges of that court, and against the known and ordinary course of justice, and his said oath and knowledge; and denied his Majesty's subjects the common and ordinary justice of this realm, as to master Limericke, and others; and, for his private benefit, endamaged and ruined the estates of very many of his Majesty's subjects, contrary to his oath and knowledge.

X. That he, being lord-keeper of the great-seal of England, and sworn one of his Majesty's privy-council, did, by false and malicious slanders, labour to incense his Majesty against parliaments; and did frame and advise the publishing the declaration, after the dissolution of the last parliament.

All which treasons and misdemeanours above mentioned, were done and committed by the said John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, lord-keeper of the great-seal of England; and thereby he, the said Lord Finch, hath traitorously, and contrary to his allegiance, laboured to lay imputations and scandals upon his Majesty's government, and to alienate the hearts of his Majesty's liege-people from his Majesty, and to set a division between them, and to ruin and destroy his Majesty's realm of England; for which they do impeach him, the said Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, lord-keeper of the great-seal of England, of high-treason, against our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity, of the misdemeanours abovementioned. And the said Commons, by protestation, (saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other accusation, or impeachment, against the said Lord Finch; and also of replying to the answer, that the said John, Lord Finch, shall make unto the said articles, or to any of them, and of offering proof of the premisses, or any of their impeachments or accusations that shall be exhibited by them, as the case shall, according to the course of parliaments, require;) do pray; that the said John, Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, lord-keeper of the great-seal of England, may be put to answer all, and every the premisses, and such proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments, as may be upon every of them had and used, as is agreeable to law and justice.

The True Copy of a Letter, sent from the most Reverend William, Lord-Archbishop of Canterbury, to the University of Oxford, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor. Published, by Occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title: and also the Answer of the University to the said Letter.

Oxford; Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University.
Anno Dom. 1641.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

To my very loving Friends, the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxford.

AFTER my hearty commendations, &c. these are to remember my love to that whole body: that love, than which never any chancellor bore greater, or with more ferventness and zeal to the public good and happiness of that place. And I do heartily pray all, and every of you to believe me; for most true it is, that the unfortunateness of my great affliction doth not trouble me for any one thing more, than that I can be no farther useful or beneficial to that place, which I so much love and honour.

I was once resolved not to resign my place of chancellor, till I saw the issue of my troubles one way or other. And this resolution I took, partly because I had no reason to desert myself, and occasion the world to think me guilty; and partly, because I have found so much love from the University, that I could not make myself willing to leave it, till some greater cause should take me off from that which I so resolved on. That cause, if I be not much mistaken, doth now present itself. For I see the University hath great need of friends, great and daily need. I see my trial not hastened; so that I am neither able to assist your great occasions myself, nor procure friends for them. I see that, if you had another chancellor, you could not want the help which now you do. And I cannot but know, that were your love never so great to me, it must needs cool, when you see me able to give no assistance, and yet fill the place which should afford it to you. And I should hardly satisfy myself, that I love you so well as I do, if I did not further your good and happiness by all the means I can, and even by this my resignation.

The serious consideration of these things, and the foresight which I have, that I shall never be able to serve you as I have done, have prevailed with me at this time, to send the resignation of the chancellorship to your body met in convocation. And I do hereby pray you, that it may be publicly read and accepted, the time being now most fit; that so your honourable succeeding chancellor may presently appoint an able deputy for the government, according to his own judgment.

And now I do earnestly desire of you all, either to remember, or to know, that I never sought, or thought of the honour of this place to myself: and yet, that since it was by the great favour and love of that University laid upon me, I have discharged it, by God's grace and goodness to me, with great pains and care; and, God's blessing (I humbly thank him) hath not been wanting. And I profess singly, and from my heart, if there be any good which I ought to have done to that place, and have not done it, it proceeded from want of understanding or ability, not will or affection. And though I do, for the

causes aforesaid, resign this place; yet I shall serve it still with my prayers, so long as God continues my life.

And as I doubt not, but God will bless you with an honourable chancellor, and one able to do more for that place than I have been; so I pray God, to give you a peaceable and quiet election, and to direct it to the good of this his church, and the honour and happiness of that famous University: that you may have no miss in the least of me, who, after your prayers heartily desired, now writes himself the last time,

Your very loving poor friend and Chancellor,

From the Tower, June 25, 1641.

W. CANT'.

Amplissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Gulielmo Archi-Præsuli Cantuariensi.

Reverendissime Archi-præsul—hoc enim solum tibi (sic voluisti) nomen relictum est—

NOVISSIMÆ literæ tuæ, amoris, sed & doloris, plenæ, fecerunt ut dehinc nos planè ære dirutos diruptosque profiteri debeamus. Cùm effusissimo amorì tuo, verbis (quod unicum nobis suppetit peculium) ut paria faceremus, nunquam sperandum fuit; nedom dolori nostro verba nos reperturos paria; ne si passis quidem eloquentiæ velis vehi, & totū doloris prærogativā frui liceret. Hodie verò, ut sunt tempora, ad justissimum dolorem nostrum non levis hic accessit cumulus, quòd eum in sinu premere & quasi strangulare necesse habeamus; quibus ne illud quidem tutò queri licet, in ea nos tempora incidisse, in quibus singulari tuæ prudentiæ & erga nos amorì consultissimum visum sit, nostræque quàm maximè interesse, ut res ac fortunas nostras à tuis segreges habeamus & sejunctas. Quanquam verò Supremo Numini sic visum est, ut illud nobis beneficii loco imputandum haberes, quòd maximum beneficiorum tuorum, teipsum, à nobis segregares, & cancellarii munus abdicares; affectus tamen tuus erga Academiam nostram propensissimus, tum literis tuis novissimis, tum aliis frequentibus argumentis abundè testatus, dubitare nos non sinit, quin, deposito invidioso Cancellarii titulo, amantissimi patroni affectum adhuc in sinu tuo retineas. Quamdiu manuscripta¹ illa κειμήλια tua, Orientis spolia, & verè ἡλὲς ἀναθήματα bibliothecam nostram illustrabunt; quamdiu lectura Arabica, à te² dotata, frequentabitur; quamdiu antiquitatis vindices simul & testes antiqua³ numismata visentur; quamdiu castigatio disciplina, mores emendati, morumque canon statuta vigeant; quamdiu pro studio partium bonarum artium studia colentur; quamdiu literis honos, honori literæ erunt, cancellarium adhuc esse te, sentiet præsens ætas; fuisse, postera agnoscet. Dehinc, immortalitatis securus, gloriæque tuæ superstes, diu hinc posteritati tuæ intersis; ac denuò, ubi mortalitatis numeros omnes impleveris, plenus annis abeas, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos abdicasti. Ita vovet

Amplitudini Tuæ omni cultūs ac observantiæ nexu devinctissima,

Dat. è Domo Convocat. 6 Julii 1641.

ACADEMIA OXON.

¹ MSS. Cod. plus quàm mccc. de quibus plus quàm cccxxx. linguis Oriental. scripti, & paulò minùs c ling. Gr.

² Salarium professoris ling. Arab. xl lb. annuæ.

³ Hebr. Græc. Roman. famil. & imper. Britannic.

A Letter to the Earl of Shaftesbury¹, this 9th of July, 1680.
From Tom Tell-Troth, a downright Englishman.

[Folio ; containing four pages.]

My LORD,

I HAVE lived to see your Lordship great as well as popular, and a stout assertor of the Protestant religion and interest. Wherefore, to your Lordship have I thought fit, in this time of danger to our native country, to lay before you the great mischiefs that both the monarchy and Protestant religion do suffer, in respect of the present designs of Papists and Commonwealth's-men : and when I have discovered to your Lordship their intrigues, (as far as my strict scrutiny and search into them, besides sufficient testimonies from others truly informed, have satisfied me,) I hope we shall take such adequate measures from them, to satisfy both your Lordship and this kingdom, that ruin and desolation will come swift on us, confusion and every evil work, if some speedy remedy be not instantly proposed by the wisdom of the great council of this nation.

And first, my Lord, your Lordship will please to give me leave to make a parallel between the past actions of the designing men before and after 1641, to the happy restoration of the king : by it, I shall be able to satisfy your Lordship, that what was then designed and effected upon the person of the late king, church of England, and government, were the result of such pernicious counsels and designs, as are now hatching by these sons of Belial, to the present disturbance, if not ruin, of our flourishing church and kingdom.

It is obvious to all that have had any knowledge of the late transactions before 1640, and after ; that the papist seeing our church so well guarded with purity of doctrine and faith, with innocent ceremonies, to defend her from the invasion of slovenly and dishonourably worshipping of the great God ; as well also to avoid the superstition and popery of the worship of the church of Rome : behold what emissaries were there sent out, and with what clothing to deceive ; the Puritan must be drawn in, to make an outcry against canons, ceremonies, and whatever was enjoined by law in the worship of God must be antichristian ; at least it must be said, unlawfully imposed on their tender consciences.

From sowing these doctrines, the poor and the ignorant were taught to believe Bishops to be the very limbs of Antichrist, and superstition and idolatry brought by them into the church ; and many worthy patriots, such as Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, &c. would smell popery and superstition in gown, surplice, cross in baptism, worshipping God towards the East, a primitive custom in the church of God, &c. then publish to the world the great care they had to bring things to a due reformation both in church and state². But behold the consequence of this undertaking : they had no sooner gone

¹ [Vide the present Volume, page 368.]

² [Vide Archbishop Laud's Speech in the Supplement to this Work. To this point we may apply the following extract from 'Foxes and Firebrands ; or, a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation ;' in which we are informed, 'That there was a design on foot, by the Papists, against the King and the Archbishop. That to effect this, the Scottish commotions were raised, and fomented by the Jesuits ; that they exasperated the English Dissenters by the severity used against Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick ; and the Scots, by the fears of popery upon the imposition of the Common-Prayer-Book.—The troubles came on so fast,—that the Archbishop lost his head for refusing a cardinal's hat, and opposing the Scottish covenants ; and the King lost his, because he would not give away the crown, and put down the mitre, by granting toleration.']

about to undermine the church of England, but then it was fit time to call in question too the miscarriages of state, and to be sure archbishop Laud (who was the most eminent assertor of the rights of the church, and as true a Protestant as ever lived) must be the first man cried down by the teachers and rabble, for being popishly inclined, or rather for being a papist, and must be butchered too for that supposition. By his death ended the tranquillity of the once-flourishing church of England. Thus had the papist, hand in hand with fanatic rage and zeal, triumphed over us.

But, after this, it was not enough to bring our church low, but we must yet go higher. — Well! What encouragement has the king given to papists of late, by preferring them to places of great consequence in the government, such as were Strafford, &c.?—These persons, say those, must be removed for evil counsellors, or we shall have no peace in our Israel. Accordingly our zealous teachers sent their disciples abroad in all avenues of the city, to cry down evil counsellors; for that their design was to bring in popery, and destroy liberty; ay, the liberty of the subject. And then forsooth, ship-money, a huge burthen to what we have felt since, was against *Magna Charta*; indeed every thing in the government found fault with, as either popishly or arbitrarily inclined; then cry out for reformation, reformation. And when, for peace-sake, our good king had granted many of their unreasonable demands, and had delivered to their fury innocent blood, to prevent (as he thought) the shedding much more; yet, would not their rage stop here; but, at last, king, church, and all were brought to destruction, by the most horrid rebellion and villainy, as can scarce be paralleled in any kingdom in the world in all circumstances.

And now, my Lord, one would think, that this pretended glorious reformation should have produced some settlement by this time to the tottering kingdom. No, truly; we found nothing but sect springing out of sect; and they, that once prayed and fought together against the peace of the kingdom in one body, and as it were under one denomination, are presently dwindled into many little parties and saintships, and every one crying to his neighbour, ‘I am holier than thou art:’ so that from Papist sprung Puritan, from Puritan Presbyterian, from Presbyterian Independent; from thence Anabaptists, Antinomians, Fifth-Monarchists, Sweet Singers in Israel, Quakers, Muggletonians, and the Lord knows what; till, by and through the inconstancy of their persons and judgments, and the various freaks of the several humours, all was reduced to a chaos; so that neither a single Usurper, nor a Parliament without a King, nor Committee of Safety, nor Keepers of the Liberties, or Councils of Officers, and strength of arms could produce any quiet; till God wonderfully restored him, whose undoubted right it was to sway the sceptre of these kingdoms.

And thus, my Lord, I have, in short, given your Lordship an account of what has been acted in those times: let me now crave leave further to make the parallel with the present times; and therein, if I reflect on some of the busy and designing men, I hope I shall not break the laws of decorum, because things are brought to that crisis, that if an honest English heart will not now speak home to the purpose, for aught I can see, he may evermore hold his peace.

Well then, my Lord, do we not now perceive, as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the same men, or men of the same principles, are again hard at work to undermine and destroy both our church, and state too? What divided interests and factions have there been, for seven years last past, and more, to bring the king and governors into disgrace, by frequent clubs at coffee-houses and taverns, on purpose to break the bonds of unity among us! From these places and sinks of sedition and rebellion, have there not been many of a higher form, who, through discontent, or love of faction and change of government, or for not being continued, or preferred to the highest and most honourable places therein, have endeavoured all they can to breed differences between the two Houses of Parliament, by throwing in a little matter with a ball of contention at the end on’t, purposely to hinder the prosecution of what should tend to the advancement of the public weal: and what can be more plain, than that such designs since were like those of 1641? because the Bishops would not herd with Commonwealth’s-

men's interests. Yet, my Lord, I do believe the Bishops are as prudent men, and can as well tell the nature of an oath, together with the design as well as the consequence thereof, as any statesmen I know of in the kingdom, let them pretend to what they will: and besides, I am sure their interest is so interwoven in the monarchy of England, that neither popery, nor any other interest, besides that of their own church as established by law, can any ways preserve them, unless they will all as one man fall down and worship the great image, and be all things to all men, that they may be sure to get something; as many, my Lord, pretended famous statesmen have done in the several changes of government in these kingdoms: but that is not to be supposed of them, since they would not, nor did ever join with any such interest as opposed church or state; and thus did both city and country, clubs, and coffee-houses ring, that the Bishops were the only-opposers of the true interest of the kingdom, and the great occasion why justice could not be done on capital and notorious offenders. This, my Lord, is a true spice of old 1641, and your Lordship cannot but observe, that it hath brought the Bishops into suspicion with the vulgar sort, that they are driving on the popish design; and that there are not above two Protestant bishops among them all, as they give out.

Well, but this will not do yet; 'tis not so long since Laud was murdered, and Strafford: people sufficiently smarted under Covenanting reformers, and Army-saints, and 'tis not easy to play the same game over again the same way; and this the designing men see, and so are fain to have other artifices to rend the government in pieces, and reduce it to its former chaos or designed commonwealth: so that if neither disquieting or dividing parliaments, nor secret combining clubs against great ministers of state, nor a seeming weariness of the monarchy of England, nor disgracing the governors of the church, nor suspicion of popery, and the introducing thereof, will do the business to exasperate the people, as in 1641: why truly, then comes forth a plot full of treason and popery³; then forsooth, the Duke must needs be the foundation of this damnable plot, and the discoverers (who no doubt have been blessed instruments to save us at this time from the paw of Antichrist) must be revered as demi-gods among the vulgar, but more especially among the precious Independent and Anabaptist faction: but not to reflect on the king's evidence, for no doubt deservedly did those suffer who were condemned by the justice of our laws, and many more deservedly may, that have a hand in that pernicious and bloody design against his Majesty's sacred person and government. In this hurly-burly what a confusion did it bring the kingdom into? How did it necessitate the king to prorogue and adjourn, yea, and dissolve parliaments from time to time? When he could not but so do for the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and defeating the designs both of popish and self-designing men who sought to disturb it; and so apparent this was, that no loyal heart but trembled at it. Then again, forsooth, all miscarriages of this nature must be attributed to the Duke and his party, and given out by the designing men, that no parliaments should ever sit again, but all would be arbitrary; and accordingly guards must be doubled to defend us from jesuits, and popery, and this bugbear of arbitrary government. Now in the name of Machiavel, where are we going next? Oh! cries the first and deepest among the designers, let us keep off the king from parliaments till his revenue will not answer the charge of the crown, and put him into the condition his father of blessed memory was, that he will be necessitated to call one; then he shall be obliged to redress all grievances, hang all plotters (provided they be none but such as are popishly inclined), punish church-offenders, and saint-persecutors; then shall he be obliged to hearken to every thing we shall propose about succession; then we shall be able to make our own terms with him; either we will have Monmouth, or we will know why. We will have one black-box or other found, wherein the writing is, that will prove what we would have legitimate, and successor to the crown, in opposition to royal word, and whatever demonstrations shall be the contrary; provided it effectually hinders and deprives the known, true, and lawful successor that is popishly affected: and we will never

³ [Thepretended Popish plot of 1678, in which the Duke of York was suspected of being engaged.]

leave clubbing nor meeting, till we have effected this; maugre all former designs by popish counsels, or Protestants whatsoever.

Indeed, my Lord, it were to be wished for the quiet and welfare of the nation, that these, and such like designs, were laid aside, and every one studied to do his own business, to obey wholesome laws, rather than to trust again to new law-makers. For my part, my Lord, I wonder what it is these men would have. If they think that ever popery or arbitrary government can govern in this kingdom, then they have reason to be thus concerned. But, my Lord, though I am a plain old Englishman, I can see as far, it may be, as one that sees less; and I protest, my Lord, that after having read over abundance of such ware as little Andrew Marvel's unhoopable wit and policy, and the Independent comment amongst it, together with the 'Growth of Popery,'⁴ &c. as also the 'Naked Truth,'⁵ treatises about French interests, and the succession of the crown, and all this bustle they have made amongst us: to say the truth, my Lord, I am Tom Tell-troth; and (between your Lordship and I) I do not believe there's any need of such books, or any such jealousies: for, in God's name, what can preserve us, but being zealous for our religion, and obedient to our superiors? And what can preserve them, but the love of their subjects, and governing according to the laws they have made, and are obliged to maintain? And, for my part, I don't see any invasion of liberty and property, as they term it; I see indeed a sort of men, who will be always restless and buzzing the vulgar ear with strange fears and jealousies, which tend to nothing but destruction both of prince and people. Truly, my Lord, (your Lordship being a person of such eminent parts, and having known most of the public humours of this land and people these forty years,) I think your Lordship would do well to find out some of these underminers of the public peace of the kingdom, that meet at taverns, and other public-houses, and by your strong arguments convince them, that this is not the way to bring about their designs, whatsoever mixture of counsels they may have; and since your Lordship lives in that great city wherein these persons are said to reside, your Lordship would send them such unquestionable rules to walk by, as may tend to the securing of the peace of the kingdom, and rooting out all jealousies and fears of popery and arbitrary government: as also to fix them to the old ways of loyalty and obedience, which are the only paths of peace to dwell in. Then shall we see that it will be our interest (whatever we imagine liberty and property to be) to promote the honour of God, and the religion of the kingdom as established by law; to honour and obey the king according to the laws, to love one another as men and Christians, and to lay all our heads, hearts, and hands together, to support the same. My Lord, I shall now conclude this long epistle without any other compliment, than that I am,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

TOM TELL-TROTH.

Wilts, the 9th of July, 1680.

⁴ [A pamphlet written by Andrew Marvel, and reprinted in the State Tracts. It was published in 1678; and as it traced the intrigues of the court of England with that of France, it made a great impression on the nation. A reward of 100*l.* was offered in the Gazette, for the discovery of the author.]

⁵ ['The Naked Truth; or the true State of the Primitive Church. By an humble Moderator. 1675.' 4to. The author of this discourse was Dr. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford. It was immediately answered by several persons, and among the rest by Dr. Turner, master of St. John's College, Cambridge; who, in his turn, was taken to task by Andrew Marvell.]

Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long-Parliament and Assembly of Divines, in 1641. Omitted in his other Works, and never before printed,¹ and very seasonable for these Times.

London, Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun, at the West-end of St. Paul's, 1681.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

To the Reader.

THE Reader may take notice, that this character of Mr. Milton's was a part of his 'History of Britain,' and by him designed to be printed: but out of tenderness to a party (whom neither this nor much more lenity has had the luck to oblige) it was struck out for some harshness, being only such a digression, as the history itself would not be discomposed by its omission; which I suppose will be easily discerned, by reading over the beginning of the third book of the said history, very near which place this character is to come in.

It is reported, and from the foregoing character it seems probable, that Mr. Milton had lent most of his personal estate upon the public faith; which when he somewhat earnestly and warmly pressed to have restored, (observing how all in offices had not only feathered their own nests, but had enriched many of their relations and creatures, before the public debts were discharged,) after a long and chargeable attendance, met with very sharp rebukes; upon which at last despairing of any success in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendless, having spent all his money and wearied all his friends. And he had not probably mended his worldly condition in those days, but by performing such service for them, as afterwards he did; for which scarce any thing would appear too great.

OF these, who swayed most in the late troubles, few words, as to this point, may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an advantage was not their skill.

To other causes therefore, and not to the want of force, or warlike manhood in the Britons, both those, and these lately, we must impute the ill-husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put liberty, so long desired, like a bridle into their hands. Of which other causes equally belonging to ruler, priest, and people, above have been related; which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expence, to ridiculous frustration; in whom the like defects, the like miscarriages notoriously appeared, with vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

¹ [This very masterly sketch of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, was excluded from the history; not, as the publisher would have us believe, from any 'tenderness' in the author, but, as Mr. Hayley expresses it, 'by the Gothic hand of the licenser; an incident that seems to give new energy to all the noble arguments which the injured author had formerly adduced, in vindicating the liberty of the press.'

Milton, however, bestowed a copy of this unlicensed parallel on the celebrated Earl of Anglesey, who gave this curious fragment to the world, in the form we now see it. In the edition of his prose works in 1738, it was properly included, and is comprised in that of Dr. Symmons.]

For, a parliament being called to redress many things, as it was thought; the people with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in parliament such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some, indeed, men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, to be sure the greater part, whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition, rather than merit, had commended to the same place.

But, when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes, that acted their new magistracy, were cooled and spent in them; straight every one betook himself, (setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before,) to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied; spite and favour determined all: hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field: every-where wrong, and oppression: foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained, in secret, or openly. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, as their breeding was, fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could soothe and humour them best; so he who would give most, or under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances (which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws, and the immediate constitution of better,) resounded with nothing else, but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared amongst themselves: they, in the mean while, who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person, or with their substance, (when they durst not compel either,) slighted, and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable attendance, from one committee to another with petitions in their hands; yet, either missed the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted, (mere shame and reason oftentimes extorting from them at least a show of justice,) yet, by their sequestrators and sub-committees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands, and noted disloyalty, those orders were commonly disobeyed: which, for certain, durst not have been, without secret compliance, if not compact with some superiors able to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate in their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to the state, as they called it; but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office; yet were withal no less burthened in all extraordinary assessments and oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected. Nor were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were sequestered as the state's enemies.

For that faith, which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any thing holy, the public faith, after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private gulph, was not before long ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now, besides the sweetness of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness, and the dreaded name of just account, which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those troubles and combustions in the land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would continually find such work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that terrible stand, of laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation.

And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such, as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and pluralities; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (before any part of the work done for which they

came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness (to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation,) to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate-masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city; setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms. By which means, these great rebukers of non-residence, amongst so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths. And yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us, in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion: distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But, while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of, as executed unchristianly, against themselves; these intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church-delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognisance.

And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better-principled than their teachers, trusted with committeeships, and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous and (as they stuck not to term them) *godly* men: but executing their places, like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly: so that, between them the teachers and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation; nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation.

The people, therefore, looking one while on the statists, whom they beheld without constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection; some despising whom before they honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then, looking on the church-men, whom they saw, under subtle hypocrisy, to have preached their own follies, most of them not the Gospel; time-servers, covetous, illiterate persecutors, not lovers of the truth; like in most things, whereof they accused their predecessors. Looking on all this, the people, which had been kept warm a while with the counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and obdurate than before; some turning to lewdness, some to flat atheism, put beside their old religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

Thus they, who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust, as we see, did not only weaken and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people (now grown worse and more disordinate) to receive, or to digest any liberty at all. For stories teach us, that liberty, sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate age, brought Rome itself into a farther slavery: for liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; to bad and dissolute it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands; neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely; what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad the curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite proportions, the heroic wisdom, which is required, surmounted far the principles of these narrow politicians. What wonder, then, if they sunk, as these unfortunate Britons before them, entangled and oppressed with

things too hard, and generous above their strain and temper? For Britain, (to speak a truth not often spoken,) as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war; so is it, naturally, not over-fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting only in their mother-wit; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public good, more than of money or vain honour, are, to this soil, in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding, too impolitic else, and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and virtue either of executing, or understanding true civil government; valiant, indeed, and prosperous to win a field, but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise; in good or bad success alike unteachable. For the sun, which we want, ripens wits, as well as fruits; and as wine and oil are imported to us from abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues be imported into our minds from foreign writings and examples of best ages; we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise. Hence did their victories prove as fruitless, as their losses dangerous, and left them, still conquering, under the same grievances, that men suffer, conquered; which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds, invincible against many and vain titles, impartial to friendships and relations, had conducted their affairs; but then, from the chapman to the retailer, many, whose ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted, with all their sordid rudiments, to bear no mean sway among them, both in church and state.

From the confidence of all their errors, mischiefs, and misdemeanours, what in the eyes of man could be expected, but what befel those ancient inhabitants, whom they so much resembled, confusion in the end?

But on these things, and this parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the story which gave us matter of this digression.

An Essay on the Theatres: Or, the Art of Acting. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry.

Ex Noto Fictum Carmen. HOR.

[MS. Never before Printed.]

To the Reader.

ALTHOUGH I have ventured to call this poem, 'The Art of Acting,' in imitation of Horace's 'Art of Poetry;' yet I must observe, that I have rather made a paraphrase on his rules and thoughts, than kept to a strict literal imitation of them. I am sensible therefore, I shall be highly censured by those who are acquainted with those happy imitations of this part of Horace, Dr. King's 'Art of Cookery,' and Mr. B——n's¹ 'Art of Politicks.' All I can say to such an objection, is, that a more close confinement to the text would not suit my subject, which I found was not foreign enough from the original to make it by such a method any way entertaining: yet I have endeavoured to keep as strong an analogy to the sense and manner of Horace as I could possibly. Perhaps, this intention of imitating the method of Horace has led me into a conduct, which may be imputed to me as an unpardonable error; and that negligence in the numbers, which will often appear, may not be forgiven on my pleading, that in the versification I have been often negligent by design. How far I am wrong in my judgment in this respect, I willingly submit to those who are acquainted with the original.

SHOULD *Hogarth*, with extravagant conceit,
Make a strange group of contrast figures meet,
Beneath a plume that nods with tragic grace
Limn the quaint drollery of H[i]p'sl[e]y's face;
Then to that face add *Chloe's* neck and breast,
Beauteous as thought e'er form'd, or tongue exprest;
Amass the properties of motley scenes,
Of gods, of kings, of devils, and of queens;
Strike out a form that nature cannot brag on,
With crest of *Cæsar* and with tail of dragon,
Part male,--part female,--devil part,--part God;
Who could restrain a smile at sight so odd?
But odd, as such a figure might appear,
It is the just resemblance of a play'r,
Who rashly will depart from nature's rule,
And rather wonder raise, than touch the soul;
Whose storms and incoherent actions seem,
Like the wild prattlings of a sick man's dream,

Which, while the fev'rish phrenzy may prevail,
Flow unconnected, without head or tail.

Actors and poets have an equal right,
By bold attempts, our pleasure to excite;
New talents still in pointed wit to show,
And make the stream of humour stronger flow;
Or in the tender, or the lofty scene,
Form a new harmony of words and mien;
Leave dull theatric precedents of art,
And with peculiar judgment catch the heart.

Bold are these liberties that actors claim,
And great their freedom in pursuit of fame:
Yet a just licence cannot give pretence,
To break the steady rules of common-sense;
To strain the voice and storm with frantic air,
When³ *Ædipus* appeals in moving pray'r;
Nor yet a slow soft whining tone assume,
When⁴ peals of thunder shake the conscious room.

¹ [Bramston's.]

² [The drollery of *Hippesley's* face is said to have been much heightened by an accidental burn upon it in his youth. He succeeded to the comic characters of *Pinkethman*, and was father to *Mrs. Green*, the original *Duenna* in *Mr. Sheridan's* favourite Opera.]

³ In allusion to these lines in *Mr. Dryden's* play of *Ædipus*:

To you, ye gods, I make my last appeal; &c.

⁴ Clasp'd in the folds of love, I'll wait my doom;

And act my joys, though thunder shakes the room.

Some, when grave scenes should rise with awful state,
And all the hero be divinely great,
Studious in vain, exert an idle care,
To please the eye, or gently sooth the ear:
In senate or in camp, in joy, or woe,
The plume must wave, the voice must sweetly flow;

High character by length of train be shown,
And dignity, by drawling out the tone.
Justly the plume may grace an actor's mien,
And the imperial robe adorn the scene;
Justly the numbers, flowing o'er the tongue,
May warble sweet as Philomela's song,
While vales, and dales, and murm'ring streams,
which rove,
Gently meandering through the flow'ry grove,
The subject are:---But if ill-judg'd the choice
Of pompous dress, and modulated voice;
The shape⁵ though rich, the voice though soft and clear,

Will all a dull extravagance appear:
Both sometimes please; but this is not their place,
Consult propriety alone for grace.

Hayman⁶ by scenes our senses can controul,
And with creative power charm the soul;
His easy pencil flows with just command,
And nature starts obedient to his hand:
We hear the tinkling rill, we view the trees
Cast dusky shades, and wave the gentle breeze:
Here shoots through leafy bow'rs a sunny ray,
That gilds the grove and emulates the day:
There mountain-tops look glad; there valleyssing;
And through the landscape blooms eternal spring.
But what's this art, should he such art perform,
And join it to the horrors of a storm:
Where quick-fork'd lightnings gleam, loud thunders roar,

And foaming billows lash the sounding shore:
Where driv'n by eddies with impetuous shock,
The whirling vessel bulges on a rock;
The hopeless sailor rearing high his hand,
And corpse on corpse come rolling on the strand:
In storm and landscape we might beauties find,
But wonder how they came together join'd.

Art, rul'd by Nature, must direct the soul,
And ev'ry gesture, look, and word controul:
Deceiv'd by specious right, most actors run
Into the contrast errors they would shun.
Some, who would gaiety or passion show,
With smart, lisp'd catch, make half-form'd words
to flow;

Swift rolls of jargon sound, a rapid flood,
With not one word distinctly understood:

Thus, lab'ring to avoid a drawling tone,
An equal impropriety is shown.
Others, to seem articulate and clear,
With dull, loud, slow, plain sound, fatigue the ear;

All words, all lines, the same grave cadence keep,
And drowsy lull insensibly to sleep:

While these, to prove that they no spirits want,
Out-bawl Drawcansir⁷ in the tragic rant.
Some few, who fear what criticks may explode,
With plodding pace jog on the beaten road:
Content in acting just with common-sense,
Ne'er dare to deviate into excellence:

Who never charm, yet never much offend,
Who with the merit they began will end:
But yet a brisker genius of the stage
Will try all arts, all methods, to engage:
Buffoonly dress, affect a monstrous tone,
Strike out the poet's wit, insert his own:
As sailor, or as clown, as beau, or play'r,
No matter what, or how, or when, or where,
Will scenes, will times, will characters confound,
To hear of false applause the vulgar sound:
Thus more they err who would their errors hide,
If they want solid judgment for their guide.

Near Covent-Garden does a painter live,
Whose pencil can most wond'rous likeness give
To the soft ringlets of the flowing hair,
Be they or red, or brown, or black or fair:
Nor in this only does his art prevail,
He hits the finger, and the finger's nail:
Yet of the dolt how wretched is the case?
Who cannot give to half the picture grace,
Nor touch a single feature of the face.
Rather than act as such a man would paint,
Some trifling parts by mere luck represent;
But when a strength of genius should appear,
Still bound to grovel in my narrow sphere,
I would no more be such, than noted be
Alike for beauty, and deformity;
Than have Lothario's manly form and grace,
Topp'd with the shocking sneer of Clody's face.

All you who feel a gen'rous thirst of fame,
And from the stage a just applause would claim,
From the first moment you commence a play'r,
And strut at Smithfield or at Southwark fair,
Long as you shall a better fortune wait,
And strolling know variety of fate;
Just as the gods direct the chance of things,
Are this day cobblers, and to-morrow kings;
Your genius try'd, consult the head and heart,
Dare not at flights; be equal to your part:
Damn'd you may be, attempting Wildair's⁸ ease,
When in the Buffoon-Doctor⁹ you might please:

⁵ The theatrical term for a Roman habit.

⁶ A young gentleman, a painter, very excellent in his art, whose scenes at Drury-Lane theatre have always met with the greatest approbation from the spectators. [Lord Orford's character of Hayman is, that he was a strong mannerist, a fault attributed to him by Churchill; that in his pictures his colouring was raw, nor in any light did he attain excellence. This estimate seems not otherwise than just.]

⁷ [In the comedy of 'The Rehearsal.']

⁸ [A popular character in Farquhar's comedy of 'The Constant Couple.']

⁹ The Mock-Doctor.

On parts adapted to your talents dwell,
And be your only study to excel.
Hence they who judgment to their choice admit,
When cast to parts which will their genius hit,
Such ease with such expressive force is shown,
They make the poet's sentiments their own;
Into the character so strong they fall,
It seems no longer art, but nature all.

This must the method be, or much I err,
To gain just credit in a theatre;
To judge what parts may now, what then be
play'd,

What to some future happier time delay'd;
Whose manner, or whose action they should like,
How far at imitation they may strike,
What to improve, what shun, must well be known,
To rise a fav'rite actor of the town.

Be cautious, though it long has practis'd been,
To add your own wit to the poet's scene:
Now to your written parts be strictly true,
Nor to the old insert one sentence new:
For ev'ry sentence new must licens'd be,
Nor are the actors, more than poets, free.
Yet it will shew a quickness of the mind,
And from the audience sure applause would find,
If as by accident, and not by art,
You could add something new, and timely smart;
When some keen satire on some ancient crimes,
You mark as levell'd at our modern times:
A new chance phrase, unknown an age ago,
Might strongly point out vices acted now,
And licensers will slips of tongues allow—
But be those slips most careful; for they hate
One word that marks a minister of state.
Hence such attempts should with great caution be,
And almost with the prompter's book agree.—

'Tis said: Shall modern actors be refus'd
What all the old with liberty have us'd?
Why should old Pinkey's¹⁰ jestings and grimace,
Excel young C[ibbe]r's¹¹ witticisms or face?
Why should our merry sires commend so high,
In their old droll, what we our new deny?
Pinkey could raise much laughter we admit,
Yet equal C[ibbe]r is in phiz, or wit:
But Pinkey could his jokes secure invent,
Poor *The's* restrain'd by act of parliament;
Who would not, C[ibbe]r, at such act repine,
When it embargoes wit,---and wit like thine?

¹⁰ [Pinkethman.]

¹¹ [Theophilus Cibber, the son of Colley, and his theatrical successor on the stage, in the same walk of characters.]

¹² Mrs. Mountford, afterwards Mrs. Verbruggen, was esteemed a most excellent actress in comedy, and so great a judge of acting in general, that Mr. Verbruggen, who was a very good tragedian, was said to have received his chief perfections from her instructions. How great her excellence must have been, may be imagined from her acting Bayes in the Rehearsal, with a judgment and vivacity equal to any who had ever performed it.

¹³ Covent-Garden.

¹⁴ These four lines allude to the Entertainment of Orpheus and Eurydice, performed at Covent-Garden theatre, to crowded audiences. The serpent, which was to kill Eurydice, with a kind of spontaneous motion, moved about the stage, to the great admiration of the spectators. To view this serpent, the scenes of hell, &c. Ladies sent their servants to keep places for them, at three o'clock, every time it was performed.

There are peculiar manners of the stage,
And various modes which vary with the age:
Why are they envied then, who dare pursue
Where genius leads to strike out something new?
In the last age gay Mountford¹² charm'd the town
With comic art peculiarly her own:
Shall not our Clive as just an honour claim,
Who fix'd on inborn excellence her fame?
Our sires to Mountford great encomiums raise,
Shall we not Clive with equal ardour praise?
We great originals must both allow,
For all that Mountford could be, Clive is now.

It ever pleas'd the town, and ever will,
To see old parts play'd with new humour still:
They who preceding actors will pursue,
And strive to bring a sameness to the view,
By the dull copy all our loss renew. }
But when we see young players, justly bold,
Rise to perfection, we forget the old:
As in a play scenes vary by degrees,
And, though the various prospects change, they
please;

So, when a band of ancient actors die,
Another set the theatres supply:
Blooming with pride, they flourish, and are gay,
Then withering droop, and still to new give way.
Actors are mortal; and, at death's dire call,
Beaus, misers, rakes, coquettes, and coblers, fall:
He rules despotic, as o'er meaner things,
O'er Green-room heroines, and buskin'd kings:
Their mighty empires mighty changes know,
And various revolutions undergo.
Even their seas and heavens have their date,
For point and pasteboard must submit to fate.

What will not change in time? That noble
square¹³,
To which each morning many nymphs repair,
And o'er whose confines every evening rove,
Famous all day for greens, all night for love;
Though nigh D---ve---l, there fam'd Piazzas give
Whores, gamsters, pickpockets, a means to live:
There R[i]ch of a new empire fix'd his seat,
And wanton'd indolent in gay retreat;
Till the calm monarch into dangers fell,
And had, to save his realm, recourse to hell.---
Strange fate of things!---¹⁴ A serpent curs'd man-
kind,
But R[i]ch can blessings in a serpent find:

Hell to his bosom can true comfort give,
Him poison cures, and devils make him live;
But this theatric realm, that noble Square,
Shall fall in time, and change from what they are;
When not a Burlington¹⁵ shall Jones restore,
And R[ic]h and pantomimes shall be no more.

If such piles perish, and such realms decay,
The modes of acting change as well as they.

As acting is to represent mankind,
Actors new method in each age must find;
As fashions vary, or as humours change;
Attempt this year what they might last think
strange:

For so the player in esteem is plac'd,
Who hits with most success the reigning taste.
Be what it will to hit, that wins the heart,
Supposes judgment, and it shews an art.

To shew old heroes, and make armies fight,
Gave in Eliza's warlike reign delight:
Then Shakspeare wrote of battles, wars, and
kings,

And sung in noble numbers noble things:
From him what deeds have tragic heroes done!
And on a six-foot stage what empires lost and
won!

Beaumont and Fletcher with great spirit drew
The gay and genteel character to view;
Shew'd how warm youth to gallantry could rove,
And taught the pleasing dialogue of love:
Such parts we saw Wilks hit with sprightly ease,
And, hap'ly catching nature's foibles, please:
Here Oldfield¹⁶ gave an excellence of art,
Who in these antique scenes could fire the heart:
Her elegance of judgment made all new,
That wit e'er spirited, or nature drew.
Greatly endow'd with knowledge of mankind,
Ben¹⁷ first the humour of the stage refin'd:
Gave to the play'rs new plans of comic wit,
Which would of great variety admit;
Requir'd the actors utmost skill and care,
For he drew men; and drew them as they were.
To represent his characters, must be
A knowledge of mankind through each degree:
He left such drama for the modern stage,
In which, who most excel, in all will most engage.

Davenant¹⁸ in operas gave the tuneful song,
And to the drama made new arts belong:

He first, instead of arras painted scenes,
And heroes show'd descending in machines;
Join'd musick's power to the actor's art,
By double charms to captivate the heart.
But thus to please imperfectly he taught;
Dalton¹⁹ this art to full perfection brought,
Whose happy skill made Milton's noble strain
Inspire the soul, and dignify the scene:
With awe the poet's lofty sense we hear,
Then notes with sweetest graces charm the ear.
Now virtue's praise affects the gen'rous mind,
Now still-new joys by musick's aid we find:
Two great alternate arts our passions move,
Sway'd with the force of virtue and of love.

By whom were scenes of Harlequin begun,
By some French dancer, or our native Lun²⁰?
'Though they dispute, no connoisseurs can fix:
Some say Lun brought, some say improv'd the
tricks:

But who in mottled coat first charm'd the rout,
Theatric hist'ry leaves us room to doubt.
Through all this various drama of the stage,
In any part whoever would engage,
To gain applause from judges must excel:
'Tis wretched to be tolerably well.

Why as just actors should we those admit,
Who will appear in characters unfit?
In other parts be pleasing as they will,
Whene'er they fail, they shew their want of skill:
Why should the greatest player not be told,
Of glaring faults, and be by sense controul'd?
Better it were by decent hints be taught,
Than one night lose the fame, in five they got.

A happy genius for low-humour'd farce,
Ill would attempt the sound of tragie verse:
A motley tone would break through all the style,
And dangling, awkward action make us smile.

Should Nell²¹ turn heroine, as Pistol deigns,
On buskins two foot high, to fill the scenes,
All would, as Jobson's wife had a new change,
Pity a metamorphosis so strange:
But when the little hero we behold,
In burlesque pomp, self-confident, and bold,

¹⁵ The earl of Burlington, at his own expence, repaired Covent-Garden church, which was built by sir Inigo Jones, and is reckoned as fine a structure as any in England. [It has since been improved as well as restored, by that esteemed architect Thomas Hardwick, esq.]

¹⁶ [It appears from Cibber's Apology, that this celebrated actress was the Farren of her time: though she met not with so fortunate an elevation. Had her birth placed her, says Cibber, in a higher rank of life, she had certainly been in reality, what she only excellently acted, an agreeably gay woman of quality.]

¹⁷ Ben Jonson.

¹⁸ In this account of sir William Davenant I follow theatrical tradition; but cannot reckon him the first who introduced singing, scenes, and machines on the stage: for in Ben Jonson's masques there is very pompous machinery and scenery described, which are often said by the poet to be the designs and performances of sir Inigo Jones.

¹⁹ The Rev. Dr. Dalton; who adapted the Masque of Comus to the stage, and by a judicious disposition of the scenes, and some collections from Milton's writings, has given the publick one of the noblest performances that was ever seen on the English theatre.

²⁰ Lun, a fictitious name which Mr. R[ic]h assumed on his first performing the character of Harlequin, and which he ever afterwards retained.

²¹ The principal character in the farce called, 'The Devil to pay; or, The Wives Metamorphos'd.'

Roll round his goggling eyes with awful grin,
And thump his heart,---to show it touch'd within:
His tragi-comic countenance, and stride,
With hearty laughter shakes our quav'ring side.

Some, not content their excellence to show,
Strive to reveal their imperfections too.

Confin'd to proper walks would actors be,
All would appear with more propriety.
Yet I allow that, in the comic scene,
Some who excel, excel in tragic strain:
And some, who justly reach the tragic style,
In comic scenes as justly make us smile.
He who, in 'Rule a Wife,' can hit the part
Of ideot folly, must then rouse the heart,
Lose in becoming dignity the fool,
And prove with tragic grandeur he will rule.
Nor do th' Othellos of the stage disdain,
In hum'rous guise, to touch the comic vein,
To change the hero for the fat old knight,
And with Jack Falstaff's drollery delight.

Fame gives this rule, if we to fame may trust,
Tragedians only act a Falstaff just:

In this, indeed, long famous have they been,
For Betterton was matchless, now is Quin.

'Tis not sufficient to repeat a part
With proper accent; it must reach the heart:
The actor to the audience must reveal,
He has the will, and faculty to feel:
Mov'd in himself, all others he controuls,
Commands their thoughts, and agitates their souls.
When Cato gives his little senate laws²²,
What bosom pants not in his gen'rous cause?
But should, while we the character revere,
See the great patriot sink into the play'r;
See him look round box, gallery, and pit,
Nor the least seeming thought of Rome admit;
Who would not laugh to think that this survey
Was to mark out some friend, as, who should say,
"Pox o' this stuff—Let Rome be lost or won,
We'll drink our bottle when the play is done."

All actors are to seem what they are not;
Which to perform, themselves must be forgot:
Their mind must lost in character be shown,
Nor once betray a passion of their own;
Must to the business of the stage attend,
And height of action with their silence blend:
Or in the front, aside, or back retir'd,
Something to do, or seem, is still requir'd:
This common rule should practis'd be by all,
From Jobson chaunting in the cobbler's stall,
To Cæsar thund'ring in the Capitol.

'Tis not enough if you can catch the cue,
A strict attention's to the audience due;

Gaze not around on them; they do not pay
To see you turn spectators, but to play.
If you are curious, there are other means,
From the loop'd curtain, or behind the scenes.

When in old parts you venture to pursue
A manner of your own, to make them new,
Still to the character be strictly true.
To act Macheath more merit must you bring,
Than thrill a ballad, and with quaver sing;
A manly gesture and a sprightly air
Must with a proper dignity appear;
The gay mock-hero must our passions move,
By joy, by courage, in distress and love.
Some parts 'tis danger to attempt at all,
When late we've seen a great original;
We by the first impression are so wrought,
All copies, though well copied, have much fault:
Nor is this partial prejudice alone;
The author's sense to the first actor's shown
In the full spirit, and becomes his own:
Hence, Walker²³, though we many Macheaths
The standard excellence remains in you. [view,

Sometimes a poet, studiously absurd,
Fit for one person only writes each word:
Or could Miss²⁴ Lucy the first night survive,
Had not each word adapted been for Clive?
Lucy, or Lappet, or her fav'rite Nell,
May copied be---she only will excel.²⁵

Some to the stage unus'd, unskill'd, untaught,
To charm at first appearance have been brought,
And, of applause secure, assume a part
Requires experience and the nicest art;
The pompous bill proclaims it o'er and o'er,
They 'ne'er appear'd on any stage before,'
And when they've once appear'd---appear no
more.

So have I seen large-letter'd bills proclaim,
(In red lines France was mark'd, in black the
name)

The celebrated H---n was to dance,
His first performance since arriv'd from France;
The house was crowded; the third act was
donè;

A chorus-figur'd entry brought him on:
He came;---he caper'd once;---and off he run.---
The pomp so solemn, ended in a joke,
For, ah! the string that ty'd his breeches broke.

Vain all the puffs to public papers sent;
Vain all the arts ev'n C[i]bb[e]r could invent;
What skill do bills or advertisements lend?
On merit only must success depend.
Booth²⁶ ne'er attempted, in a pompous way,
To reach perfection in his first essay;

²² [In Addison's tragedy of Cato.]

²³ [Thomas Walker, the original performer of Macheath, is supposed to have been unrivalled in that character. But his success was fatal to him: he sunk into habits of intemperance, and was discarded from the theatre. Hogarth portrayed him, in his well-known representation of a scene in the Beggar's Opera.]

²⁴ [A character in the 'Virgin Unmask'd,' which still survives, in the representation of Mrs. Jordan.]

²⁵ [Churchill has left an eulogium on Mrs. Clive, equally favourable, in his poem of the Rosciad.]

²⁶ [Barton Booth, designed for the pulpit, but received an invincible bias for the stage, from having performed the part of Pamphilus in Terence's Andrian, with uncommon applause, while at Westminster-school. He afterwards became the most celebrated tragedian of his day, and was highly carressed by the great for his amiable qualities. Cibber in his 'Apology,' and Hill in his 'Prompter,' are emulous in his praise.]

Through many counties had he strolling been,
Tro'd many stages, and play'd many a scene,
Before the British Roscius he became ;
And fix'd, while Britain's stage shall last, his
name.

He knew experienc'd truths must gain his cause,
Nor made small fame to follow small applause ;
Commanding of respect, his step, his look,
Invited all attention ere he spoke.

With what a majesty he mov'd along !
How tuneful flow'd the periods of his tongue !
Inform'd by nature, and improv'd by art,
Speaking, or silent, he won ev'ry heart ;
Or all, admiring, listen'd with surprise,
Or on his graceful form they fed their raptur'd
eyes ;

The fiction lost, they realiz'd the scene,
And saw entranc'd a hero live again.

'Tis said, as actors on the stage make known
All others' foibles, nor reveal their own,
Many there are, who've sat out many a play,
Nor went near the twelfth hour fatigu'd away ;
Who on the stage the players have admir'd,
Have wish'd to know their humours, when retir'd :
They of strange things behind the curtain hear,
And wonder what those famous Green-rooms are.
For fame says, many go behind the scenes,
To romp with goddesses, and joke with queens,
With half-drunk bishops talk of smutty things,
Bow'd to by emp'rors, and shook hands by
kings.

There scenes conceal'd from common light
arise,
Whose humour pleases, and whose themes sur-
prise ;

In all according to their rank you find
Various behaviour, and as various mind :
All with peculiar oddities engage,
From him who sweeps, to him who rules the
stage.

These, Muse, relate :--- But why this sudden
pause,
Vers'd in their arts, their humours, and their
laws ?

When what to think and what to say I know,
Why will not ev'n prosaic numbers flow ?
---Some god indulgent twitches by the ear,
And kindly whispers, " Too rash bard, forbear ;
Enough hast thou traduc'd Horatian rules,
Indulging fancy, and describing fools :
In imitation should your verse succeed,
When such the subject, who the verse will read ?
What public benefit will it impart
To know a player's humour, or his art ?
Humour be what it will, if just, is lov'd---,
Ere you write more, see what you've wrote ap-
prov'd :

Then of the stage the various theme prolong,
Or wisely here for ever close your song."

The Cuckow's Nest at Westminster; or, the Parliament between the two Lady-Birds, Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell, concerning Negotiations of State, and their several Interests in the Kingdom; sadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer and abhorred Husbands.

Who buys a Cuckow's Nest, hatch'd in an Air
That's not far distant from Westminster-Fair?
The Hedge-Sparrow, that fed her t'other Day,
Is, for her Kindness, now become her Prey;
O 'tis a precious Bird, were't in a Cage,
'Twould please both King and People; cure this Age
That surfeits with Rebellion, and can have
No Help to keep her from Destruction's Grave.
She cuckows Treasons, Strifes, causes great Stir,
But must pack hence 'twixt this and Midsummer:
Though Goatham hedge her in with Pikes and Guns,
She shall not 'scape us, though she flies, or runs;
For all the Birds with one Consent agree,
To spring her for base Disloyalty.

By Mercurius Melancholicus.¹

Printed in Cuckow-time in a Hollow-tree, 1648.

[Quarto; containing ten pages.]

WHO is it amongst us that hath not heard these Cuckows at Westminster? An ayrie of such ominous Owl-birds, that the like was never before seen in this kingdom; that have kept a great cackling, and been long and close sitters, but have hatched nothing but cockatrice' eggs, vile treasons, addle ordinances, and the like; to ensnare and enslave a free-born people, making of them no better than hedge-sparrows, to nurse up, with their wealth, the bastard issue of their pernicious plots against king, church, and kingdom: the common people, that willingly fed them, and lent them not only hands, but lives and estates, being now, for their great kindness, justly become a prey to the ravenous and griping claws of these cannibal Cuckows, the Parliament and Army, that now are devouring them, after they have pulled and polled them to the bare skins; are now feeding upon their flesh, and picking their very bones, killing, destroying, and robbing them; and if this be not enough to provoke the people to curse these unnatural vipers, and to loath all

¹ [This title was assumed by one of the political Mercuries that appeared in September 1647. The author's real initials seem to have been J. H. See Mr. Chalmers's *Chronological List of Newspapers*, p. 411.]

future parliaments to the world's end, I have lost my senses: none will fear them, none will love them, none will obey them; all will hate them, all will despise them, all fight against them.

Let us now consider what manner of Birds these be; and we shall find them not Cuckows only, but other Birds of Prey, as Vultures, Harpies, Puttocks, Ostriches, Owls, Martins, Daws, and such-like ominous and unclean birds, that with their huge bodies, and baleful wings, have obscured our king, our peace, our happiness, and hid all joy and comfort from us: these are all birds of a feather, that sit in council, and conspire together against the Eagle, the Phenix, the Turkey, the Peahen, the Turtle, the Swan, the Canary, and sweet-singing Nightingale; who, being all too credulous to believe the feigned babblings of these state-decoys, are now covered and entangled in their nets, caught in their pit-falls, and all their goods and feathers pulled from them by lime-twigg ordinances.

These Birds of Prey flock together at Westminster; and have, for almost eight years, roosted themselves there, even till they had defiled their very nests, and were forced to fly abroad till they were cleansed; and yet sit brooding and hatching their pernicious plots and treasons, cockatrice-ordinances, bald buzzardly votes, contradicting orders, and changeling declarations, both against the laws of nature, reason, conscience, and religion; and have usurped all power and authority from, and over, their lawful and undoubted sovereign; doing their utmost to deprive both him and his posterity of their hereditary rights and successions, denying to acknowledge him for their head, forbidding addresses to be made unto him, or messages to be received from him; by which they have changed and abandoned the national and fundamental laws of the land (the only ligaments and sinews of a kingdom), being an act, not only of the highest treason that can be, but a crime that divests them of all their privileges, unparliaments them, and makes them all guilty of the abhorred sin of perjury, in breaking protestations, oaths, and covenants; and liable to a just censure, and conviction of theft, treason, and rebellion; for which they can no otherwise satisfy the king, laws, or people, but by the tribute of their Roundheads; too slight a recompence for such abhorred and traitorous crimes.

Therefore, the people may now see, without spectacles, how grossly they have been deceived, and juggled out of their lives and estates: it is true, the Parliament, at the first, convened by royal authority, was a lawful, and, for aught I know, a conscientious parliament, and the whole body (being aptly and completely united together in the members, without forcible dislocation, or false election) was, questionless, the highest judicature in this kingdom. But, since Edgehill-fight, this juncto (or pretended parliament, acting in open hostility, and fighting against their king), abandoning their head, are no more a parliament, but the body of a parliament, without a head; a monster, a very Cuckow's nest; a combined medley of traitors and rebels, and far different from the nature of a parliament, (by reason of their Luciferian pride, to be flung down to hell,) and to be deserted by all loyal subjects, as disjointed, severed, and mangled in its members; as deficient as their then general, uncapable of any just act, but wading on in blood, (by an usurped, treasonous, tyrannical, and over-awing power, having no derivation from the king, but their own lusts;) therefore no subject whatsoever hath any warrant, neither can they bind the conscience of any, to yield either active or passive obedience to any act or ordinance; because they illegally act, contrary to all precedents of former parliaments, and parliamentary power, and are no longer the visible representatives of the body-politick; and so must necessarily be guilty of all the innocent blood shed these six years in this kingdom, and still shedding in most counties in England: these rebels being so fleshed in blood and rapine, they are resolved to go thorough-stitch in their abhorred rebellion, though they ruin three kingdoms, by their inhuman butcheries; being rewarded with a large sum for shedding blood in the City, encouraged and rewarded for murdering the Surry petitioners, the Kentish, and Essex men, for delivering, in a legal way, petitions for redress of their several grievances: what can any rational man think, but that they defer to murder their king, until such time as they have first murdered and destroyed all his loyal subjects?

That, when the Army could not have an opportunity to plunder the City, (as nothing

so sure as they intended it,) they were hired by Martin, Mildmay, Vane, and the rest of that nest, to pick a quarrel with the Country, that they might plunder and undo them, when then they had missed of their aim in the City; as now they do in Essex, Kent, and all the kingdom over, killing, plundering, and triumphing over all they are able to conquer: so that between both parties, Royalists and Roundheads, as between the good and bad thief, the poor country must be crucified.

The chief fomenters that are regicides, and most active in our destruction in the Upper House, are the Lords Say, Pembroke, Manchester, Kent, Warwick, Denbigh, Stamford, Wharton, and Grey; these always cuckow forth one tune, 'No king, no king:' in the Lower House, are a nest of as evil Birds, as ever hatched at Tyburn; and these are Lenthall, Mildmay, Scot, Challoner, Martin, Weaver, Vane, Corbet, and Cromwell, that cannot endure to hear the king so much as named in the House: in the Synod of time-serving Presbyters, there are Marshall, Burgess, Strong, Sedgwick, Vines, Love, Whittaker, and Nye, that draw altogether in one yoke, against monarchy: these teach rebellion instead of divinity, more lies than truth, more blasphemy than sound doctrine, and will have no king to reign over them, except he be of the royal progeny of Mrs. Parliament, or the child of Reformation. In the Army, there are another nest of Birds, but not of the same feather, and these be the Elect, forsooth; the precious babes that are hail-fellow with God Almighty, see strange visions, and are possessed with unerring spirits, that whatsoever they do, though never so impudent and wicked, is lawful; and these are, Peters, Dell, Erbury, Knowles, Goodwin, Symson, &c. The first rank of these are oxen, and the latter asses, which the Parliament yoke in their plough together, because they are forbidden it in the old Law, and, by that means, avoid idolatry: but their drivers are more charitable than these beasts; for they but kill our bodies, and rob us of our goods, but these wolvis cattle slay our souls, take away our good names, judge us, and condemn us to hell: these are the charitable saints that have the mark of their brother Cain in their foreheads; vagabonds that have no abiding-places, but are hurried with every wind from one uncertainty to another, and are constant in nothing but mischief: these are the running plague-sores that infect the whole nation, and cause swellings and risings in the body of the Commonwealth: these are those that sow discord amongst brethren, and though, like Samson's foxes, they are tied tail to tail, yet they carry a firebrand amongst them, that burns up both church and state in the merciless and consuming flames of an unnatural and bloody war: these are the disturbers of our Israel, and hinderers of our peace; old foxes, and wild boars, that root up our vineyards, feeding themselves fat on the ruins of others: these, instead of expelling out papacy, but one faction, have brought in five-hundred damnable sects, and set them all to devour episcopacy, to bring in blessed liberty to pull down monarchy, and set up aristocracy; by which means they have advanced their hypocritical, diabolical, and pernicious treasons to this very day. Are not these Cuckows worthy of a cage? Surely they be. But I shall leave this nest of foul Birds to the people's ordering, having told them where it is; only desiring all loyal people to secure their money from them, to provide arms for their own defence, and rather choose to die like men, than live like slaves. But I will, instead of an epilogue, give you a dialogue to cure your melancholy.

Then hie Toss, black Tom is dead,
Come aloft Jack-a-dandy,
Sir Samuel Luke shall be general,²
And that's as good as can be.

² [Sir Samuel Luke was governor of Newport Pagnel, Bucks. His person, &c. have been most ludicrously described by Butler in verse and prose. He would seem to have been the prototype of Sir Hudibras himself.]

POSTSCRIPT.

Enter Queen Fairfax and Madam Cromwell:

Mrs. Cromwell. CHEAR up, madam, he is not dead, he is reserved for another end; these wicked Malignants reported as much of my Noll, but I hope it is otherwise; yet the profane writ an epitaph, as I think they call it, and abused him most abominably, as they will do me, or you, or any of the faithful saints, if we but thrive by our occupations in our husbands' absence; if we but deck our bodies with the jewels gained from the wicked, they point at us, and say, 'Those are plunder.' But the righteous must undergo the scoffs of the wicked: but let them scoff on; I thank my Maker, we lived before these holy wars were thought on, in the thriving profession of brewing, and could, of my vails of grains and yest, wear my silk gown, and gold and silver lace too, as well as the proudest minx of them all; I am not ashamed of my profession, madam.

Qu. Fairfax. Pray, Mrs. Cromwell, tell not me of gowns or lace, nor no such toys? Tell me of crowns, sceptres, kingdoms, royal robes; and if my Tom but recovers, and thrives in his enterprise, I will not say, pish, to be queen of England. I misdoubt nothing, if we can but keep the wicked from fetching Nebuchadnezzar home from grass in the Isle of Wight: well, well, my Tom is worth a thousand of him, and has a more kingly countenance; he has such an innocent face, and a harmless look, as if he were born to be emperor over the saints.

Mrs. Crom. And is not Noll Cromwell's wife as likely a woman to be queen of England, as you? Yes, I warrant you, is she; and that you shall know, if my husband were but once come out of Wales; it is he that has done the work, the conquest belongs to him. Besides, your husband is counted a fool, and wants wit to reign; every boy scoffs at him. My Noll has a head-piece, a face of brass, full of majesty, and a nose will light the whole kingdom to walk after him. I say, he will grace a crown, being naturally adorned with diamonds and rubies already; and for myself, though I say it, I have a person as fit for a queen as another.

Qu. Fair. Thou a queen, thou a quean! Udsfoot, minion, hold your clack from prating treason against me, or I will make Mrs. Parliament lay her ten commandments upon thee. Thou a queen; a brewer's wife a queen! That kingdom must needs be full of drunkards, when the king is a brewer? My Tom is nobly descended, and no base mechanic.

Mrs. Crom. Mechanic? Mechanic in thy face; thou art a whore to call me mechanic; I am no more a mechanic than thyself. Marry come up, Mother Damnable, Joan Ugly; must you be queen? Yes, you shall; queen of Puddledock, or Billingsgate, that is fittest for thee. My Noll has won the kingdom, and he shall wear it, in despite of such a trollop as thou art. Marry, come up here, Mrs. Wagtail?

Enter a servant, running.

Serv. O, Madam, cease your contention, and provide for your safeties; both your husbands are killed, and all their forces put to the sword; all the people crying like mad, 'Long live King Charles!'

Omnes. We hope 'tis false; O whither shall we fly,
Lest vengeance overtake our treachery?

A Nest of perfidious Vipers: Or, The Second Part of the Parliament's Calendar of Black Saints. Pictured forth in a Second Arraignment, or Gaol-delivery, of Malignants, Jesuits, Arminians, and Cabinet-Counsellors; being the fatal Engineers, Plotters, and Contrivers of Treasons, against the Parliament, our Religion, Laws, and Lives. Condemned according to their several Crimes¹.

London: Printed according to Order, for G. Bishop, September 21, 1644.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

WELL, since we must go to work again, and fill up the second part of our calendar with Black Saints; we first present you with a nest of the vilest Vipers that ever Africk, or Nile, did produce; a generation so cursed, that they have rent out the bowels of their own natural mothers, and been the abhorred murderers of their fathers; such as have made women husbandless, mothers childless, and two flourishing kingdoms almost fruitless; whose poisonous breaths have infected the purer air, mixing the clouds with cries and groans; made black that glorious diadem, that should impale the sacred brow of majesty, rendering the donour glorious to God and man; whose baneful stings have turned the crystal veins of earth to springs of blood, and dyed the verdant grass in crimson gore, that used to be enamelled with fragrant flowers: serpents that have out-done old Satan for plots and treacheries against our religion, laws, and innocent lives. Of these there be both male and female, of divers sorts and kinds, as some Basilisks, some flying Dragons, some Cockatrices, some fiery Serpents, some curled winding Snakes, some dangerous Adders, &c.

And first, for our Basilisks or Bishops, whose eyes were dangerous, and as full of pride, as their hearts of deadly poison in the cup of the Babylonish harlot. These sons of pride and vain-glory, could at their pleasure look a poor Protestant dead, through the pride and feigned veil of seeming humility; but indeed hypocrisy, ambition, and the cruellest tyranny that oppressors could devise to enslave, and disnoble a flourishing kingdom and a free-born people. These had their residence in the greatest courts of justice, as the Star-chamber, the Council-table, and High-commission, &c. And so made a monopoly of earth, as before they had done of heaven; in forgiving sins, and hell too; in taking fees for the most abhorred villainies, as adultery, fornication, and the rest of the seven, under a glorious pretence of repairing cathedrals, and setting up organ-pipes and images. These serpents carried deadly stings in their long black tails, borne up by a company of proctors, apparitors, and informers, Duck, Lamb, and the rest, as foul a nest of the ugliest Vipers as ever nature did produce. These have stung to death many godly ministers, and other religious Protestants and professors of the truth of the Gospel: some imprisoned, some whipped, some hanged, some seared with hot irons, others pilloried, having their ears cut off, because they would not endure popery to be planted in our churches. These fat bulls, or dumb dogs, feed upon their flocks, when they should have fed their flocks, and so sacrificed to their godless bellies, when many a poor member of Christ lay starving

¹ [The puritanical scurrility of this pamphlet is too gross to merit any illustration.]

at their gates, as near pined for outward provision for their bodies, as their more languishing souls were for spiritual instructions.

The first, that we intend to saint in our second calendar, is a foul bird of this nest, called Wren. Cryer, call Wren to the bar; a right Basilisk, that looked to death near threescore and odd ministers in one visit, or yearly perambulation over his diocese at Ipswich: little pope Regulus that reigned like a tyrant, and, though a small bird, yet sung a scurvy tune, counter-tenor, Oh base, and, instead of treble, sung terrible:—Make his *mittimus*; let him have time to consider of the lawfulness of the oath *ex officio in Bridewell*. Let him not want castigation, and see that none of the Puritan faction come near him, or relieve him: 'tis the only way to make him conformable to us. Or, Oh Base, let him kiss Newgate, lie in the common gaol, and be sure to have chains enough: make his *mittimus* to the Gate-house, or obtain the favour of Long's powdering-tub, which shall powder him soundly, long enough before he come forth. These were the base and terrible tunes of this right-reverend father in God, (the god of this world I mean.) Surely his predecessors the Apostles, that he so much boasteth of, exhort him rather to admonish lovingly, and instruct kindly, than punish so cruelly. I never read that they, in their greatest passion, committed or imprisoned (yet patiently endured both themselves) those that would not conform themselves to their truths: yet you can do all this to those, that will not conform themselves to your lies. This Wren was so holy, that if a stranger should chance to spit on the sanctified pavement of his chapel, a scholar must take his handkerchief and wipe it up, and duck three times to the altar; and yet, for all this, was so profane and unsanctified in his heart (that should have been more holy than the chapel, or altar, or pavement), that he kept another man's wife in Cambridge, and, though a Wren, yet in that proved himself a very cock-sparrow. This methinks should be a great spot in his lawn-sleeves, and put him in mind of a brother of his in Ireland, that was hanged for such a holy business; Finch of Christ-Church, was another bird of the same feather, and might well be thy chaplain, that had been so apt a scholar under thee, in the school of Lust. Those at Ipswich, that devised the engine to take thee in the little house over the water, pull thee into a litter, and carry thee into New England, would have done Old England a great courtesy, that is fain to feed so foul a bird in a cage all this while. If we should have bishops to reign over us, (as 'tis unlikely we should,) thy crimes are so great and enormous, that thou must expect a halter rather than a mitre; therefore, being undeserving and incapable of a bishoprick, expect to take new orders, and commence at Tyburn.—Take him, Derrick.

Call Mountague to the bar, a Roman Basilisk, whose head fitted the windmill better than the mitre, and mounted up Arminianism till he had endangered his lungs again, and made his voice more hoarse, than his reverend kinswoman, with crying 'New Wainfleet oysters.' King James, being as wise as religious, seeing the spreading infectious issue of thy quill, quashed it in the egg; knowing that heresy once hatched, was soon brooded, and would quickly grow into numerous swarms (being always frightful enough), both disallowed, condemned, and forbid thy heretical books the press; and would not let thy poisonous wings over-cloud the bright though humble beams of truth, issuing from the pure sun of the Gospel. Though like an impudent magpy, with all thy chattering, thou couldest not blind that bright-eyed eagle, that could out-look the sun, apparelled with his brightest beams and glory; yet still wouldest strive with that old serpent, whose pride could not prevail with God, to extend his malice by tempting his Son: 'All this will I give thee,' &c. The kingdom of Spain, the empire of Germany, France and all, all shall be thine, if thou wilt but worship me, turn Catholick, and like an obedient son, destroy thy Puritan subjects, ('tis no matter how, I can forgive thee;) or to make thy way sure, make use of protestations, call heaven, and earth, and hell, to witness all the mental reservations, or equivocations, thou canst devise, or we devise for thee, so that the Catholic cause go forward; 'tis good enough. Well spoke, Mountague, thou shalt have a mitre, or a cardinal's cap in time; a three-cornered cap for thee, and the rest of thy faction.—Take him, Derrick.

Cryer, call White to the bar, a dangerous Basilisk, of the same nest, and one that loved any thing better than a parliament: one whose poisonous breath infected the sanctity of the Sabbath, maintained the morality of the Fourth Commandment, and writ whole volumes in defence of arch-Arminians, and defended their heresy at a packed conference: this Viper, by the instructions of the arch-Basilisk of Canterbury, would suffer none to be preferred, but those that would prefer and favour those dangerous tenets, by them urged and maintained. Then Cosens, Regulus, Corbet, Pocklington, Heylyn, and a little more of sowers, planters, and waterers of the seeds of superstition and popery, were sent out to infect the kingdom of England, which took admirably, and quickly brought forth an excellent crop of popery. Then long-tailed cloaks were in fashion, the Jesuits-garb right, worn by a company of priests, the merriest fellows, boon lads. ‘Let the devil preach, (quoth one,) give me the other quart of sack.’ ‘Lie there divinity;’ says another to his gown. ‘Come, my girl, let me embrace thy lovely corps; dost think I am good for nothing but to preach?’ &c. These rare divines would preach against spiritual whoredom, yet be arrant monkeys at the other; that was, when their precise parishioners, termed Round-heads, would seek out for some spiritual comforts, because they could have none at home, sometimes not in a month together; yet must be excommunicated, derided by uncivil names, and termed Puritans, Round-heads, Spiritual Whoremongers, &c. Was not this excellent sport indeed? And surely, such priests, such people; though (God be blessed!) not all. These Basilisks could suffer the Sabbath to be profaned by drunkards, players, wakes, morrice-dancers, may-poles, and what not; and by authority too. Much more might be spoken on this subject; but enough of these Vipers, and too much too. I have others as bad to shew you, and will leave these to the justice and prudence of the parliament.—Take them, Derrick.

The next we present you, are a crew of flying Dragons, that have many wings; right wings, and left wings, and double faces; that can soon face about, be here and there, and every where to do mischief, plunder, ravish, fire, and the like.

Cryer, call Prince Rupert to the bar. Thou hast been a right flying-Dragon prince, and hast flew strangely up and down in this Island, and hast stung to death those that formerly preserved thy life. O ungrateful Viper, far worse than that in the fable! Dost not thou think to be sainted for this? Yes; thou shalt in this black calendar. The Commons of England will remember thee, thou flap-dragon, thou butter-box; whose impieties draw, like the powerful load-stone, speedy vengeance on thy cursed head! How many towns hast thou fired? How many virgins hast thou deflowered? How many godly ministers hast thou killed? How much hast thou plundered from his Majesty’s best and most obedient subjects? How many innocents hast thou slain? How many cursed oaths hast thou belched out, against God and his people? How hast thou surfeited with the good things of our land, and undone whole counties? Why camest thou hither? Could not thy uncle’s evil counsel infect our kingdom enough, unless thou hadst a share in it? Thou hadst a dukedom already; and wouldest thou have a kingdom too? Is it that thou aimest at? King of Ireland, or king of his Majesty’s best subjects, the Irish rebels, the Papists, Jesuits, and others. Yes, thou shalt have a kingdom, and pimps instead of preachers, wenches for thy privy-counsellors, a black pot for thy sceptre, or a white pot for thy crown; and shalt make laws accordingly, wholesome laws I’ll warrant you. Thou hast had but scurvy luck lately, (I cannot pity thee,) at Marston-Moor, where thy highness was soundly cudgelled into the bean-field, and hadst time to write the elegy of thy dog in direful tears, curses, and execrations. Prince, have a care, thou mayest be next; ingratitude never speeds better, and so farewell, and be—— Take him, Garret.

Call Prince Maurice to the bar; a dancing Dragon, that hath danced fairly after the lewd measures of his ungodly brother, in firing houses, and killing of godly ministers, deflowering of virgins, murdering his Majesty’s best subjects, and plundering and undoing the kingdom; these jiggs are now become court-dances: though ’tis an unusual thing to use jiggs and dances in tragedies, yet now ’tis the court-fashion; which makes Inigo Jones fret himself into a consumption, and wish thy highness might dance in a halter, or dance

thy head from thy shoulders, that hast thus altered the property, and turned the scene into sin, and such horrid sin, that it can scarce be paralleled in any story, except in the highest story.—Take him, Garret.

Call Marquis Hartford to the bar; one that has more wit, than to fight for the Protestant religion. Does not Endymion Porter fight for the Protestant religion? Does not Digby fight for the Protestant religion? Yes, Papists do fight for the Protestant religion, the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject; they fight for all these, as ours, to fight them away from us, as they fight away our estates, or as the thief fights for the true man's purse. Did the cabinet-council invent this fighting? And would not they have king Charles fight thus? Does not Brainsford fight thus? Cottington, Hopton, Hurrey, and the rest fight thus; and Legge and Lumford fight thus; with Capel, Hastings, and all that godless crew? And this is the war these men maintain, withal, to preserve their persons and estates from the justice of the law; when themselves are above religion, or the law either.

Call the Duke of Richmond to the bar. His father was truly noble, and loved parliaments, though he was unfortunately stung to death by one of these poisonous Vipers, because he did so: but the son loves the murderers the better, and hates the Parliament he should love; and hath in exchange a living lady for a dead father.—Take him, Greg.

Call Littleton to the bar, lord-keeper. His predecessor, Finch, paid a good large sum for the place, and had more reason to run away with the great-seal, than Littleton, that paid nothing for it. Little honesty in that, to deal so dishonestly, and fly from them that had dealt so well with him: little justice too, to steal away and divorce that spouse, that had been so long married to the Parliament, and hath put that great council to no little trouble in making a new one; therefore expect as little mercy from me.—Take him, Der-rick.

Lindsey, stand to the bar. Thou understandest already what it is to fight against the true Protestant religion, the parliament's privileges, and the subject's rights, under a feigned pretence of maintaining them. Edgehill put the period to thy days; and, though thou wert valiant, yet, in that cause, thy valour was but a crime, a valiant crime; and so is the valour of all rebels valiant crimes; but thou hast thy reward.

Huntingdon, hold up thy hand. Thou art one of these valiants too; valiant in a bad cause; that differ much from David's valiants: there be many such valiants, that are valiant to do mischief, valiant to undo your country, though you undo yourselves. A list of these valiants followeth, viz. the Earls of Cumberland, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Northampton, Devonshire, Bristol, Berkshire, Monmouth, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Newport, Caernarvon, Mowbray, and Montravers; Lords Rich, Newark, Paget, Chandois, Faulconbridge, Paulet, Lovelace, Saville, Mohun, Dunsmore, Seymour, Hopton, Capell, Jermyn, Faulkland, Banks, Nicolas, Gardiner, comptroller, chancellor of the exchequer, &c. enough of all conscience, besides Irish rebels. These all fight valiantly for the Protestant religion, as it stood established in the reign of queen Elizabeth's sister.

I trust, every true Protestant sees this, and acknowledgeth parliaments the finest expounders of the law, and judges of offenders, either to acquit, or condemn them; and will, so soon as it shall please God to deliver up these Vipers into their hands, pull out their infectious stings, and deliver them up to the justice of the law, that thus vilely have betrayed religion, and law both.

Call the Cockatrices to the bar, the old French Madam; nay, and the young one too, little inferior. Who went with Jermyn into Holland, because England was so unworthy of her, as Digby says? Who went to the brokers with the jewels of the crown, and the cupboard of gold plate? Who bought pocket-pistols, barrels of powder, and many such pretty toys to destroy the Protestants? Was it queen Mary? The very same who is gone into France to do the like? Queen Mary, a happy instrument to destroy the Protestants! There is another Cockatrice, I forget her name, (a kind of harlotry belonging

to the cabinet-council,) one that married the fox-headed Irish rebel, and was once duchess of Buckingham; a prime piece of mortality, and worthy sainting in our calendar; her faults would make a whole volume.—Take her, Devil.

The next are curled winding Snakes, Court-parasites, and corrupt Judges, that could make his Majesty believe any thing; and screw and wind themselves, as they do the law, into his Majesty's favour, and tell him fine tales to little purpose: such were Noy, Windebank, Hyde, Mallet, Bartlet, &c. a brood of dangerous Vipers, with baneful stings, to poor England's cost.

The last are dangerous Adders; and those are the Commissioners of Array, that would arm the subjects to kill themselves; or those whom themselves have chosen and intrusted with their religion, laws, and hereditary rights, and the king acknowledged to be his great and faithful council. Surely, they ought then to defend his royal person, as well as their own rights, or their own persons, being all in apparent danger. The law allows rather to kill than to be killed: David was not restrained to defend himself against Saul, much less against his evil counsel; if Saul would obstinately thrust himself into danger amongst his evil counsellors, and wilfully perish, David is guiltless. David took up arms in his own defence; the parliament and kingdom in defence of the true religion, and to rescue the king from traitors and rebels; not against the king. God forbid! If we make choice of men, and trust them with our rights, (the king acknowledging them his great council,) it questionless behoves them, according to that trust, to defend his person and posterity equal with their own rights. With what unwearied labours, even to the loss of lives and estates, the Parliament hath discharged this trust, no eye can be so blind, but must needs see and confess, with a thankful heart, that they have done as much, as in them lay, to redeem his Majesty from evil counsellors, to preserve the true and pure Gospel, and to rescue our laws and hereditary rights from the violence of Malignants, delinquents, papists, and others; and ingenuously confess, that we stand justly bound by conscience, religion, and law, to assist them with our estates and lives; which with all willingness let us resolve to do, and rather choose to die like men, than live like slaves.

Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary. Wherein are several material Passages, omitted by other Historians, concerning the Manner how that Kingdom was first converted to the Protestant Religion; and how, by the special Providence of God, Dr. Cole, a bloody Agent of Queen Mary, was prevented in his Designs against the Protestants there. Set forth in the Life and Death of George Browne, sometime Archbishop of Dublin, who was the first of the Romish Clergy in Ireland that threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and forsook the idolatrous Worship of Rome; with a Sermon of his on that Subject:

Printed at London, and sold by Randal Taylor, 1681.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

The Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the Life and Death of George Browne, sometime Archbishop of Dublin, &c.

GEORGE BROWNE, by birth an Englishman, of the order of St. Augustine, in London¹, and provincial of the Friars of the same order in England², being a man of a meek and peaceable spirit, was preferred to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin by king Henry the Eighth, and consecrated, before his arrival into Ireland, by Thomas³ archbishop of Canterbury, two other bishops assisting him, viz. John, then bishop of Rochester, and Nicholas, then bishop of Salisbury, on the 19th of March, *anno* 1535.

The Reverend James Usher, late primate of Armagh, amongst his memorials of Ireland, gives this holy father this description: George Browne was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people; advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine order in England, to make their applications solely to Christ⁴; which advice coming to the ears of Henry the Eighth, he became a favourite; and upon the decease of John Allen, late archbishop of Dublin, became his successor. Within five years after he had enjoyed that see, he (much about the time that king Henry the Eighth began to demolish the priories, abbeys, and monasteries, formerly built by the Romish clergy within these his Majesty's dominions of England and Ireland) caused

¹ [The site of their convent is still known by the name of Austin Friars, in Throckmorton Street.]

² [He received his academical education in a house of his order near Holywell in Oxford, where Wadham College now stands. In 1523, he supplicated the University for the degree of bachelor of divinity, but it does not appear that he was then admitted. He afterwards took the degree of doctor in divinity in some university beyond sea, and was incorporated in the same degree at Oxford in 1534, and soon after at Cambridge. *Ath. Oxon.* I. 678. & *Fast.* I. 56.]

³ [Cranmer.]

⁴ [He is said to have embraced this doctrine, from reading some of Luther's works in his early days. See Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 348, edit. 1739.]

all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches within his diocese; he caused the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be placed (being gilded and in frames) about the altar in the cathedral of Christ-church in Dublin. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the church of England; for which fact he was by queen Mary laid aside, and his temporality taken from him: yet he patiently endured affliction for the truth to the end.

Upon the reformation of king Henry the Eighth in England, and at his renouncing the papal power or supremacy of Rome, the lord Thomas Cromwell, then lord-privy-seal, wrote unto George Browne, then archbishop of Dublin, signifying from his Highness (then terming the king by that title), that he was fallen absolutely from Rome in spiritual matters, within his dominion of England; and how it was his royal will and pleasure to have his subjects there in Ireland to obey his commands as in England; nominating the said George Browne, archbishop, one of his commissioners for the execution thereof, who in a short space of time wrote to the Lord Privy-seal, as follows:

‘ My most honoured Lord,

‘ YOUR humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his Highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured (almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life) to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owing of his Highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal; and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh^s, who hath been the main oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his Highness's supremacy; saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish Chronicles, *insula sacra*, belongs to none but to the bishop of Rome; and that it was the bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messengers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop, now lately sent to the bishop of Rome. Your Lordship may inform his Highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his Highness's commission which your Lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders; and, as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, my very good Lord; these things, that your Lordship and his Highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neal will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your Lordship's order from the King's Highness; for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your Lordship from your enemies.

‘ Dublin, 4 Kalend. Decembris, 1535.’

The year following a parliament was called in Ireland^o, (the lord Leonard Grey being then king Henry's viceroy of that nation,) in which George Browne, then being not many months above a year in his archiepiscopal chair in Dublin, stood up and made this short speech following:

‘ My Lords and Gentry of this his Majesty's Realm of Ireland;

‘ BEHOLD, your obedience to your king is the observing of your God and Saviour Christ; for He, that High-priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, though no Christian: greater honour, then, surely, is due to your prince, his Highness the king, and a Christian one. Rome, and her bishops, in the fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme over their dominions; nay, Christ's own vicars: and

^s [George Cromer, then archbishop of Armagh.]

^o [This parliament met, May 1, 1536.]

‘ it is as much to the bishop of Rome’s shame to deny what their precedent bishops owned ; therefore his Highness claims but what he can justify the bishop Elutherius gave to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons. So that I shall, without scruple, vote his Highness king Henry my supreme over ecclesiastic matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and Ireland, and that without guilt of conscience, or sin to God ; and he, who will not pass this act, as I do, is no true subject to his Highness.’

This speech of George Browne startled the other bishops and lords so, that, at last, through great difficulty, it passed: upon which speech justice Brabazon seconded him, as appears by his letters to the lord Thomas Cromwell, then lord-privy-seal of England ; which original is in that famous library of sir Robert Cotton, out of which sir James Ware, that learned antiquary, transcribed the same⁷.

Within a few years after that the act of Supremacy had passed in Ireland, we do find a letter, written by George Browne to the lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy ; how they fell off from what had passed, and how the bishop of Rome had contrived matters against the then reformation. Collected by sir James Ware, out of an old register some time in the custom of Adam Loftus, Hugh Corwin’s successor, and also archbishop of Dublin.

‘ To the Lord PRIVY-SEAL’S honourable good Lordship. (*Ex autographo.*)

‘ Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

‘ I ACKNOWLEDGE my bounden duty to your Lordship’s good-will to me, next to my Saviour Christ’s, for the place I now possess. I pray God give me his grace to execute the same to his glory and his Highness’s honour, with your Lordship’s instructions. The people of this nation are zealous, yet blind and unknowing ; most of the clergy (as your Lordship hath had from me before,) being ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the mass, or liturgy, as being not skilled in the Latin grammar ; so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his Highness’s orders. George⁸, my brother of Armagh, doth under-hand occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute his Highness’s orders in his diocese. I have observed your Lordship’s letter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in their livings till I do know your Lordship’s pleasure : for it is meet I acquaint you first, that the Romish relicks and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Patrick’s, took off the common people from the true worship ; but the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words. Therefore, send in your Lordship’s next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome to be encouraged ; and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from the bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long, before his Highness can submit them to his Grace’s orders. The country-folk here much hate your Lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, “ The blacksmith’s son.” The duke of Norfolk is, by Armagh and that clergy, desired to assist them, not to suffer his Highness to alter church-rules here in Ireland. As a friend, I desire your Lordship to look to your noble person ; for Rome hath a great kindness for that duke, (for it is so talked here,) and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his Highness ; and so have got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion : therefore my hope is lost, yet

⁷ [Sir James Ware’s MSS. were published in 1739, edited by Walter Harris, esq.]

⁸ [Cromer.]

‘ my zeal is to do according to your Lordship’s orders. God keep your Lordship from your enemies here and in England !

‘ Dublin, 3 *Kalend. April.* 1538.

‘ Your Lordship’s at commandment,

GEORGE BROWNE.’

Soon after this letter had been written, news came to the castle of Dublin, that the bishop of Rome had sent over a bull of excommunication of all those who had, or shall own the king’s supremacy within the Irish nation ; which caused the archbishop to write accordingly :

‘ To the Lord PRIVY-SEAL, with speed.

‘ Right Honourable,

‘ MY duty premised, it may please your Lordship to be advertised, since my last, there has come to Armagh and his clergy a private commission from the bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious Highness’s people here in this nation to own his royal supremacy, and joining a curse to all them and theirs who shall not, within forty days, confess to their confessors, (after the publishing of it to them,) that] they have done amiss in so doing : the substance, as our secretary hath translated the same into English, is thus :

“ I *A. B.* from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed virgin mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the pope of Rome and his successors, in all things as well spiritual as temporal ; not consenting in the least that his Holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother-church of Rome, or to the regality of St. Peter. I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist, the just laws, liberties, and rights, of the mother-church of Rome. I do likewise promise to confer, to defend and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the church of Rome and her laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same. I further vow to oppugn all hereticks, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands, contrary to the mother-church of Rome ; and in case any such to be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first conveniency and opportunity I can possibly. I count and value all acts made, or to be made, by heretical powers, of no force or worth, or be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the mother-church of Rome. I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed ; that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power above the authority of the mother-church, or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of churches, opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, which I have here sworn unto : so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangelists help me, &c.”

‘ His Highness’s viceroy of this nation^o is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your Lordship will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed, that ever since his Highness’s ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign power to assist and rule them ; and now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your Lordship’s orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels, which I fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God

^o [Sir Anthony St. Leger.]

I may be a false prophet; yet your good Lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write to your Lordship as a warning.

‘ Dublin, May 1538.

‘ Your humble and true Servant,

‘ GEORGE BROWNE.’

Upon the feast of St. John Baptist following, the said George Browne seized one Thady O'Brian¹⁰, one of the order of St. Francis, who had papers from Rome, as follows, being sent to the Lord Privy-seal by a special messenger.

‘ My Son O'NEAL,

‘ THOU and thy fathers were all along faithful to the mother-church of Rome. His Holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the holy fathers there, have lately found out a prophecy, there remaining, of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashell; wherein he saith, “ That the mother-church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholic faith is overcome.” Therefore, for the glory of the mother-church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his Holiness's enemies; for, when the Roman faith there perisheth, the see of Rome falleth also: therefore the council of cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland, as a sacred island; being certified, whilst the mother-church hath a son of worth as yourself, and of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that she will never fall; but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate. Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the holy trinity of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and of all the heavenly host of heaven. Amen.”

‘ Romæ, 4 Kalend. Maii, 1538.

‘ *Episcopus Metensis.*’

Upon further examination and searches made, this Thady O'Brian was pilloried, and confined a prisoner until his Highness's further order for his trial; but news coming over that he must be hanged, he made himself away in the castle of Dublin, on the eve of the feast of St. James; yet his dead corpse was carried to the Gallows-Green and hanged up, and after there buried. But it was said, by the register of St. Francis's monastery of Dublin, that they brought him from thence and buried him in that monastery.

George Browne having enjoyed the see of Dublin seven years or thereabouts, king Henry the Eighth, upon the dissolution of the abbeys, priories, and monasteries here in Ireland, changed the priory of the Blessed Trinity of Dublin into a deanery and chapter¹²; since which mutation it hath generally borne the name of Christ-Church.

Upon this alteration, as it appears upon record, this cathedral consisted of a dean and chapter, a chanter, a treasurer, six vicars-choral, and two singing-boys; allowing to them forty-five pounds six shillings English, *durante beneplacito*: which sum his daughter queen Mary confirmed for ever, having confirmed the deanery, yet with alterations, as she was a Romanist.

This cathedral continued after this said form, though not in popery, even until king James's days, who then altered all what king Henry and his daughter had done; and upon this second alteration, he constituted a dean, a chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, three prebends, six vicars-choral, and four singing-boys; ordering likewise, that the archdeacon of Dublin should have a place in the choir, and a vote in the chapter. As for a further description of this cathedral, we shall omit it; having reserved the same for a large narrative of the said cathedral, in a book which is ready for the press, intitled, ‘ The Antiquities of the City of Dublin.’

King Henry the Eighth deceasing, and his hopeful offspring, king Edward the Sixth,

¹⁰ [Or O'Birne.]

¹¹ [In pursuance of this letter, O'Neal began to declare himself the champion of popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the Pale, and committed several ravages, but were soon after quelled. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 259.]

¹² [Anno 1541.]

succeeding within a short space after his royal father's death; that hopeful prince, by the advice of his privy-council, began to consider what good effects the translation of the Holy Bible had done, also how much it had enlightened the understanding of his subjects; they altered the Liturgy-book from what king Henry had formerly printed and established, causing the same to be printed in English, commanding the same to be read and sung in the several cathedrals and parish-churches of England, for the common benefit of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty; and that his subjects of Ireland might likewise participate of the same sweetness, he sent over orders to his viceroy sir Anthony St. Leger, then being lord-deputy of that nation, that the same be forthwith there in Ireland observed within their several bishopricks, cathedrals, and parish-churches; which was first observed in Christ-church at Dublin, on the feast of Easter, 1551, before the said sir Anthony, George Browne, and the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin, John Lockwood being then dean of the said cathedral.

The Translation of the Copy of the Order, for the Liturgy of the Church of England to be read in Ireland, runs as follows.

‘ To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Anth. St. Leger, knight, our chief governor of
‘ our kingdom of Ireland.

‘ Edward by the grace of God, &c.

‘ **W**HEREAS our gracious father, king Henry the Eighth of happy memory, taking into
‘ consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained
‘ under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty
‘ were in; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our
‘ realms of England and Ireland; grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands,
‘ also dispensing with the sins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons, for gain,
‘ purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blas-
‘ phemy, idolatry, &c. He, our gracious father king Henry of happy memory, hereupon
‘ dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses, as be-
‘ ing but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning. He therefore,
‘ that it might more plainly appear to the world, that those orders had kept the light of
‘ the Gospel from his people, thought it most fit and convenient, for the preservation of
‘ their souls and bodies, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated, printed, and placed
‘ in all parish-churches within his dominions, for his faithful subjects to increase their
‘ knowledge of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We, therefore, for the general
‘ benefit of our well-beloved subjects’ understandings, whenever assembled or met toge-
‘ ther, in the said several parish-churches, either to pray, or to hear prayers read, that
‘ they may the better join therein, in unity, heart and voice, have caused the liturgy and
‘ prayers of the church to be translated into our mother-tongue of this realm of En-
‘ gland, according to the assembly of divines lately met within the same, for that purpose.
‘ We therefore will and command, as also authorize you, Sir Anthony St. Leger, knight,
‘ our viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as
‘ well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish-priests with-
‘ in that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our royal will
‘ and pleasure accordingly.

‘ Given at our manor of Greenwich, Febr. 6, in the fifth year of our reign.¹³

‘ E. R.’

Several Collections from Anthony Martin, formerly Bishop of Meath.

BEFORE proclamations were issued out, Sir Anthony St. Leger, upon this order, called an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, together with others of the then clergy of Ireland; in which assembly he signified unto them as well his Majesty's order aforesaid, as also the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England, who had adhered unto this order, saying, "That it was his Majesty's will and pleasure, consenting unto their serious considerations and opinions, then acted and agreed on in England, as to ecclesiastical matters, that the same be in Ireland so likewise celebrated and performed."

Sir Anthony St. Leger having spoken to this effect, George Dowdall, who succeeded George Cromer in the primacy of Armagh, stood up; who, through his Romish zeal to the pope, laboured with all his power and force to oppose the liturgy of the church, that it might not be read or sung in the church; saying, "Then shall every illiterate fellow read service, or mass;" as he in those days termed the word Service.

To this saying of the archbishop's, sir Anthony replied, "No, your Grace is mistaken; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for."

Upon this reply, George Dowdall bade sir Anthony "beware of the clergy's curse."

Sir Anthony made answer, "I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one."

The archbishop again said, "Can there be a truer church, than the church of St. Peter, the mother-church of Rome?"

Sir Anthony returned this answer: "I thought we had been all of the church of Christ; for he calls all true believers in him his church, and himself the head thereof."

The archbishop replied; "And is not St. Peter the church of Christ?"

Sir Anthony returned this answer: "St. Peter was a member of Christ's church, but the church was not St. Peter's; neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof."

Then George Dowdall, the primate of Armagh, rose up, and several of the suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction; saving only Edward Staples, then bishop of Meath, who tarried with the rest of the clergy then assembled, on the Calends of March, according to the old stile, 1551; but, if we reckon as from the Annunciation of our Lady, which was the twenty-fifth of March, it was 1550.

Sir Anthony then took up the order, and held it forth to George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, who, standing up, received it, saying: "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no questions why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful king."

After this, several of the meeker, or most moderate, of the bishops and clergy of Ireland cohered with George Browne, the archbishop of Dublin; amongst whom, Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, who was put out of his bishoprick for so doing, in queen Mary's days, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1554; John Bale¹⁴, who, on the second of February, 1552, was consecrated bishop of Ossory for his fidelity, and afterwards, by queen Mary, expelled: also Thomas Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, who was at the same time put from his bishoprick, with several others of the clergy, being all expelled upon queen Mary's coming to the crown.

When these passages had passed, sir Anthony was in a short time after recalled for England, and sir James Crofts of Herefordshire, knight, placed chief in his stead; who began his government from the twenty-ninth of April, 1551.

¹⁴ [See Bale's 'Account of his vocacyon to the bishoprick of Ossorie,' in the sixth volume of this Work.]

Sir James Crofts, upon his coming over, endeavoured much for the persuading of George Dowdall to adhere to the order aforesaid; but Dowdall being obstinate, his Majesty, and the learned privy-council then of England, for his perverseness, upon the twentieth of October following took away the title of primate of all Ireland from him, and conferred the same on George Browne, then archbishop of Dublin, and to his successors; by reason that he was the first of the Irish bishops, who embraced the order for establishing of the English liturgy and reformation in Ireland; which place he enjoyed during the remainder of king Edward's reign, and for a certain time after, as you shall know further in its due course and place.

Alterations following one after another, even upon this reformation of the church of England; and the title of primacy being disposed of, as we have already mentioned, unto George Browne aforesaid; some writers saying, that George Dowdall was banished, others that he was not, but went voluntarily of his own will; yet, not to dispute the case, another archbishop was consecrated in lieu of him, though then living; by which it was then lawful; as also that constituting of archbishops and bishops was in the power of kings, and not in the power of popes, or of the bishop of Rome; which would be much to the abasement of the powers of the crown of England ever to resign, or to acknowledge to the contrary.

Hugh Goodacre, bachelor of divinity, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh by the said George Browne, together with John Bale, bishop of Ossory, already mentioned, in Christ-church in Dublin, on the second of February, *anno* 1552; Thomas, bishop of Kildare, and Eugenius, bishop of Down and Connor, assisting him; yet, notwithstanding Hugh Goodacre's consecration, George Browne then held the title of primacy of all Ireland.

This reformation and alteration having not time to settle, or to take root; it was soon quashed and pulled down by that lamentable loss of that hopeful prince, king Edward the Sixth, who died at Greenwich, the sixth of June, 1553.

Upon king Edward's decease, the council having met to consult together upon the affairs of these dominions, as also how they might confirm and establish what they had already ordered and enacted, (as well in ecclesiastical matters as temporal,) a division soon sprung up; some being for the choice of the lady Jane Grey, others for queen Mary; at last, upon conclusion, Mary, the king's sister, was voted queen, upon the proposals and promises, which she made to the council, to confirm all that had been perfected by her father king Henry the Eighth, and her brother king Edward, and his honoured council.

After she had been crowned and enthroned, she, for the space of three or four months, seemed moderate to the Protestant reformers, yet all that while combined with Rome and her emissaries; but having accomplished her designs, she revoked her fair promises, (which with Papists is a rule,) esteeming it no sin to break contracts or covenants with hereticks and Protestants, numbered with such sort of people, especially with Papists, these promises vanished; and then began the Romish church not only to undo what king Henry, and his son king Edward had reformed, but to prosecute the reformers and reformed with fire and faggot.

But to our purpose: upon the eleventh of November, *anno* 1553, she recalled sir James Crofts, and sent over sir Anthony St. Leger lord-deputy into Ireland. This sir Anthony had not been half a year chief-governor of Ireland, before queen Mary revoked the title of primacy from George Browne, expelling Hugh Goodacre out of the archbishoprick of Armagh, and recalling George Dowdall to his see, and restoring him to the primacy of all Ireland, as formerly; which title hath ever since stood firm in Armagh, without any revocation, either by queen Elizabeth, or by any of her successors.

George Browne, upon this revocation, was by George Dowdall expelled, and not thought fit to continue in his see of Dublin, as being a married man; and it is thought, had he not been married, he had been expelled; having appeared so much for the reformation, in both these former kings' days. Upon the expelling of this George Browne, all the temporalities belonging to the archbishoprick were disposed of unto Thomas Lock-

wood, then dean of Christ-church in Dublin: it having been an ancient custom ever, upon the translation or death of any of those archbishops, to deposit the temporalities into the hands of the priors formerly of that cathedral, when it was a priory, and called by the name of 'the Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity.' And it is observable, the last prior became the first dean, upon the alteration as aforesaid.

The see of Dublin, after this expulsion, lay vacant for two years or thereabouts, until Hugh Corrin, *aliàs* Corwin, was placed therein. This Hugh was born in Westmoreland, a doctor of the law, being formerly archdeacon of Oxford, and dean of Hereford; he was consecrated archbishop of Dublin in the cathedral of St. Paul's in London, on the eighth of September, *anno* 1555. He after, upon the thirteenth of the same month, was by queen Mary, made chancellor of Ireland; and, upon the twenty-fifth of the said September, he received this letter from the queen, directed to Thomas Lockwood, the dean of Christ-church, it being an ancient custom formerly, to recommend the archbishop, whensoever constituted for that see, to the prior of that said cathedral.

Queen Mary's Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church in Dublin, to receive the Archbishop of Dublin honourably, and with due respect. (*Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sanctæ Trinitatis Dublinii.*)

' To our trusty and well-beloved the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Christ-Church, within our realm of Ireland.

' MARY the Queen.

' **T**RUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well; and forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor the Archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that see, repaireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon the cure of his bishoprick, which now of long time hath been destitute of a Catholic bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high-chancellor of that our realm; albeit, we have good hopes ye will, in all things of yourselves, carry yourselves towards him, as becometh you; yet, to the intent he might the better govern the charge committed unto him, to the honour of Almighty God, and for the remain of our service, we have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your part ye do reverently receive him, honour, and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to your duties tending to God's glory, our honour, and the commonweal of that our realm; whereby ye shall please God, and do us acceptable service.

' Given under our signet at the manor of Greenwich, the twenty-fifth of September, in the second and third years of our reign.'

I have here inserted this letter, upon two accounts: first, as being a record remaining in the cathedral; secondly, because there hath been some discourse of late, whether the archbishop of Dublin had power herein, or whether it was upon king Henry's mutation made a deanery, as Whitehall-chapel is, and no cathedral: but by this letter, it shews it is both still a cathedral, and subject to the archbishop of Dublin.

George Browne lived not long after the consecration of this Hugh Corwin: yet I have, amongst my manuscripts, a writing of a papist, who would fain have persuaded the world, that this George Browne died through joy, having had a bull from the pope to be restored to his see of Dublin; which must needs be false, upon this account of sir James Ware, who writeth these very words of him, in his book, intituled, *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, pag. 120, 1554: *Circa tempus Georgius Browneus (quod conjugatus esset) per Dowdallum archiepiscopum Armachanum & alios delegatos exauthoritatus est*: otherwise the pope, if he had granted such a bull, must likewise have dispensed with his marriage, it being contrary to the Romish tenets for bishops to marry.

Having related thus much of George Browne, and of ecclesiastical matters, during his life, we shall proceed a little further concerning a short sermon of his¹⁵, preached unto the people in Christ-church, upon the first Sunday after Easter, *anno* 1551; being a copy of the same given to sir James Ware, knight, by Anthony Martin, late bishop of Meath, who formerly was tutor to the said sir James Ware, when he was a student of Trinity-College, Dublin.

The Text, Psal. cxix. ver. 18.

‘ Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy Law.’

THE wonders of the Lord God have for a long time been hid from the children of men, which hath happened by Rome’s not permitting the common people to read the holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the comfort of your salvation, but to depend wholly on the church of Rome, they will not permit it to be in any tongue but in the Latin, saying that Latin was the Roman tongue. But the wonderful God inspired the holy Apostles with the knowledge of all languages, that they might teach all people in their proper tongue and language; which caused our wise king Henry, before his death, to have the holy Scriptures transcribed into the English tongue, for the good of his subjects, that their ‘ eyes may be opened to behold the wondrous things out of the ‘ law of the Lord.’ But there are false prophets at this instant, and will be to the end of the world, that shall deceive you with false doctrines, expounding this text, or that, purposely to confound your understandings, and to lead you captive into a wilderness of confusion; whom you shall take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest enemies, speaking against the tenets of Rome, and yet be set on by Rome: these shall be a rigid people, full of fury and envy.

But, to prevent these things, that are to come, observe Christ and his Apostles: ‘ Let ‘ all things be done with decency, with mildness, and in order;’ fervently crying unto God, ‘ Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things out of thy law:’ then should you rightly keep the law and the prophets. It is the part of a prince to be wise; for he hath a great charge to rule and govern a nation. Your late king, foreseeing Rome and her pope’s intentions, how that he intended to enslave his subjects, and to keep them in the state of ignorance, consulted with the learned of his realm, knowing that youth might quickly be wrought on: therefore he prepared, before his death, a wise and learned sort of counsellors for his son’s overseers; not trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might the better rule his people; whose eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened betimes to behold his wondrous works.

Though the words of my text be plainly thus, ‘ Open thou mine eyes;’ the meanest of you that hear me have eyes, but the true meaning of the words is, ‘ Endue us with understanding;’ for a fool hath eyes, and sees men, women, beasts, birds, and other things, but yet wants understanding: so, when we say, ‘ Open thou our eyes,’ we desire the Lord God to instruct and teach us the knowledge of his laws.

When you were lately led in blindness, your eyes beheld the images that then stood in several of the monasteries and churches, until they were removed; yet all this while were your understandings blinded, because ye believed in them, and placed your trust in them.

Suppose an artist or workman make an image either of man or woman, and at last a clergyman of Rome give it such a name, calling it St. Peter, or St. Paul, or St. Mary, or St. Anne; must not that man, though he behold his own handy-work, and knows in his heart that it was his own work, be blind, and void of reason and understanding of the law of God, and of the ‘ wondrous things that are contained in the law of the Lord?’ Yes, surely, he must be blind; and void of reason, and of the true faith, that would worship the same. The workman carved the eyes, but these eyes see not; he likewise car-

¹⁵ [This sermon is the only piece of the archbishop’s writing extant, besides the letters contained in this tract.]

ved the ears, but they hear not ; the nose, and it smells not ; the mouth, and it neither breathes nor speaks ; the hands, they feel not ; the feet, but they stand stock still.

How therefore can your prayers be acceptable unto this image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet smells, be they of myrrh or frankincense, burning before it ? How can it absolve you, when the mouth is not able to say, ‘ Thy sins are forgiven thee ? ’ And if you place a certain sum of money in the palm of the hand of that image ; come you again to-morrow, the money, it is true, shall find a customer, but the image never the wiser, who took it ; and if you desire to have it come unto you, it cannot without help : therefore the workman, that made this image, is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense as the image itself ; and so be ye all, that put your trust in them.

Therefore, of late, new artificers by springs have made artificial ones, which for a certain time shall move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain. But beware, good people, for they be but lying wonders, purposely that ye may break the law of God. And thus hath the devil devised a lying wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the law of the Lord, which is, ‘ Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image.’ O Lord, ‘ open thou our eyes, our ears, and our understanding, that we may behold the wondrous things that are in thy law. The law of God is an undefiled law.’ Oh ! why should we be so wicked then as to defile that law, which the Almighty God hath made so pure without blemish ? ‘ Jesus came to fulfil the law, and not to abolish the law.’ But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many ; who are much after the Scribes’ and Pharisees’ manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it ; for these sorts will turn themselves into several forms ; with the heathen, an heathenist ; with atheists, an atheist ; with the Jews, a Jew ; and with the reformers, a reformed ; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that ‘ said in his heart there was no God.’ These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser ; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it ; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the law of God, and by winking at their sins : yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them ; so that at the end they shall become odious to all nations : they shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit.

Now, to arm you all good Christians against these things that are to come, lest ye be led into temptation : cry unto the Lord your God, and heartily pray that he would be so merciful unto you, as to ‘ open the eyes of your understanding, that you may behold the ‘ wonders and pleasantness that is in his law.’ Which God of his mercy grant that you may all do !

Thus concluding with the acts and deeds of this reverend father, we shall end with queen Mary’s designs ; how she intended to have prosecuted the Protestants in Ireland, but was by Providence prevented ; as you shall further know by this following relation, being averred by several sufficient persons as well ecclesiastical as civil.

Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission to take the same course with them in Ireland ; and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominates doctor Cole one of the commissioners, (sending the commission by this doctor,) who in his journey coming to Chester, the mayor of that city, hearing that her Majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse with the mayor taketh out of a cloke-bag a leather box, saying unto him, “ Here is a commission that shall lash the hereticks of Ireland ; ” calling the Protestants by that title. The good woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother named John

Edmonds of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, whilst the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box and takes the commission out, placing in lieu thereof a sheet of paper with a pack of cards, wrapped up; the Knave of Clubs faced uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day, going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the seventh of October, 1558, at Dublin: then coming to the castle, the lord Fitz-Walters, being lord-deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy-council; who coming in, after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord-deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the Knave of Clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord-deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone: then the lord-deputy made answer, "Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while." The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned to England; and coming to the court, obtained another commission; but, staying for a wind at the water-side, news came unto him, that the queen was dead; and thus God preserved the Protestants in Ireland.¹⁶

This being a copy of Richard earl of Cork's memorials, as also of Henry Usher, sometime lord primate of Armagh; being also entered amongst sir James Ware's manuscripts, who hath often heard the late James Usher, nephew to the said Henry, and also primate of Armagh, aver the same; and wondered that Mr. Fox had not inserted it in his Acts and Monuments: there is yet living a reverend father of the church, Henry now lord-bishop of Meath, who can affirm this relation from the said James Usher, late lord primate of all Ireland.

Upon the recalling of the lord Fitz-Walters into England, queen Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister, discoursing with the said lord, concerning several passages in Ireland, amongst other discourses he related the aforesaid passage that had happened in Ireland; which so delighted the queen, that her Majesty sent for the good woman, named Elizabeth Edmonds, (but by her husband named Mattershad,) and gave her a pension of forty pounds, *durante vitâ*, for saving her Protestant subjects of Ireland¹⁷.

¹⁶ [This singular anecdote has also been related in Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. page 108, and Gentleman's Magazine for Jan. 1771.]

¹⁷ [Ireland, however, did not always so escape: for in the reign of Charles I. Oct. 23, 1641, a dreadful massacre began, when a hundred and forty thousand persons were destroyed, by innumerable barbarities, and put to death in cool blood, even before they suspected themselves to be in danger.]

A Word for the Army : and two Words to the Kingdom. To clear the one, and cure the other. Forced in much Plainness and Brevity from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters¹.

— *Nunc nunc properandus & acri
Fingendus sine fine rotâ.* —

London, Printed by M. Simmons, for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread-Eagle, at the West End of Paul's, 1647.

[Quarto; containing fourteen pages.]

THOUGH I have looked upon the scribblings of this age as the fruits of some men's idleness, and most men's folly, and therefore should not willingly have owned myself, if found among that rabble; yet when it grows so unlimitedly high, and impudently brazen, that some men I know, men even above flattery, and so sleek and smooth, in their uprightness, (among whom I place the present General and his second,) that I had thought nothing of that kind could stick, and yet these besmeared by uncircumcised pens: two things I resolved, which now I offer to the world.

I. The first is an humble petition to the Parliament, that they would please to try their now well-backed authority, that some one faithful discreet man may be chosen to divulge gazettes, courants, or news, who shall be accountable to the state, for what he prints or communicates to the kingdom; and that two of each party (for parties there are) shall undertake for what is printed on the behalf of either, that so all scandalous and slanderous personal affronts may be avoided, and matters worth time and reading may be published. Or, if none of these may be gotten, at least men may put their names to their papers, that honest men may know where to find an accuser; for, *si sat sit accusare, quis erit innocens?* I list not to answer objections may be made hereunto; since this boundless kind of boldness were much better curbed to some inconvenience, than continued to a mischief, even the poisoning the whole nation. It should not be a wise man's quære, 'What strength, wit, acuteness, &c. runs through such a paper?' But, '*cui bono?*'

II. My second resolve is; though not to answer every late pamphlet punctually, which rather than do, I might undertake to cleanse the stable in the story: yea, though my share lies so much in them, that it would be costly to purchase clean handkerchiefs to wipe off every spattering on my face, and I could as shortly, and more truly, answer all, as he did Bellarmine, with, 'Thou lyest:' knowing no public instrument, in no age, in no place, can travel without others dashing and dogs barking. Yet, to prevent stones from speaking, and graves from opening, or some horrid unheard-of thing from appearing, to satisfy the wide-mouthed world, and the black-mouthed pamphleteers; I shall, in plainness and faithfulness, shew you the Army's wounds since they put up their sword; and, with them, the State's disease: and, in humility, offer the cure, and leave all to a wonder-working God.

First, let me tell you, negatively, the evils commonly charged upon the Army, are not the Army's evils. We have generally *causam pro non causâ*, in which Mr. Prynne was wont to exceed; who spoke much more than he meant to stand to: the sum of all this is the Army's rebellion. Another pedantick sounds a retreat, who being nameless, will not

¹ [See an account of Father Peters in the present Volume, page 329.]

endure a charge; the marrow of his divinity, non-obedience. Another brings the Army to the bar, where he pleads with a company of balled threatenings, and would fright Fairfax with a sight of a king at Whitehall. One cries, "they sin against Cæsar:" another, "they have deflowered the Parliament;" another, "they have ravished the City;" another, "they are sectaries, enemies to government, false to God, to man, friends, enemies to themselves." "They have lost Ireland, ruined England: Oh! taxes and free-quarter: Oh! this trinkling with the Court," cries one: "Oh! their doubtful carriage with the Court," cries another. "Cavaliers shall up," cries one: "We shall never see good day," says another. I do not think Paul heard such a confused noise, when himself could hardly get leave to speak. The word *Army* must answer all the doubtful mischievous deadly questions in the world: for example;

Who brings famine? The Army.

Who, the plague? The Army.

Who, the sword? The Army.

Who hinders trade? The Army.

Who incenseth Scotland? The Army.

Who hardens the king? The Army.

Who confounds all? The Army.

And if it should be asked the Cavaliers and Malignants, "Who conquered you?" They would answer, "The Army." If the Presbyters, "Who disappointed you?" The Army." If the Independents, "Who leaves you in the dark?" "The Army." And if Haman were asked, "what he would do with these Jews?" we know the answer. Alas! poor Army: *qualis de te narratur fabula?* But to my purpose: the grand complaint (which, as most insisted upon, so is most likely to have vulgar acceptance) is the Army's disobedience to the Parliament, by which the state was endangered to lose all consistency: in respect of which, the apprentices routing the House is but duty or innocency; or, at worst, a parallel practice.

To which this is my plain and full answer. It is confessed they were not willing to disband at Walden, being urged thereunto; and denied in Essex, when expected and pressed. But consider, 1st, It was required but conditionally, with regard to their security, indemnity, and arrears, and none of these performed: it was not such a *monstrum horrendum*.

2dly, They were free Englishmen as soldiers, and must maintain their obligation to the state, as well as answer the major and more corrupt votes of the House.

3dly, Nature commanded their self-preservation, when such instruments were sent to disband them, and command them for Ireland; of whose non-integrity they had good experience.

4thly, When not long before they could not have leave to petition their faithful General; how should they expect any thing, being disbanded?

5thly, This piece of disobedience was not new unto them, when the same practice was familiar from men more mercenary in the North, and their denial never counted rebellion, but glibly swallowed.

6thly, I answer, and I desire it may be observed: the first force ever put upon the Parliament was long before this, and that nearer hand. Did not the City-remonstrance hang like a petard upon the Parliament-door week after week, and every ward in course, to attend and fire it? Speak, gentlemen of the House, how you were accosted and saluted, and in what language; till you were forced to speak pure London.

7thly, I do here offer to make good upon oath, that the commanding party, in the House, had more force upon them to disband us, than we put upon the House in refusing. For proof whereof, Mr. Anthony Nicholls, lately with us at Kingston, before his flight, being urged by myself, before another sufficient witness to speak to this point, calling for a testimony from Heaven, professed, "that when the Army offered at first to go for Ireland, he with the other impeached members fully condescended to it, and they gave him the agitation thereof; but (as he protested) the ministers in London came to them

with violence, pressing the contrary upon this ground: that this Army would soon conquer Ireland, fill it with schisms, and not only command it, but in a short time give law to England; and therefore would hear of nothing but the disbanding it, which (quoth he) put us upon that violent course. Now, who forced these ministers? I do not say: but you see who forced those Parliament-men, and we know they would force the Army; and upon denial the Army are the forcers. And if the City-remonstraters durst speak, they can tell you who forced them to force the Parliament: and if the Apprentices would break silence, they could tell you who spit in their mouths, and clapped them on the back.

In all this I speak not my delight, but my grief, that so many pulpits should plainly witness this force, as history tells us who poisoned king John. And though we have not been ignorant of this kind of violence (which I had rather attribute to my brethren's zeal, than their malice), yet you see how tenderly we have dealt with those. We, knowing many godly amongst them, who have not yet declared against them, complained of one of them; nay, though this Army, from first to last, never had any of these brethren to offer one sermon to us to encourage us in dangers, to rejoice with us in our success; nay, though they know we want helps, and have been forced to use such help, as they have reviled us for, and so would have us 'make brick without straw;' nay, though we know most hard measure met us; I do profess I conceive even Gangræna himself might have marched through the Army unmolested, though we are not ignorant, *hinc nostri fundi calamitas*. The Lord pity and pardon; the Army doth.

8thly, Lastly, the Army durst not disband, not seeing a suitable power to stand betwixt honest men and their dangers; the garrisons not possessed by men of trust, and the five-thousand horse intended not in such hands as to be wished; and the best of them might be soon disbanded, when the foot scattered.

No, no, this is not the Army's wound or sore; and, to answer the Retreater's grand question, 'whence are wars?' I answer with the Apostle James, and add: 'peace begets plenty, plenty pride, and pride war, and war begets peace;' and so round again. The schoolboy, that helped him to so many Latin ends out of Tully, can answer a harder query: but, since he pretends to religion, I wonder this offended brother doth not attend the rule, Matth. xviii. Why cannot he as well speak to a brother offending, and so tell him, as to tell all the world of him? I have been satisfied in my own spirit, that the godly could not be much offended with us, since none have taken the liberty of speaking to us; which, I dare say, from the General to the meanest officer professing godliness, had not been unwelcome.

But I look upon that author to be as great a stranger to the Army, as he is often to his own principles, and his whole course to be a trade of retreating, and leave him to another pen. Nor is a general toleration the Army's Gangræna; whenas they never hindered the state from a state-religion, having only wished to enjoy now what the Puritans begged under the Prelates: when we desire more, blame us and shame us. Neither was it the evil of the Army, that, being modelled, they suddenly closed, and marched at that time, when the boldest complainer now would have given them two parts of what they had, to have secured the third. Friends, it was not their evil to divide part of their force to Taunton, and, with another part, to fight at Naseby, and after that, by God's blessing, to deliver up a free kingdom to an ungrateful inhabitant, and to an envious cruel piece of a Parliament; nor did those honest-hearted, so much aspersed, Fairfax and Cromwell, sin in owning the Army at New-market; nor in their march from thence towards London; nor in their respects to those noble commissioners of Parliament sent to them; nor in their condescending to those discreet citizens from London, who deserve much; nor their performing; nor in scattering their forces at two-hundred miles distance, and providing for Ireland; nor in their return upon those confessed insolencies; nor in marching unto and through the city, to shew their harmless intentions; nor in securing the King in that

juncture; nor in hearkening to their agitators in their just proposals; nor in asking money to avoid free-quarter, and other burthens; nor in bringing those of the House, that fled to them, home again; nor in desiring a sound parliament, and clearing it from such persons as had shaken their public interest; nor in propounding wholesome means to the House, and leaving them to their feet, to be enlarged, altered, or explained, to the kingdom's advantage: nor, lastly, are complaints against private soldiers the proper evil of the Army, since, when I speak of the Army, I mainly intend their counsel and conduct; for you know, in such a body, that sickness in pay causeth death in discipline. But positively we will turn up our lap, and shew you our nakedness, & *habebitis confitentes reos*. We acknowledge, we are reaping the ill fruits of our want of action: *Sævior armis luxuria incubuit, victosque ulciscitur*.

It may be, some of us have had our lordly dish in Jael's tent, and our head may be nailed to the ground: we may think, the war being ended, we may begin to look to our own comforts and subsistence; and we are apt to plead, Who shall enjoy honour, and other advantages, but those that have won them through hazards, and think they may be confided in? It may be, some of us look upon our shops and trades, as things below us. We want that communion with God, and one with another, which we had in sad hours: we are forgetful of our mercies: we may be apt to quarrel one with the other, for want of an enemy. We may have such a neighbour of the court, that some of us may be planet-struck, yet I hope not principle-shaken; we may wander too much from our first undertakings, in the opinion of others.

We are not without varieties of thoughts about the matters of God, which never appeared when we had no time for talking; having so much to do and act. We cannot, we confess, live beyond our frailties, in many kinds. To be short, we have prayed more, loved more, believed more, than we do. We are grown effeminate with ease, and are more cowed with a dead dog, than we have been with a living lion; we are less in heaven, and more on earth; and these, truly, are our wounds, dear friends.

Some other diseases there are as much considerable amongst others, which may be of greater and stranger influence; as,

1. All men's unbelief in God for the carrying on his work: He is not minded in the whole business.

2. Our not designing a government from first to last.

3. Our general, proud, and careless carriages towards the present differences, which make so much noise amongst us.

4. A selfishness and negligence in committees; and men entrusted, behaving themselves as if they could keep their painted and well-stuffed cabbins when the ship is sinking.

5. A general want of the fear of God; and that spirit of trembling before him, which, whilst it was upon Ephraim, he was a glorious tribe.

6. An oscitant and untrusted kind of deportment in all men towards public affairs: the truth is, the want of a public spirit threatens ruin very much.

7. Unwarranted jealousies of all men, and all actions; yea, though convinced of each other's faithfulness.

8. Common unthankfulness and ingratitude to God and man. I fear, shortly, the greatest error, in the kingdom, will be the famine of love.

9. Delay to the distressed; making them more miserable than the matter of their complaints doth.

10. A spirit of lying and false witness-bearing, reaching to the undervaluing of our enjoyments. To say England is grown so poor by the war, is false: excepting what is blasted by some northern winds, our treasure is yet in the kingdom: London as rich as before; witness clothes and diet: witness marriages and disposing of children, where piety, proportion, and parentage take little place, unless mingled with much red clay: witness the ready-money for purchases, if cheap; though shaken titles in tottering times.

'The cure may lie in these.'

The Army, you say, must yet be maintained, and we have thought of establishments,

&c. to take off all offences occasioned by the Army: either you must find action for it, which will answer much, or repartite it upon several counties, according to proportion, that every county may know their own men and their charge, by which the Hollanders have kept their army these seventy or eighty years. I have formerly answered all objections may be made against it. The immediate pay of the soldier in every county, as it will cut off many unnecessary charges, so it will be easy and contentful to both parties; I mean the soldier and the landlord.

2dly, Good men, not good laws, must save kingdoms: not that I would separate them; therefore, I think that the first work to be attended. For, as the Venetians live upon their curious elections, so the Netherlands, by keeping their government in such hands as they do; though perpetuating offices to them hath proved dangerous. Good justices, good mayors, &c. had it been our first work, it would have been our best; and Englishmen can as soon conform to just and honest government, as any other people. See it in the Army, how serviceable the worst impressed men have been under example; and characters to be given out for the elector, and elected, and for the managing of chieffer burgesses. What if every fifty, in every county, chose one to choose for them, &c. most men being ignorant of the worthiest of men?

3dly, That all men, from the highest to the lowest, may know what they may trust to without delay; and to trust God with the management of it, if according to his will.

4thly, Tithes, or something of analogy to them, brought into a common stock in every county, will do two things, *viz.* Keep a good proportion of money ready in every county, and content the preacher and his widow better; when in towns two-hundred pounds, or one-hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*, and in the parish one-hundred pounds shall be certainly paid, and forty pounds to the widow, &c. as in other countries they do: and hence raise a stock to set the poor on work in every county; the want of which hath been so much complained of.

5thly, That salaries may be appointed to all places of trust, that temptations to deceit take not hold of officers.

6thly, A committee for union betwixt all men truly godly; that we may swim in one channel (which is in hand) with free and loving debates allowed in every county, that we may convince, not confound each other. Two or three itinerary preachers, sent by the state into every county; and a committee of godly men, ministers, gentlemen, and others, to send out men of honesty, holiness, and parts, into all countries, recommended from their test.

7thly, Three men yearly chosen in every parish, to take up differences, which may be called friend-makers; as they do in other places with good success.

8thly, That the customs (by which great sums come to hand) may be in very choice hands, and their under-officers, in all parts, may be presented from those parts to them; and out of two or three, so presented, they choose one, if not just exception against him.

9thly, That my former model for the navy may be reviewed and accepted, which was presented about two years since; whereby the navy's debts may be paid, and two parts of three in the charge saved for the future, and the work better done.

10thly, That merchants may have all manner of encouragement; the law of merchants set up, and strangers, even Jews, admitted to trade, and live with us: that it may not be said, we pray for their conversion, with whom we will not converse; we being all but 'strangers on the earth.'

11thly, That foreign nations may have due respect by all fair correspondences with them, and intelligencers kept among them; especially that Scotland may be used in all things as neighbours and friends, though not as masters and commanders.

12thly, That academies may be set up for nobility and gentry, where they may know piety and righteousness, as well as gallantry and courtship, (we commonly fetch over the dirt of France, rather than their excellencies,) and that shorter ways to learning may be advanced; and that godliness in youth give them place in colleges, before letters and opportunity of men.

13thly, That the work of Ireland may not thus still be made a mock-work; but that the business may be carried on strenuously and vigorously by men to be confided in; who may take it upon them by the great, or day-work, either of these: there are good men will undertake it upon them, if fully countenanced with a good magazine and some money; for what we send now is but like a worm in a hollow tooth, it takes up no jaw.

14thly, That no magistrates in matters of religion meddle further than as a nursing-father, and then all children shall be fed, though they have several faces and shapes.

15thly, That all men entrusted may have set time, place, and persons appointed, to give up their accounts unto, of their employments.

16thly, Since the vast and even incomprehensible affairs of this kingdom, by the present council, must have so many agitations and so many varieties pass upon them; two ways it may be cured:

1. If nothing be taken into the House's consideration but *res verè arduæ*, wherein the heart-blood of the kingdom runs; and no petty matters.

2. If a council of state of ten or twelve honest and godly well-biassed men might sit near the House, and these, not invested with power, might commend matters of high concernment to the House, and receive their scruples, and those to state also government of churches.

17thly, That burgesses of parliament may be better proportioned; six, four, or two for shires, and some for great cities; that they give monthly some account to the places entrusting them, and that some laws may be probationers for a month or two.

18thly, That some of the parliament may be appointed to receive such suggestions from friends for the good of the whole, which they cannot constantly bring in by way of petition.

19thly, That prisoners, especially for debt, may have dispatches, and not lose heads, hearts, and hands, as well as heels, in gaols; and that the creditor may maintain them in prison: that poor thieves may not be hanged for thirteen pence halfpenny; but that a galley or two may be provided to row in the river or channel, to which they may be committed, or employed in draining lands, or banished.

It were also to be wished, that our gentry find out callings, and that younger brothers may be better provided for by their parents; that some of them fall not on learning and the ministry as a shift, and some (which is worse) take up their employments in highways, or, at best, pester Ireland, or foreign plantations; and all to maintain the paintry and glister of the family, and too often to keep up the name and honour of it in a sottish and luxurious hire.

20thly, Quick justice makes quiet commonwealths: I look upon that as contenting the Hollanders, under their vast taxes, and excises; what they have they can keep, where, in every town, you may get justice as often and as naturally, as their cows give milk. The few advocates in Amsterdam will tell you what little use they make of lawyers, where I have known a merchant dealing for thirty-thousand pounds *per annum*, and in seven years not spend twenty shillings in law.

And, if I might not offend the court and gentry, I would say the wrapping up of so many of them in gowns, and scuffling at Westminster, is rather a mark of their meanness and jejuneness, and our slavery and folly, than of any national glory: that, to this day, we can neither buy nor sell, convey nor make testaments, without great and questionable parchments: and for law, must *jurare in verba*, either of Littleton, Cook, or a casuist *ejusdem farinae*; which would find a cure in keeping records in all counties of all men's estates and alienations, &c. and those transmitted to a grand or leiger record at Westminster: the strength and time, spent in Term-quarrels, were better bestowed upon the West Indies, to which we have been so often called; and would soon make an end of Europe's troubles, by drying up that Euphrates.

I know not what engagements the King hath upon any, nor how the intercourse lies; but, before the close of new addresses, I wish the people might have two things granted them, *viz.*

1. To understand by some wise statist what the true English of prerogative, privilege,

and liberty is. If these three bawling children were well brought to bed, the whole House would be quiet.

2. That a certain time might be appointed to choose their burgesses undeniably, if they please to make use of it, with writs or without. What year this shall begin I say not; but, if not granted, you shall hardly keep tyranny out of doors.

To close all, and cure all: would this nation but follow the plain footsteps of Providence in one thing, the work were done.

Let us but consider, whether the Lord hath not pointed out his work unto us, viz. putting righteous men into places of trust, making way thereunto; as if the fulfilling of the many prophecies, and the expectation of the just, were now to be answered. Witness the first and now second gaubling the Parliament, the like in the City, the same in the Army, no less in the Ministry, as in the choice of Jesse's sons. Neither this nor that must serve, but the least, that the whole kingdom hath been in the refiner's fire. The Lord would do us good against our wills; but we content ourselves to give him a female, when we have a male in the flock: this broke the axle-tree of the Jewish state and church, and that bought Aceldama.

However, I am confident, God will carry on this work, which is his own: and to that end I look above all present agitations; knowing, if we 'enter into our chambers, and shut our doors for a little moment, the indignation shall be overpast.'

The Character of Holland.

London, Printed by T. Mabb for Robert Horn, at the Angel in Pope's-Head Alley, 1665.

[Folio; containing eight pages.]

HOLLAND, that scarce deserves the name of land,
As but the off-scowring of the British sand;
And so much earth as was contributed
By English pilots, when they heav'd the lead;
Or what by th' ocean's slow alluvion fell
Of shipwreck'd cockle and the muscle-shell;
This indigested vomit of the sea
Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.

Glad then, as miners that have found the ore,
They, with mad labour, fish'd the land to shore;
And div'd as desperately for each piece
Of earth, as if 't had been of ambergris;
Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
Less than what building swallows bear away;
Or than those piles which sordid beetles roul,
Transfusing into them their dunghill-soul.

How did they rivet with gigantick piles,
Thorough the centre, their new-catched miles:
And to the stake a struggling country bound,
Where barking waves still bait the forced ground;
Building their wat'ry Babel far more high
To reach the sea, than those to scale the sky?

Yet still his claim the injur'd Ocean laid,
And oft at leap-frog o'er their steeples play'd;
As if, on purpose, it on land had come
To shew them what's their *mare liberum*.
A daily deluge over them does boil:
The earth and water play at Level-coil.
The fish oft-times the Burgher dispossess,
And sat not as a meat, but as a guest:
And oft the Tritons and the Sea-nymphs saw
Whole sholes of Dutch serv'd up for Cabillau.
Or, as they over the new level rang'd,
For pickled Herring, pickled Heeren chang'd.
Nature, it seem'd, asham'd of her mistake,
Would throw their land away, at duck and drake.

Therefore necessity, that first made kings,
Something like government among them brings.
For, as with pygmies, who best kills the crane;
Among the hungry, he that treasures grain;
Among the blind, the one-ey'd blinkard reigns;
So rules, among the drowned, he that drains.
Not, who first sees the rising sun commands,
But who could first discern the rising lands;
Who best could know to pump an earth so leak,
Him they their lord and country's father speak.

To make a bank was a great plot of state ;
 Invent a shovel, and be magistrate.
 Hence some small dyke-grave, unperceiv'd, invades
 The power, and grows as 'twere a king of spades :
 But for less envy some joint state endures,
 Who looks like a commission of the sewers ;
 For these Half-anders, half wet, and half dry,
 Nor bear strict service, nor pure liberty.

'Tis probable, Religion after this
 Came next in order, which they could not miss :
 How could the Dutch but be converted, when
 Th' Apostles were so many fisher-men ?
 Beside, the waters of themselves did rise,
 And, as their land, so them did re-baptize.
 Though Herring for their God few voices mist,
 And Poor John to have been the Evangelist.
 Faith, that could never twins conceive before,
 Never so fertile, swarm'd upon this shore :
 More pregnant than their Marg'ret, that laid down
 For Hans-in-Kelder of a whole Hans-town.

Sure, when Religion did itself embark,
 And from the East would westward steer its ark,
 It struck ; and, splitting on this unknown ground,
 Each one thence pillag'd the first piece he found :
 Hence Amsterdam Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
 Staple of sects, and mint of schism grew ;
 That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
 Opinion, but finds credit and exchange.
 In vain for Catholicks ourselves we bear,
 The Universal Church is only there.

Nor can civility there want for tillage,
 Where wisely for their court they chose a village :

How fit a title clothes their governors !
 Themselves the Hogs, as all their subjects Boors.

Let it suffice to give their country fame,
 That it had one *Civilis* call'd by name,
 Some fifteen-hundred and more years ago,
 But, surely, never any that was so.

See but their mermaids, with their tails of fish
 Reeking at church over the chafing-dish.
 A vestal-turf, enshrin'd in earthen ware,
 Fumes through the loop-holes of a wooden square ;
 Each to the temple with these altars tend
 (But still do place it at her western end)
 While the fat steam of female sacrifice
 Fills the priest's nostrils, and puts out his eyes.

Or what a spectacle the skipper gross,
 A water-Hercules, butter-Coloss,
 Tunn'd up with all their several towns of beer ;
 When, stagg'ring upon some land, Snick and
 They try, like statuaries, if they can [Sneer,
 Cut out each other's Athos to a man ;
 And carve in their large bodies, where they please,
 The arms of the United Provinces.

Vainly did this slap-dragon fury hope
 With sober English valour e'er to cope ;
 Not though they prim'd their barb'rous morning's
 draught
 With powder, and with pipes of brandy fraught ;
 Yet Rupert, Sandwich, and, of all, the Duke,
 The Duke has made their sea-sick courage puke ;
 Like the three comets sent from heaven down,
 With fiery flails, to swinge th' ungrateful clown.

THE END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

